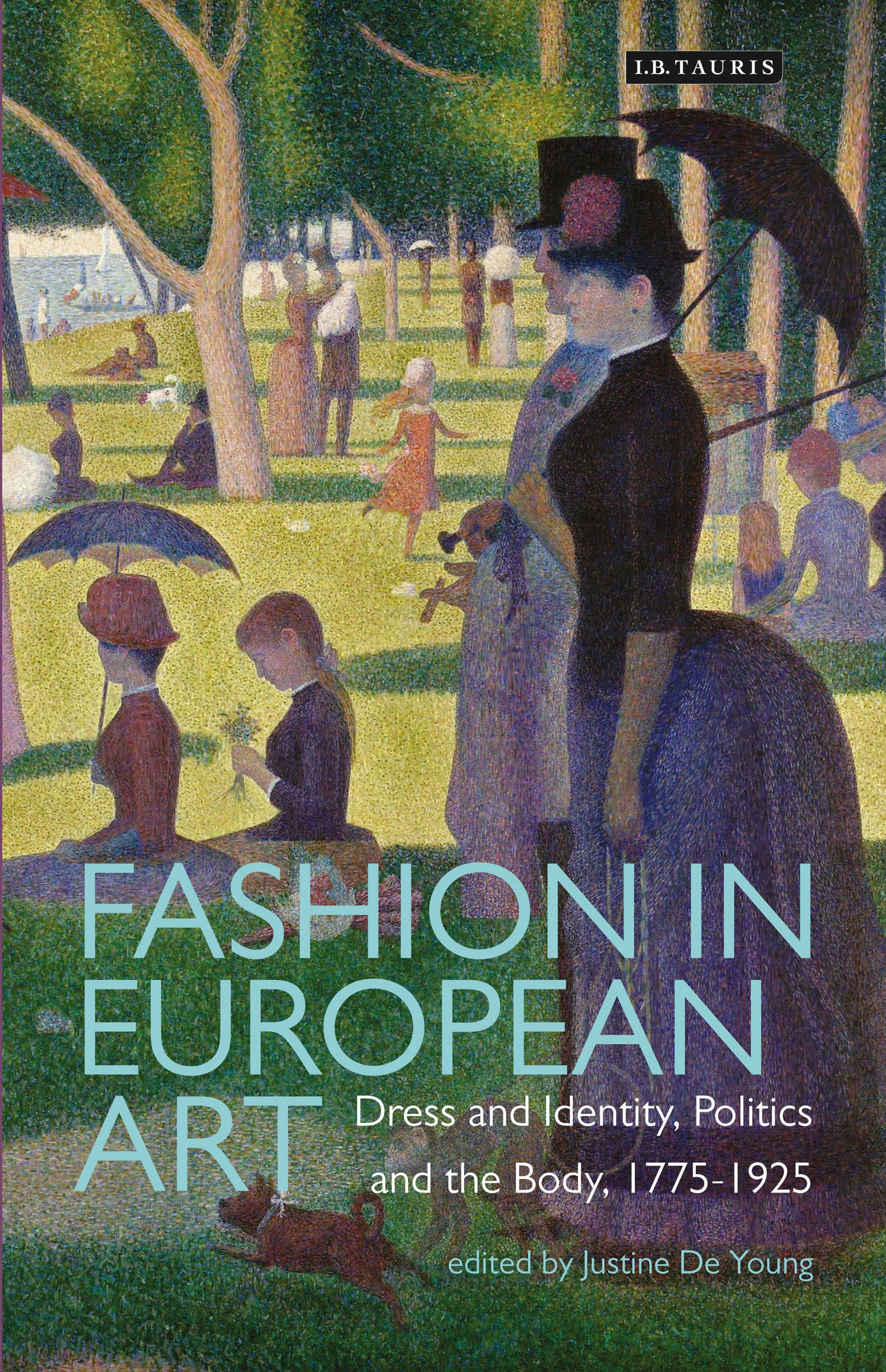

I.B.TAURIS

FASHION IN EUROPEAN ART

Dress and Identity, Politics and the Body, 1775-1925

edited by Justine De Young

Justine De Young is Assistant Professor of the History of Art at the Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York (SUNY). Her research focuses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century art and literature, visual and material culture, modernism and fashion. She has written widely on art and fashion, notably for the 2012–13 exhibition, 'Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity'.

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Fashion in European Art

Dress and Identity, Politics and the Body, 1775–1925

Edited by Justine De Young

I.B.TAURIS
LONDON · NEW YORK

I dedicate the volume to my husband, Alex

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INTRODUCTION

Addressing Fashion in Art

Justine De Young

Fashion reveals not only who we are, but whom we aspire to be. From 1775 to 1925, artists were especially attuned to the gaps between appearance and reality, participating in and often critiquing the construction of the self and image. Their representations of modern life must be read with an eye to fashion and dress as to do otherwise omits a whole world of complex calculations and subtle signals. Artists did not merely record the fashions around them, but in their two-dimensional renderings of dress, posture, and pose also shaped contemporary ideals and self-fashioning in the real world. Each chapter in this volume explores the ramifications of these choices in case studies centred on crucial historical, cultural, and political moments. Contributors examine not only dress and the art object – their production and reception – but also the larger visual and material culture within which they were embedded. By unpacking the significance of historical dress, as well as the lived experience of dress and its representation, the essays consider how artists and sitters engaged with the fashion and culture of their times. They all view artworks as socially mediated cultural artefacts that illuminate the varied and complex meanings of dress in art and life during the long nineteenth century, with serious implications for our understanding of dress cultures today.

Contributors draw on a vast array of visual sources, from paintings, photographs, prints, and posters to fashion plates, caricatures, and advertisements. Their period print and archival research is equally diverse, encompassing private letters, autobiographies, painting treatises, Salon reviews, Suffrage publications, fashion magazines, print indexes, contemporary poetry and fiction, and sociological theory. Moreover, their work engages with a wide swathe of modern critical theory, in keeping with the different approaches and questions pursued by each contributor and also the orphaned status of fashion studies more generally. Lacking a true disciplinary home, fashion has been studied and defined from a multiplicity of perspectives and backgrounds, including: economics and the conspicuous consumption demanded by capitalism (Veblen, Roche), anthropology (principally non-Western fashion), semiology and linguistics (Barthes), psychology (Flügel), aesthetics (Uzanne), feminism (Felski, Parkins), sociology (Entwistle), costume history (Ribeiro), politics (Lipovetsky), social and cultural history (Steele, Wilson), sexuality (Laver), and architecture (Wigley, McLeod).[1] Contributors benefit from and reconcile in their own work these diverse disciplinary perspectives.

As these essays showcase, the study of dress has productively driven new research in the social history of art, feminism, gender and identity studies, as well as visual and material culture. Authors explore how dress practices reacted to and intersected with political and social forces and events – from charting the effects of war on a nation's self-conception and its view of art and dress as an articulation of its values to the calculated manipulation of fashion as propaganda. Scholarship has increasingly acknowledged the role dress plays in fashioning the self and in our perception of ourselves and others; indeed, as the volume demonstrates, artists were particularly attuned to the significance and signification of dress. Their responses to and uses of fashion, while always deliberate, were by no means uniform, ranging from enthusiastic celebration to deliberate rejection and everywhere in between.

Authors attend closely to the relationship between depicted dress and lived reality – indeed many representations of fashion reveal more about contemporary ideals and fantasies than they do about worn garments. Fashion, whether ignored or embraced, was inextricably bound up in ideals and conceptions of masculinity and femininity as well as of the body. The signification of a garment also depends upon who wears it and authors trace the movement of garments between different dress cultures and the ramifications of those dislocations. Fashion emerges from complex circuits of cultural exchange and, as the essays by Jensen and Codell stress, European fashions were heavily enmeshed in colonial projects and influenced by the visual and material culture found there. Indeed, while this volume concentrates on Western Europe, one could easily imagine a later volume examining similar dynamics in Russia, America, China, or Japan.[2]

Yet when considering fashion and avant-garde art between 1775 and 1925 Europe set the tone. Anyone interested in fashion and art in this period, no matter their focus, must understand local practices alongside those of the trend-setting European capitals – as nearly everyone in the period did themselves. As fashion became international news, how one responded to it was considered revelatory of one's style, taste, and even morality. From 1775 to 1925, Europe was the dominant centre of the fashion industry and press and of the Western art world as well. It was the golden age of the fashion plate and of painting as mass entertainment (and state tool of propaganda); by the 1920s, both would be displaced by photography and film. While there is a bias towards elite fashion and representation in the early part of the period as portraiture and state-produced art favoured the ruling classes, with the advent of realism and growth of modern-life painting, artists turned their attention in greater numbers to the dress of the middle and lower classes as well. Fashion, moreover, was no longer merely an elite preoccupation as the press enthusiastically spread fashion knowledge to the bourgeoisie and beyond. Great novelists of dress – Austen, Balzac, Dickens, Zola, Wharton, and James – underlined the increasing importance of fashion to all levels of society. Essays in the volume attend to not only elite cultural forms (painting), but also mass cultural print sources (fashion plates, journals, advertising, the illustrated press, and caricature).

While art historians of all periods have begun to address and evaluate dress, the long nineteenth century is a particularly crucial moment as it saw the rise and establishment of the modern, globalized fashion system that we still rely on today. The period witnessed the birth of the department store, mass production, the mannequin, shopping as a leisure activity, and the rise of the fashion press, the fashion designer (*couturier*) and the fashion show. The fashion press from its earliest days was inextricably linked to advertising and was international in its reporting, relying on the increasingly interconnected globe – spreading news first via the illustrated plate and then the photograph, first via letters from correspondents then the telegram.[3] The advent of modern mass transit within cities and then between them – from omnibuses and subways to trains and steamships – made possible and greatly facilitated the spread of fashion knowledge, goods, and people in this period as never before.

Those living between 1775 and 1925 also witnessed a series of important shifts, among them the adoption of the suit and greater uniformity in male dress and the related gendering of fashion as feminine. While in the late eighteenth century dress was considered a way of remaking the self and of rendering the nation more equal, the 150 years that followed saw a loss of faith in fashion as an equalizer and marker and even as rational or legible. The volume spans from the post-revolutionary celebration of the natural body to the post-World War I acknowledgement of the body's frailty, from a conception of dress that favoured transparency and exposure to a view of clothing as a body-concealing sheath or even shell.

While there is now great interest in the role and importance of dress to the making of art and its reception, few books actually examine the movements and artists in this critical period. Virtually all published work on fashion and art is monographic, focusing on a single artist or movement, or interested in fashion as art, rather than the multivalences of fashion *in* art. A few survey texts like Florence Müller's *Art & Fashion* (2000) and Alice Mackrell's *Art and Fashion: The Impact of Art on Fashion and Fashion on Art* (2005), have more broadly addressed the relationship between art and fashion across the centuries.[4] Fashion and art as an important nexus in the nineteenth century has received serious attention by costume historians like Marie Simon, writing of the Impressionist period, and Aileen Ribeiro, who has published more extensively and helped to pioneer the sort of close attention to fashion and dress upon which this volume depends.[5]

Recent museum exhibitions have also explored fashion in art and its significance in this period. 'Whistler, Women & Fashion' at the Frick Collection in 2003 concentrated on Whistler's portraits of women and 'Monet und Camille: Frauenportraits im Impressionismus' at the Kunsthalle Bremen in 2005 surveyed the large format 'portraits' of modern women by Impressionist and academic artists from the 1860s to the 1880s. In 2004–05, 'Matisse, His Art and His Textiles: The Fabric of Dreams' demonstrated how textiles were the key to understanding Matisse's visual imagination. The Courtauld's 2008 'Renoir at the Theatre: Looking at *La Loge*,' and the Musée d'Orsay, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Art Institute of Chicago 2012–13 exhibition 'Impressionism, Fashion, & Modernity' showcased the Impressionists' engagement and fascination with contemporary fashion.

This volume does not pretend to survey the representation of fashion in all European art from 1775 to 1925, but instead models the sort of close and historicized reading necessary to understand the complex signification of fashion in art and life, offering methodological exemplars for future research. Resisting attempts at control by the court, the aristocracy, the fashion industry, and the press, fashion has remained vexingly capricious and opportunistic in its inspiration and forms and thus necessitates this sort of in-depth analysis to tease out its particular meanings when represented.

Yet while chapters address fashion from different countries and periods, many themes and interests unite them. Each explores the different ways dress articulates and distinguishes a person's class, politics, gender, and national identity. Certain contributors attend to the effect of the individual trendsetter (Rauser, Jensen), others to the broader cultural moment (Siegfried, De Young) and to contemporary discourses concerning science, society, and sexuality (Butterfield-Rosen, Stephenson). Many consider the relationship between avant-garde artistic circles and different sets of politics and how those affiliations informed the art they produced – from the political embrace of fashion (Wahl), the parodying of it (Codell), or the ironic performance of it (Söll) by individuals or by groups. All are animated by the conviction that dress has legible meanings and does cultural work that must be carefully parsed to understand a society and the art that it produces.

Amelia Rauser in 'From the Studio to the Street: Modelling Neoclassical Dress in Art and Life' reveals how the adoption of diaphanous white muslin dresses and very few undergarments emerged from decades of studio practice in which models, actors, dancers, and portrait-sitters were dressed in quasi-classical drapery in the studio or in artworks, quite differently from the ways they would have dressed in everyday life. Her essay argues that it was a new cultural recognition of the small gap between art and life, catalyzed by some key events around 1790 that caused women to want to style themselves as living artworks by wearing neoclassical dress. This self-conscious construction of identity through image and presentation of the body *as* an image to be consumed both in art and life is integral to all the essays in the volume, but particularly unites her chapter with the one that follows: Heather Belnap Jensen's '*Parures, Pashminas*, and Portraiture, or, How Joséphine Bonaparte Fashioned the Napoleonic Empire.'

Jensen analyses how costume in later portraits of Joséphine actively engaged in the construction of the Empire, creating a material and visual culture that supported imperialism. She considers how Joséphine used fashion in state portraiture to influence the shift from republicanism to imperialism, to shape the culture of Napoleonic Europe, and to expand the domain of French couture within the economic context of Napoleon's protectionist trade policies. Joséphine achieved this impact not only through the painted portraits themselves, but through their printed reproduction, signalling the growing importance of prints not only in reproducing portraits like Joséphine's, but also as a burgeoning means of conveying fashion information and of creating fashionable taste.

Susan Siegfried's essay, 'Temporalities of Costume and Fashion in Art of the Romantic Period' attends to the central role of the lithographic artist in shaping fashionable taste in the Romantic period. She examines the distinction between 'costume' and 'fashion' in contemporary terminology of the early nineteenth century, focusing on the lithographic practice of Achille Devéria, which occupied a zone between fine art and commerce. Her essay advocates for attention to the temporal dimension (the 'now and then') in understanding fashion and costume in this period, beyond the more obvious spatial distance (the 'us and them') evoked by the costume prints. The hybrid national, spatial, and temporal origins of inspiration for Devéria's print practice are notably paralleled by

Dante Gabriel Rossetti's own exotic and erotic juxtapositions as discussed in Julie Codell's 'Dress and Desire: Rossetti's Erotics of the Unclassifiable and Working-Class Models.'

Codell explores how works by Dante Gabriel Rossetti bricolaged second-hand clothes and jewellery, rejected Victorian fashion principles of the ensemble and dress protocol, and challenged the social symbolism of dress. His female figures' 'dis-ensembled' dress from no single period and/or place suggested new fluid, *deraciné* identities tied to his working-class models. His mixtures of cheap and exotic goods paralleled and parodied displays in international exhibitions, museums, and shops in a critique of the world of goods. She argues that his figures, wearing dress without legible social meanings, were not the *femmes fatales* often described by scholars, but rather agents of their own 'eroticism of the unclassifiable.' Codell's essay furthers Rauser's discussion of the home as site for appreciation of avant-garde dress practices and display, as well as Siegfried's and Jensen's analyses of how artists grapple with foreign influences on dress.

The alluring possibilities of illegibility discussed by Codell stand in stark contrast to the strong countervailing call for transparency in dress by French critics in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune of 1870–1 as discussed in Justine De Young's 'Mourning for Paris: The Art and Politics of Dress after '*l'année terrible*' (1870–1).' De Young examines how the siege of Paris, the loss of the Franco-Prussian War, and the street-by-street fighting of the Paris Commune affected discourses surrounding art, women, and fashion. Her essay charts the varied sartorial responses – both discursive and actual – to the events and examines how artists navigated the altered landscape, offering new understanding of their art and the responses it received in the press. Her essay underscores not only the historically specific forces shaping dress and its representation, as other essays in the volume do, but also the centrality of fashion to France's identity and economy. From Napoleon's embrace of fashionable goods and conspicuous consumption discussed by Jensen to the Third Republic's partial repudiation of that legacy in the wake of national defeat and division, fashion was inextricably bound up in France's idea of itself. The fashionable Parisienne was a national symbol, but a discomfiting one in a time of crisis, when the supposedly authentic and uncomplicated peasant girl became more appealing for a time, as De Young's essay shows.

Indeed fashion often occasioned discomfort and distrust, particularly in the context of mass production, when it lost much of its indexical power as a signal of class, but also in light of evolutionary theory, as Emmelyn Butterfield-Rosen's 'Mannequin and Monkey in Seurat's *Grande Jatte*' investigates. Butterfield-Rosen situates fashion in relationship to other intellectual and political currents of the time, establishing the historical contingency of the word mannequin and its significance in relation to Seurat's standing female figure and her curious companion. Probing Seurat's infamous decision to accessorize this figure with a pet monkey, she argues that the incendiary pairing of these figures formalized a notion of *imitation*, a concept which took on new urgency at this moment in various disciplines, from the sociology of Gabriel Tarde to the evolutionary biology of Charles Darwin. Her essay serves as a valuable case study in considering the role fashion can play in anxieties about the dehumanizing effects of consumer capitalism.

Andrew Stephenson's chapter, ''But the coat is the picture': Issues of Masculine Fashioning, Politics, and Sexual Identity in Portraiture in England (*c.* 1890–1900),' furthers the discussion of the changing social and political significance of dress in the era of mass production. Stephenson explores the ways in which the long grey or black overcoat operates as a keen signifier of a self-consciously posed and constructed artistic male identity. It is adopted as a signifier of aesthetic dandyism by Graham Robertson and Charles Condor, but also carries with it connotations of political radicalism; most acutely in the perception of Edward Carpenter's overcoat as 'anarchist' when represented in Roger Fry's portrait. The careful surveillance of the self and of others – a theme throughout the volume – here becomes particularly important in the context of socialist and anarchist politics and emerging homosexual cultures, both of which were under increasing judicial threat in the period.

The intersection of fashion, politics, and the police continues with Kimberly Wahl's 'Silencing Fashion in Early Twentieth-Century Feminism: The Sartorial Story of Suffrage,' which examines how fashion often implicitly informed the public discourse surrounding suffragettes. Wahl interrogates the complex and productive role of fashion in the artistic, literary, and visual framing of the campaigns for suffrage – a phenomenon which has often been elided or trivialized in earlier accounts of feminism. With the return of classical imagery, discussed by Rauser earlier, the chapter also examines how contemporary discourses around fashion and the feminine ideal echo through generations. Wahl explores how the avant-garde artistic ideals of the preceding generation inevitably shaped the visual and aesthetic imaginary of key suffrage image-makers as they were growing up. The chapter further stresses the importance of print culture touched on earlier by Siegfried and others.

The final chapter of the volume, Änne Söll's 'Puppets, Patterns, and 'Proper Gentlemen': Men's Fashion in Anton Räderscheidt's New-Objectivity Paintings' returns to the issue of the mannequin raised by Butterfield-Rosen and again addresses a nation grappling with fashion and bodily ideals in the face of military defeat, as De Young did. Söll establishes how the rapid development of ready-to-wear clothing around 1900 – made possible by new measurement systems – produced new conceptions of the body as a standardized object and prompted questioning of the idea of bourgeois male individuality. Her discussion of the suit, masculine identity, and self-fashioning in the work of New Objectivity painter Anton Räderscheidt connects in powerful ways to Stephenson's prior discussion of the multivalent signification of the overcoat.

By addressing dress not only as a material object, but also as a discourse and visual signifier, the volume works to establish new approaches to the study of fashion and dress in art history and to offer an introduction to the diversity of methods, meanings, and motivations behind the representation of dress in art. Fashion perplexed period writers and, much to the chagrin of theorists and historians, continues to resist easy explanation even today with the perspective of history, underlining the importance of close reading and case studies like those assembled here. By exploring key moments in this pivotal period, this volume also enables better understanding of the art and dress cultures of today, when dress and identity, politics and the body continue to be inextricably linked.

Notes

1 For additional works by these and other authors, see the Selected Bibliography at the end of the volume. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Book-of-the-Month Club, 1981); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930); Octave Uzanne, *La femme et la mode: métamorphoses de la parisienne de 1792 à 1892* (Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1892); Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Ilya Parkins, 'Fashion, Femininity, and the Ambiguities of the Modern: A Feminist Theoretical Approach to Simmel,' in *Georg Simmel in Translation: Interdisciplinary Border-Crossings in Culture and Modernity*, ed. David D. Kim (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006); Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Aileen Ribeiro and Valerie Cumming, *The Visual History of Costume* (London: Batsford, 1989); Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, Rev. ed. (New York: Berg, 1998); Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, Rev. ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003); James Laver, *Dress; How and Why Fashions in Men's and Women's Clothes have Changed During the Past Two Hundred Years* (London: John Murray, 1950); Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Deborah Fausch, ed. *Architecture in Fashion* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994).

2 Christine Ruane, *The Empire's New Clothes: A History of the Russian Fashion Industry, 1700–1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Kate Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Penelope Francks, *The Japanese Consumer: An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

3 Justine De Young, 'Not Just a Pretty Picture: Fashion as News,' in *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News*, ed. Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz, 109–15 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

4 For other survey texts, see the Selected Bibliography. Florence Muller, *Art and Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000); Alice Mackrell, *Art and Fashion: The Impact of Art on Fashion and Fashion on Art* (London: Batsford, 2005).

5 Marie Simon, *Fashion in Art: The Second Empire and Impressionism* (London: Zwemmer, 1995). Aileen Ribeiro, *Ingres in Fashion: Representations of Dress and Appearance in Ingres's Images of Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). See other titles by Ribeiro in the Selected Bibliography.

1

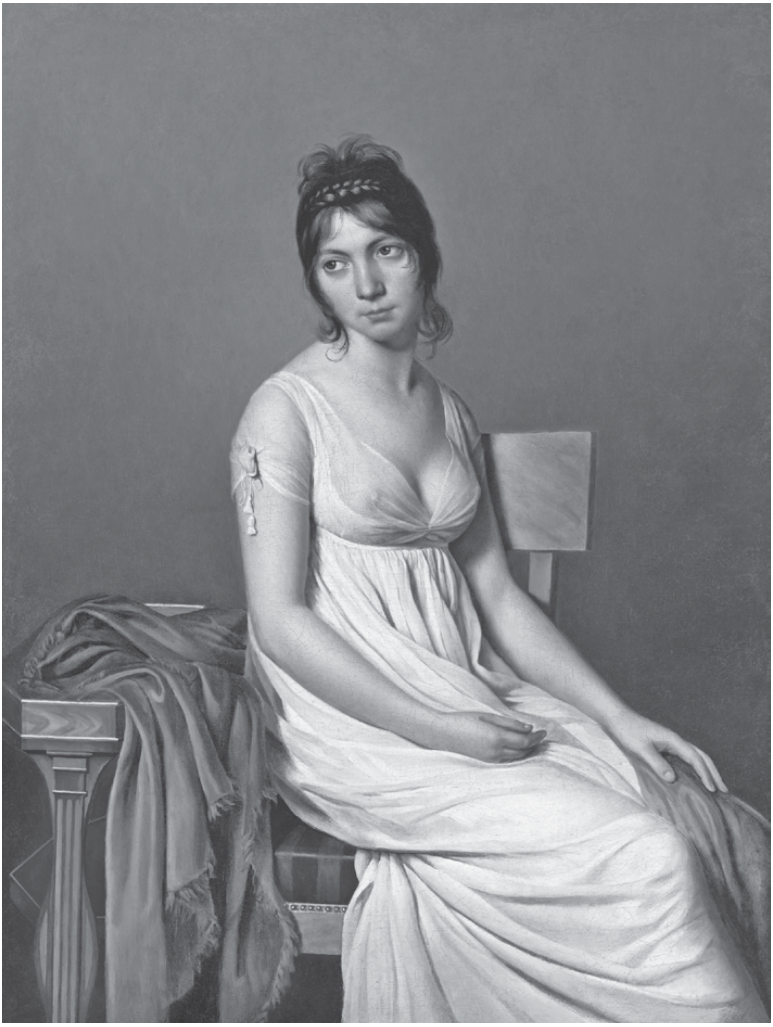
FROM THE STUDIO TO THE STREET

Modelling Neoclassical Dress in Art and Life

Amelia Rauser

In this 1798 French portrait (Figure 1.1), the female sitter poses in an austere neoclassical interior wearing the most radical version of neoclassical fashionable dress: a sheer white muslin overdress twisted at the bust and gathered with little tasselled cords to form tight sleeves. An opaque, high-waisted white shift underneath the sheer muslin drapes loosely over the sitter's lower torso and legs, while a rich red shawl fills the chair behind her and twines around her back and over her left knee. Her un-powdered hair is simply dressed and ornamented only with a braid; she wears no jewellery. Restrained in palette, detail, and texture, this fashionable sitter's ensemble is arranged to emphasize that her beauty is 'natural' and embodied in her physical form, rather than in artifice or ornamentation. Although it might seem surprising, women in late eighteenth-century Europe did actually wear the style of dress represented in this portrait; indeed, less extreme versions of the style are familiar to any viewer of Jane Austen films.[1] How did it happen that, in the late 1790s, fashionable women could wear such simple and transparent clothing, and what did it signify? As this chapter will show, neoclassical chic had a powerful alibi: it proclaimed its wearer's natural beauty using the language of art.

This radical fashion of undress, sometimes called empire-style or *robes à la grecque*, swept the metropolitan centres of Europe in the 1790s, overturning mores of modesty and display and startling contemporary commentators during its short-lived reign. The simplicity and nudity of this style



1.1 Anon., *Portrait of a Woman in White*, *c.* 1798. Oil on canvas, 125.5 × 95 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

was a dramatic departure from the hoops, silks, padded hips or bums, tall hairstyles, and hair powder of the previous few decades. Scholars often explain it as a revolutionary political statement exemplifying classical virtue and moral transparency; or as decadent French chic; or as a Rousseauian gesture to authentic maternity and gender essentialism.[2] While these views do have significant explanatory power for the meaning of neoclassical dress in the 1790s, at its origins, neoclassical dress had another set of meanings that have been poorly understood. In fact, neoclassical fashion did not emerge from the crucible of political revolution, nor was it invented in France, but rather it first arose as artistic dress, used by innovators in painting, theatre, and dance across several European cultural centres as an aid in their search for a more authentic and expressive art. In this chapter, I will argue that neoclassical fashion's status as cosmopolitan artistic dress provided both the inspiration for its emergence as street dress and the context for its meaning to contemporaries. As a kind of anti-fashion, neoclassical dress allowed women who embraced it to appear to rise above petty artifice and ornament and construct themselves as aesthetic agents at the centre of key artistic and philosophical discourses of the Enlightenment.

ARTISTIC DRESS IN THE PAINTING STUDIO

While discussions between painters and sitters about what sort of dress should be depicted in their portraits have probably always been fraught, by the 1780s the issue was considered to be critically important to the ambition of the artist and the success of the artwork. Indeed, as Sir Joshua Reynolds influentially argued in his *Discourse VII*, delivered to students at the Royal Academy in 1776, it is the depiction of nakedness and drapery that separates the great artists from the lesser ones; in the painting of modern dress, he said, the essential work had already been done by the tailor.[3] He called on his students to elevate the national taste by adopting an idealized classical dress for portraiture in their own practices:

> He, therefore, who in his practice of portrait painting wishes to dignify his subject … will not paint her in the modern dress, the familiarity of

> which alone is sufficient to destroy all dignity. He … dresses his figure with something of the general air of the antique for the sake of dignity, and preserves something of the modern for the sake of likeness.[4]

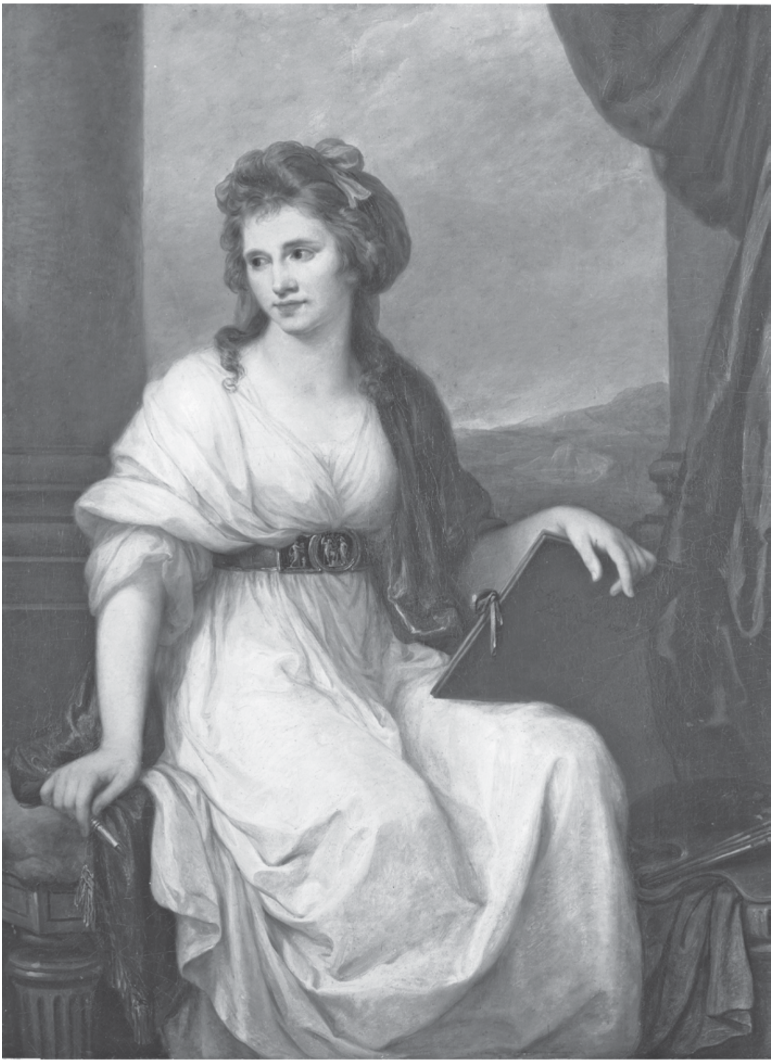
Reynolds's own ideas about how much to concede to fashion in portraiture varied over time.[5] Yet by and large, his grand manner portraits strove for this synthesis, featuring sitters wearing flowing robes without hoops or corsets but conforming to fashionable silhouettes and with their hair elegantly dressed and powdered.

Reynolds's chief rival in English portraiture during the 1780s, George Romney, also preferred to clothe his sitters in generalized dress, even though he distinguished his portrait style by meticulous specificity in rendering his sitters' expressions.[6] With filial bias, his son even retrospectively credited Romney with leading the taste for antique-style dress:

> Though it was the fashion during the greatest part of Mr. Romney's practice, for ladies to wear high head dresses and stiff, long-waisted stays; yet, whenever he had an opportunity … he rid himself of those ungraceful incumbrances, and returned to nature and truth. His picture of Cassandra, in the Shakespeare Gallery, influenced the public taste, and was instrumental in expelling from the empire of fashion the long and shapeless waist; and in introducing a more simple and graceful mode of dress, approaching nearer to the Grecian.[7]

This characterization of 'Grecian' dress as 'simple and graceful' and aligned with 'nature and truth,' rather than worldly artifice, was universal by the early nineteenth century, when John Romney was writing. Indeed, Romney even traces a trajectory from the studio to the street here, crediting artistic practice with driving 'the empire of fashion.'

Two women artists of the 1780s, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and Angelica Kauffman, not only frequently painted their sitters in generalized classical dress, but also adopted such dress themselves, both as studio dress and in their numerous self-portraits.[8] Kauffman's *Self-Portrait as the Muse of Painting* (Figure 1.2), made for the Duke of Tuscany's famous gallery of self-portraits in 1787, is a masterful example, hovering as it does



1.2 Angelica Kauffman, *Self-Portrait as the Muse of Painting*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 128 × 93.5 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

between self-portraiture and allegory.[9] On one hand, she denotes with precision her distinctive physiognomy, well-known through her many previous self-portraits, and her gestures draw our attention to the tools of her trade: the pencil she holds in her right hand; the drawing book, claimed with her signature, that she balances on her left knee; and the paintbrushes and palette she points to with her left index finger. Yet, on the other hand, her open pose – seated in a three-quarters view with her face turned pensively away from the viewer's gaze – marks her as a figure to be contemplated rather than as an active agent, and her idealized dress and youthful beauty (perhaps not completely faithful to her then-47-year-old appearance) seem to set her apart in a space of timelessness. Kauffman's dress is similar to those deployed in many other of her portraits and self-portraits over the years: a loose drape of white, matte textile that crosses over the bust, drapes over the shoulders, and is gathered high under the breasts, falling in folds across her legs. It reveals glimpses of an underdress with gathered, elbow-length sleeves and a modest neckline. Kauffman's hair is loose and un-powdered, dressed with a kerchief that blends into the colour of her hair, and her only ornament is a gold clasp at her shoulder and an elaborate cameo belt, the most detailed element of the entire portrait.

The cameo, made prominent by its location in the centre of the painting and its visual contrast of dark and detailed against light and summary, reproduces a well-known jewel from Naples that depicts the contest between Minerva and Neptune for Athens.[10] Kauffman had gestured to Minerva before in her self-portraits; in her *Self-Portrait with the Bust of Minerva* from *c.* 1775–80, she 'establishes an alternative artistic matrilineage,' as Angela Rosenthal has argued, classing herself as a descendant and devotee of the virginal goddess of wisdom and patroness of the arts and handicrafts.[11] Here, the cameo has two purposes: it indicates the artist's scholarly and professional knowledge of antiquities; and it reminds viewers that Minerva was victorious in that legendary contest – that female wisdom and craft can triumph even in competition with powerful men. The white classical dress she is wearing fuels the analogy between Kauffman and Minerva. If women's bodies were traditionally the empty vessels to be filled with allegorical meaning rather than the active agents of their own self-fashioning, then here, as elsewhere, Kauffman self-allegorizes in order to seize that constraint and turn it to her advantage.[12]

The similarity between Kauffman's invented 1787 studio dress and the 1798 sitter's fashionable dress discussed above is clear. In palette, material, texture, and silhouette the garments are strikingly similar, even though only the later portrait depicts a dress that was actually worn in social settings. Yet in the 1780s, there began a vogue for fashionable dress that was considered more 'natural' and simple than the silk mantuas, embroidered stomachers, panniers, and tall headpieces that had dominated the fashions of the 1770s. The *robe en chemise*, also known as the *robe en gaulle*, was first associated with Marie Antoinette and worn in her informal courts at the Trianon and her dairy farm.[13] A round gown that went over the head and was belted at the waist, the *robe en chemise* (as its name implies) evoked the simple muslin shift that had been worn under formal gowns for decades, thus importing a bit of erotic excitement with its connotation of 'underwear as outerwear.'[14] As worn by fashionable ladies in the 1780s, it usually featured a deep flounce at the hem and a long ruffle around the neckline, and was made of fine, imported white muslin. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's well-known portrait of Marie Antoinette wearing the *robe en gaulle* celebrated the queen as an icon of simple, natural beauty, but upon its exhibition at the Salon of 1783, the portrait generated such controversy about the queen's inappropriate informality that it had to be removed after only a few days.[15] While the *robe en chemise* is similar in many ways to the later neoclassical dress – it shares the same textile, white muslin, and the same desire for unornamented simplicity – its main connotation was the informality and romance of the pastoral life, rather than an evocation of antiquity, and its silhouette was very different from the high-waisted gowns of the 1790s. Nonetheless, as a prominent example of 'reform' dress and as a first fashionable appearance of white muslin, the *robe en chemise* was an ancestor of the fashionable neoclassical dress of the 1790s.

Indeed, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun remained committed to promoting a form of simplified 'picturesque' dress for her sitters, and claimed to have adopted a version of such dress herself for studio wear.[16] Her *Souvenirs* are filled with discussions of artistic dress; of the 1780s, she writes:

> As I detested the female style of dress then in fashion, I bent all my efforts upon rendering it a little more picturesque, and was delighted when, after getting the confidence of my models, I was able to drape them according to my fancy … Besides, I could not endure powder.[17]

For herself, she affected a kind of chic nonchalance, saying:

> I spent very little on dress; I was even reproached for neglecting it, for I wore none but white dresses of muslin or lawn, and never wore elaborate gowns excepting for my sittings at Versailles. My head-dress cost me nothing, because I did my hair myself, and most of the time I wore a muslin cap on my head, as may be seen from my portraits.[18]

Vigée-Lebrun here directs readers to her self-portraits as indices of her typical attire while working; by the time she wrote these memoirs at the end of her life, her image as an artist was indivisible from her characteristic white dress, muslin cap, and natural curls.

Vigée-Lebrun attempted to blur even further the boundary between art and life through the use of specifically antique-inflected artistic dress in hosting her (in)famous 'Greek Supper' of 1788. As she describes it in her memoirs, the dinner party came about as a lark; her brother was reading aloud the description of an ancient Greek banquet from the celebrated new imaginary travelogue *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*, and Vigée-Lebrun commented: 'We should try this tonight.'[19] She instructed her cook to make some special sauces, borrowed some antique Etruscan pottery from a neighbour, and then set about contriving Greek costumes for her guests. 'My studio, full of things I used for draping my models, would furnish me with enough material for garments,' she wrote, and with them she transformed her guests into 'veritable Athenians.'[20] While Vigée-Lebrun describes the event as simple but chic, claiming the whole thing cost her no more than 15 francs, rumours of the luxurious decadence of the party soon reached Versailles and spread to other European courts, where the reported cost soared into the thousands.[21] As this event shows, the connotations of the artistic antique were double-edged: its austere simplicity signified artistic purity and authenticity on the one hand, while its immodesty and heedlessness of hierarchy and formality signalled decadence and potential licentiousness on the other.

This image of barely restrained license was one that adhered to the space of the artistic studio itself. After all, the studio was a place in which unrelated men and women often spent long hours together under one another's close scrutiny.[22] Private and public spaces were intriguingly mingled; portraitists usually arranged their painting spaces adjacent to their domestic quarters, with anterooms that served as quasi-public galleries to entice customers.[23] The encounter between sitter and painter in the studio was both intimate and theatrical, often observed by companions or visitors or accompanied by musicians. Thus, the costume for such encounters, both that worn by the female sitter and, in the case of a female artist, by the painter, became deeply associated with the artistic ambition, veiled eroticism, and social mixing of such artistic spaces. As we have seen, then, in the 1780s, women artists and sitters often adopted a quasi-classical dress in the space of the studio that was different from both standard fashionable dress and from 'reform' dress like the *robe en chemise*. Viewers grew accustomed to seeing portraits depicting women they knew wearing relatively scanty white drapery, and while this sometimes provoked discomfort and controversy, it also became widely accepted as artistic practice. By the late 1780s, idealized classical white dress was well established as artistic dress.

REFORM DRESS IN THE THEATRE AND BALLET

Similar impulses inspired costume reform in the performing arts during the second half of the eighteenth century. Over the course of several decades, actors and dancers in London, Paris, Naples, Vienna, and several German cultural centres grew increasingly attentive to movement, gesture, expression, and realism, and developed new norms for costume to support these ambitions.[24] Older styles of performance had stressed perfect postures and conventional gestures in performers who wore formal courtly dress.[25] The new, more 'pantomimic' style called for actors to move their bodies with larger and more angular and emphatic gestures, as well as to use more eloquent facial expressions. Ballet also incorporated pantomime and a new attention to storytelling in this period.[26] In tandem with these expressive innovations, actors and dancers experimented with altering their costumes, even though strict rules of propriety and formality, particularly in France, made such changes controversial at first. It was not until the mid-1750s that innovators in both London and Paris successfully wore costumes without courtly panniers using textiles and trimmings more appropriate to their characters than to contemporary fashion.[27]

In 1775, two different theatrical productions each claimed to be the first to introduce a truly classical costume for antique characters. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's monodrama, *Pygmalion*, was staged in Paris in 1775 with the actor Larive costumed in a tunic and sandals; his more conventional Galatea, however, wore panniers and a large powdered wig – a contrast that some observers ridiculed.[28] The same year in Germany, Johann Wolfgang Goethe staged his legendary production of *Ariadne auf Naxos* in Gotha. Actress Charlotte Brandes wore a white silk dress with a red sash and sandals; a contemporary engraving of her in the role appeared in a German theatre periodical the following year, and a painting a few years later.[29] A contemporary reviewer lauded the archaeological accuracy of the costume:

> In 1775, the German stage is observing the laws of the costume brought back from a very long time ago. At the presentation of Ariadne at Gotha, the first genuinely ancient Greek dress appeared on the stage, after the drawings of ancient monuments and manufactured according to Winckelmann's description and the headdress also was made after an old gem of Ariadne.[30]

No mere trend or affectation, this costume is making a new type of truth claim by linking its origins to the study of antique art. This claim to historical accuracy – similar to the use of the Neapolitan cameo in Kauffman's self-portrait in Figure 1.2 – in turn supports the production's general disdain for artifice and embrace of authenticity. For an emerging neoclassical aesthetic, 'authentic' and 'natural' costume played a central role.

In ballet, the late 1780s and early 1790s saw a flurry of radical innovations in both costume and movement. In 1787, a new costume designer at the Paris Opéra, Jean-Simon Berthélémy, replaced the formal courtly dresses of his predecessor with thin neoclassical costumes, while on stages in London and France, Charles-Louis Didelot introduced flesh-coloured tights and flat shoes.[31] In Vienna, dancer Maria Vigano, wife of the celebrated choreographer and composer Salvatore Vigano, startled audiences in 1793 with her costume of white muslin tunic and sandals. In a print of her as Terpsichore, the muse of dance, Vigano is depicted with loose, flowing hair wearing a thin, short, transparent muslin dress, with a high-waisted silhouette, low décolletage, and classical sandals; she dances on clouds before a Doric temple. New costumes like this one allowed for a new freedom of motion for female dancers, and in their duets the Viganos capitalized on this mobility by developing more acrobatic lifts and incorporating them into a sensual, pantomimic, danced narrative. While some commentators raved about the grace, elegance, and 'naturalism' of the Viganos' dancing, others found their performances' sensuality and bodily expression vulgar, including the empress, whose displeasure pushed the Viganos out of Vienna to tour Europe – thus spreading their innovations more widely.[32]

It is no accident that several of these innovative productions were structured around the narrative of Pygmalion.[33] Indeed, Pygmalion's tale was very prominent in eighteenth-century theatre, dance, and visual art.[34] Most eighteenth-century viewers knew the story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Pygmalion was a Cypriot king who became disgusted by real women after seeing contemporary prostitutes. He carved a beautiful ideal woman in ivory, fell in love with it, made offerings to it, and pleaded with Venus to bring it to life. By the eighteenth century the sculpted woman had acquired the name Galatea, Greek for 'she who is milk-white.' Philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder's aesthetic treatise, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Form and Shape from Pygmalion's Creative Dream* (1778), used the myth to muse on sculpture's seeming ability to come to life in the imagination of the viewer via a spark of desire that transformed sensory experience into aesthetic understanding. The dream of Pygmalion, then, was not only the dream of a superhuman creative artist, but also the dream of an art that lives, of sensations that speak truth, and of a world that aspires to the same perfection and idealism as art.[35] As a potent embodiment of the aspirations to blur boundaries between art and life, and to bring the golden age of the past into the present, Pygmalion was suited to theatrical innovations aimed at conveying greater authenticity, sensuality, and embodied naturalism. If the result was a visual style reminiscent of antiquity, this was not simply because classicism was considered a beautiful style, but because it was considered the true style, and because classical art was itself believed to be free of artifice and close to truth.

Without question, then, the thin, transparent, white muslin dress, belted at a high waist, baring the arms and perhaps the breasts, and accessorized with a shawl, had become by the late 1780s and early 1790s deeply associated with innovative artistic experiments. Audiences were used to seeing it depicted in oil paint or worn in the studio, and they were increasingly comfortable seeing it on bodies in motion on the stage. Even as it revealed the body, the dress aligned itself with ideals of virtue that shielded it from (many, though not all) charges of licentiousness. Often connected with allegories, goddesses, or muses, or the legend of artworks miraculously coming to life as in the Pygmalion story, the dress stood for an artistic commitment to authenticity and a naturalism that found its wellspring in antiquity.

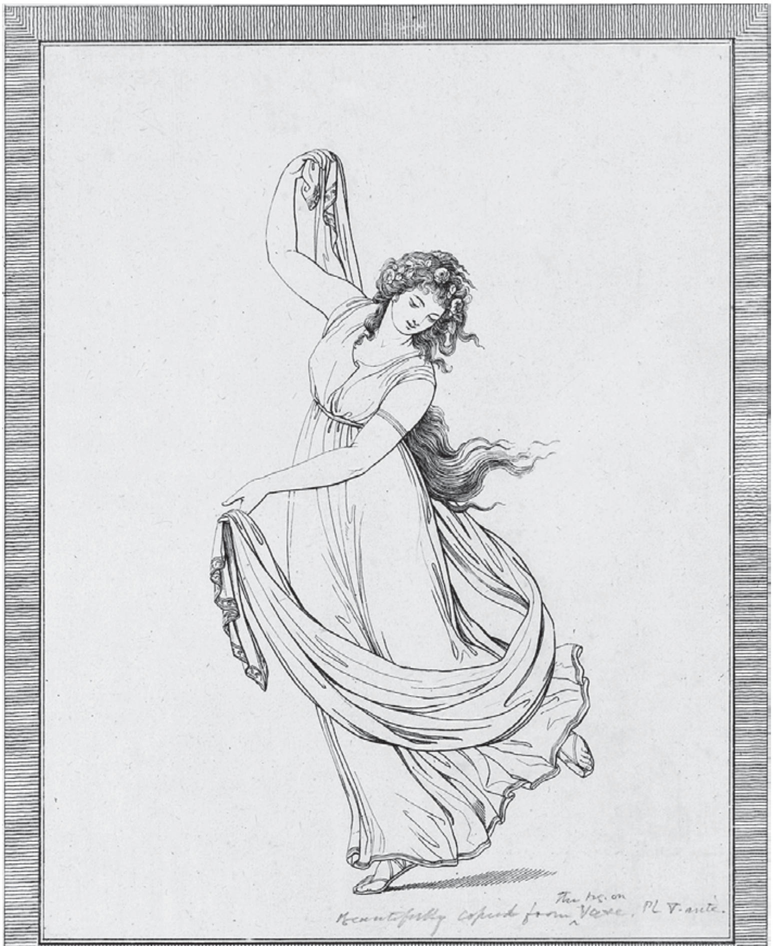
ART INTO LIFE: FROM THE STUDIO TO THE STREET

> The most *fashionable female dress* is now exactly after antique statues –The flowing drapery, the high zone, and the head compressed as much as possible. The effect is graceful in the extreme. The use of powder is daily decreasing among our British beauties, and dark hair is the rage of the present moment.
>
> – *The Oracle and Public Advertiser* (London), 26 January 1796

By the mid-1790s, high-waisted white muslin dresses were at the vanguard of fashion in London and Paris and were spreading rapidly to other cultural centres in Europe and America. The style was a dramatic departure from the hooped silk gowns and tall or wide headdresses of the previous two decades. But what caused neoclassical chic to jump from the studios, theatres, and performance spaces of the late 1780s and early 1790s to the street? The artistic studio provided an important alibi for the employment of such unconventional and revealing clothing; yet even within those spaces its use was not without controversy, as we have seen. For neoclassical dress to emerge from the studio to the street, at least two changes needed to occur: women needed to desire to wear such dress in everyday contexts; and social acceptability for such dress needed to increase. One catalyst for both of these changes in attitude toward neoclassical dress, I would argue, was the art of Emma Hart, later Lady Hamilton, in Naples.[36] Hart's 'attitude' performances, and the atmosphere of Naples that surrounded them, seemingly dissolved the boundary between art and life, modelling a radical neoclassical aesthetics that proved influential for the visual culture of the 1790s, and that was ultimately as short-lived as it was utopian.

From about 1787 until the Hamiltons left Naples in 1799, Hart performed her 'attitudes,' a series of still postures as antique (and occasionally literary or biblical) characters like Niobe, Ariadne, or Medea, in their home for audiences of artists, tourists, and expatriates.[37] Knowledge of Hart's attitudes was spread abroad by hundreds of eyewitnesses over the years, many of whom published their first-hand accounts, and they were given definitive visual form with the 1794 publication of a series of outline drawings by the German artist Frederick Rehberg that were copied and republished numerous times during the 1790s. An example from the set (Figure 1.3) portrays Hart in the posture of a dancing bacchante, an imitation of the famed antique wall paintings called the *Herculaneum Dancers* then on display in Naples in the king's museum.[38] Her simple antique costume, shawl, sandals, and flowing hair both suited the character of her portrayal and aligned her with the innovative artistic experiments happening all across Europe at this time.

Among the elements observers most often remarked on in Hart's performance was her dress. As one wrote in 1790: 'She dresses in Greek or


Accurately copied from the Fig. on Vase, Pl V. ante.

1.3 Plate V, from *Drawings Faithfully Copied from Nature*, by Frederick Rehberg, engraved by Tommaso Piroli (Rome, 1794). Etching and engraving, 26.5 × 20.5 cm. British Museum, London.

Roman style, adorns herself with flowers or covers herself with a veil, and thus attired gives a living spectacle of the most celebrated artists of antiquity.'[39] Several contemporaries speculated about the origins of her performance dress or tried to take credit for inventing it, but in the context of our exploration of the contemporary experiments in studio dress, Hart's adoption of it is no surprise.[40] Hart had certainly worn similar studio dresses when posing for the English artist George Romney, which she did dozens of times prior to relocating to Naples.[41] Vigée-Lebrun herself, many years after the fact, claimed credit for creating Hart's famous costume:

> The day her husband presented her to me, she insisted on my seeing her in a pose. I was delighted, but she was dressed in every-day clothes, which gave me a shock. I had gowns made for her such as I wore in order to paint in comfort, and which consisted of a kind of loose tunic. She also took some shawls to drape herself with, which she understood very well, and then was ready to render enough different positions and expressions to fill a whole picture gallery. There is, in fact, a collection drawn by Frederic Reimberg [sic], which has been engraved.[42]

We should mistrust this account, since Hart had already been performing attitudes for two years by the time of Vigée-Lebrun's arrival in Naples.[43] What it does reveal, though, is a recognition of the novelty and path-breaking quality of Hart's dress as disseminated by Rehberg's influential engravings, even as her costume drew on the tradition of the artistic studio dress by then established. Indeed, Emma Hart's attitudes should be seen as among the Pygmalion-themed, vanguard artistic interventions in neoclassicism we have already explored. She, too, was wearing innovative costumes that allowed full bodily expression and participating in a cultural discourse about nature, art, and classicism. In so doing, she seized all the roles in the trope, embodying not only Galatea (milky-white in her muslin dress) and Pygmalion (striking poses of her own composition), but also Venus, granting life to the sculpture so finely made.

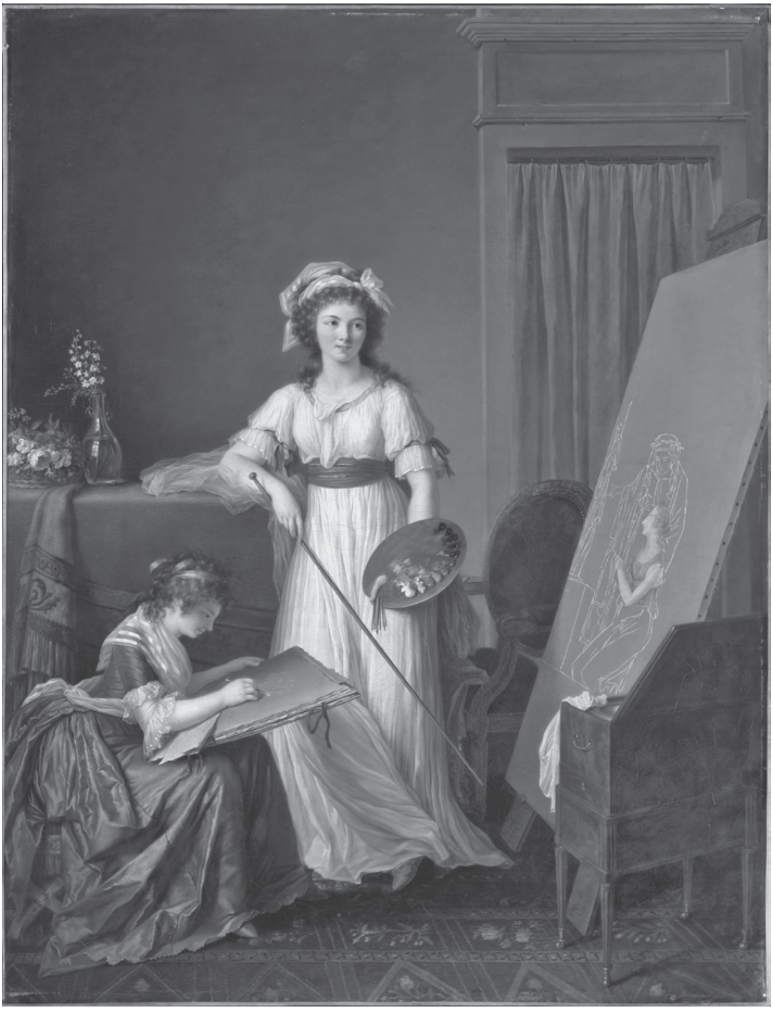
What made Hart's performances different from the flurry of innovative, classically inspired costumes that appeared in studios and on stages in the late 1780s was that they more completely elided the boundary between artistic space and mundane space, classical and modern, art and life. Hart's attitudes were posed in the drawing room, in a social space shared with guests rather than an artistic space distanced from observers by a stage or easel. In addition, Hart kept her white muslin dress on as the guests repaired to supper afterward, and enjoyed recounting the fulsome praise for her beauty that came from her admirers as a result. Of a visit to a countess's residence, Hart claimed: 'there was a full *conversazione*, and, though I was in a undress, onely having a muslin chemise, very thin, yet the admiration I met with was surprising.'[44] Vigée-Lebrun, as we have seen, experimented with such a blurring of art and life with her Greek Supper in 1788, but that was a unique event that drew animosity as well as jealousy. By contrast, Hart's attitudes occurred night after night, for years. Through this repeated metamorphosis for hundreds of observers, I argue, Hart's white muslin drapery became liberated from the exclusive realm of fantasy and art and blended into everyday life. Hart's attitudes, especially when set amid the half-alive classicism of sensual Naples, brought the neoclassical white chemise from the studio into the salon, and thereby imbued the performance of daily life with the grace, prestige, and veiled eroticism of classical art.

Furthermore, we have testimony from contemporaries that credit Hart's performances (or Rehberg's widely circulated engravings of them) with influencing the emergence of neoclassical fashion as social dress. In 1793, as the high-waisted style (initially worn with a belly pad to imitate the swell and curve of a classical body) began to appear in fashionable contexts in London, her old lover, Charles Greville, wrote to his uncle: 'Tell Lady H. that … at the [Queen's] birthday the prevailing fashion was very unlike court dress, & very unlike a Grecian dress, & very unlike Lady H. dress, but evidently an imitation of her.'[45] *The Times* of London similarly noted the recently successful efforts of 'Sir William and his Lady' to 'introduce the dress and manners' of 'Grecian models' in 1793.[46] More indirectly, several fashion trendsetters, Lady Charlotte

Campbell foremost among them, began wearing the style shortly after returning from visits to Naples.[47]

By the mid-1790s, then, the fashionable white neoclassical dress construed its wearers not only as artistic objects or products, but also as artistic subjects and creators. Marie Victoire Lemoine's *Interior of an Atelier* (Figure 1.4) comments on just such artistic agency via a fashion riddle. Depicting two women at work in the studio, the painting has puzzled art historians who have debated the identities of the figures and the date of its making. The currently ascribed date of the painting derives from the fact that Lemoine exhibited a painting under this name in the 1796 Salon, yet a close look at the dress the two figures wear in the painting appears to throw that date into question. The female student is wearing fashionable dress of the 1780s, a brown silk open robe with matching petticoat and tight, elbow-length sleeves over a white muslin chemise. And yet, next to her, the master teacher's dress is somewhat unintelligible. If the teacher were an isolated figure in the painting, she could be taken for wearing fashionable street dress of the mid-1790s – the white, high-waisted muslin dress, which by then had been liberated from the artistic studio. But in the context of her student, the teacher can only be wearing studio dress of the 1780s, of a sort particularly associated with Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, muslin headdress and all.[48] Indeed, as Joseph Baillio has argued, this double portrait almost certainly depicts Vigée-Lebrun as the master artist in her Paris studio before the Revolution, instructing a female pupil who is most likely Lemoine herself – even though Lemoine most likely never took lessons from Vigée-Lebrun.[49] Instead of a literal portrayal, then, this portrait is a constructed homage to a leading woman artist and to female artistic solidarity.

But why exhibit, in 1796, a painting with a fictive setting in the 1780s? For Lemoine, painting and exhibiting this pointedly 'retro' female atelier may have been a rejoinder to an increasingly misogynist revolutionary visual culture. Vigée-Lebrun had been in exile and on the list of émigrés since 1792. Now, in the aftermath of Thermidor and the end of the Terror, Lemoine is subtly arguing for a kind of rehabilitation for Vigée-Lebrun and her influence, at a time when more and more female artists were exhibiting in public.[50] The painting does not only recreate in detail the draped and



1.4 Marie Victoire Lemoine, *Interior of an Atelier*, 1796. Oil on canvas, 116.5 × 88.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

gathered sleeves and twisted kerchief of Vigée-Lebrun's distinctive studio attire; it also situates both female artists in front of a large, grey-toned canvas which functions as a kind of mirror. This work in progress depicts a classically draped priestess who guides her kneeling protégée, much like the artistically draped master Vigée-Lebrun instructs her seated student. Together, they pay homage to a sculpture of Minerva, a goddess who, as we have already seen, has been associated with the ambitions of female artists and their efforts to establish a persuasive female artistic heritage.[51] Further, in its context of exhibition in 1796, Lemoine's double portrait served as another type of mirror, reflecting an image of artistic excellence and female solidarity to women who stood before it wearing street dress that looked very much like the 1780s studio dress it depicted. Although once only artists dressed this way, now all women could construe themselves as both agents and objects at the centre of neoclassical culture. Just as the white muslin dress had jumped from the studio to the street, the portrait seems to argue, so the ambitions of women as intellectuals and creative agents should burst the bounds of the female atelier.

All fashion manages the body, and neoclassical dress did so by regulating the role of desire in aesthetic perception. After all, what brought Pygmalion's sculpture to life was not his dispassionate appreciation for her excellent form, but his desire for her, his love. Neoclassical fashion built on this idea by tapping into a strain of Enlightenment thought that lauded nature as moral and pure. The lightly veiled woman thus defied the sexualized gaze. Drawing on both classical and neoclassical aesthetic theories, a reviewer in the *Mercure de France* described the ballet dancer Mademoiselle Saulnier in 1792 as wearing:

> a costume of almost transparent simplicity … She appeared almost naked, yet her bearing banishes any licentious thought. She brings to mind those beautiful Spartan women on the banks of the Eurotas, who, to borrow a phrase from Rousseau, were clothed only in public respect.[52]

With all this in mind, we may return to our bare-breasted Frenchwoman in her fashionable, neoclassical, 1798 dress (see Figure 1.1). Her gown of transparent simplicity, we now see, portrays her as a Galatea, a perfect work of art and nature; only the vulgar would think otherwise. Yet as a wearer of such dress on the street, she is not only the artwork, but the sculptor as well. Art thus provided both the inspiration for women to wear neoclassical dress in life, and also the template for its evaluation by observers. The female body was constructed by this dress as a kind of living sculpture, a work of art in which the drapery enhanced and highlighted the anatomical form beneath, and in which others in the room, the audience, or on the street were constructed as viewers and were encouraged (or dared?) to appreciate the displayed body aesthetically. Yet neoclassical dress did more than objectify women; it also provided a uniform of sorts for their work as aesthetic agents. For them, the potent meanings of neoclassical dress – its commitment to movement and bodily expression, its alignment with neoclassical austerity and virtue, its use in signalling idealism and abstraction via female allegory, its simultaneous chic licentiousness and high-flown intellectualism – were intensely attractive. In the 1790s, this anti-fashion fashion allowed women to situate themselves at the heart of key aesthetic and philosophical discourses, and even at the side of Minerva herself.

Notes

1 Surviving examples exist in collections in the Victoria & Albert Museum (for example, item T.785&A-1913), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (item 1983.6.1), the Kyoto Costume Institute (item AC2086 79-5-16), and elsewhere.

2 See: Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) and *Fashion in the French Revolution* (London: BT Batsford, 1988); E. Claire Cage, 'The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France, 1797–1804,' *Eighteenth Century Studies* 42, no. 2 (2009): 193–215; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, 'Nudity à la grecque in 1799,' *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (June 1998): 311–35; Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress* (New York: Kodansha, 1994); Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (New York: Berg, 2004); Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David After the Terror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); and Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (New York: Berg, 2002). For examples of neoclassical dress as an expression of growing gender essentialism in particular, see Heather Belknap

Jensen, 'Modern Motherhood and Female Sociability in the Art of Marguerite Gérard,' in *Reconciling Art and Mothering*, ed. Rachel Epp Buller (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 15–30; and Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

3 Reynolds, *Discourse VII*, 10 December 1776. For rich discussions of Reynolds's art, see Mark Hallett, *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); and Richard Wendorf, *Reynolds: The Painter in Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). James Noggle argues for Reynolds's uneasy truce with fashion in *Discourse VII* as a practical accommodation, even as he remains wary of its ability to obliterate meaningful distinctions and its enslavement of a free subjectivity. See *The Temporality of Taste in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 166–77.

4 *Discourse VII*, 10 December 1776.

5 John Barrell discusses Reynolds's changing attitudes toward the use of fashionable dress in portraiture and situates it in the political culture of civic humanism in *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 153–5. See also Gill Perry, 'Women in Disguise: Likeness, the Grand Style, and Conventions of Feminine Portraiture in the Work of Sir Joshua Reynolds,' in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, eds. Gill Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994): 18–40; and Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 272.

6 See Alex Kidson, *George Romney, 1734–1802* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 12.

7 Rev. John Romney, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1830), 195–6.

8 Not all female artists took this approach; for example, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's magisterial self-portrait with her students, exhibited to great acclaim at the Salon of 1785, depicts her in an elaborately fashionable silk mantua. See Laura Auricchio, '"The Laws of Bienséance" and the Gendering of Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Art Education,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2003): 235–9.

9 For Kauffman's life, work, and influence, see Angela Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006) and Wendy Wassyng Roworth, ed., *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reaktion, 1992).

10 Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman*, 271; and Louise Rice and Ruth Eisenberg, 'Angelica Kauffman's Uffizi Self-Portrait,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* CXVII (1991): 123–6. The gem had been in the collection of the Medici in the fifteenth century and passed to the Farnese Collection.

11 Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman*, 246.

12 For rich investigations of what happens when the visual traditions of female allegory collide with the depiction of the bodies of real women, see Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992) and Marina Warner,

Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form (New York: Athenaeum, 1985). For a particular case study, see Amelia Rauser, 'The Butcher-Kissing Duchess of Devonshire: Between Caricature and Allegory in 1784,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 1 (2002): 23–46.

13 There is some scholarly dispute about the origin of this fashionable style; Aileen Ribeiro claims it was first worn by the queen during her pregnancy in Marly in the late 1770s and was then adopted by other court ladies as informal dress at Versailles, and that the Duchess of Devonshire attended a concert in 1784 'in one of the muslin chemises with fine lace that the Queen of France gave me' (*The Art of Dress*, 71; *Extracts from the Correspondence of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, ed. Earl of Bessborough. London: John Murray, 1955, 91). However, it seems likely that these early gowns were not round gowns but rather open robes, meant to wrap across the front, which was a traditional style for pregnancy wear and structurally related to the then-current mantua. Mary Sheriff, by contrast, says the style originated in England and was imported to France in the 1780s as part of that decade's Anglomania, associated, for example, with the artless, charming naturalism of the English landscape garden; see *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 143. For a broader discussion of Marie Antoinette's sartorial choices in this period, see Caroline Weber, *Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 2006), 156–63.

14 See Hollander, *Sex and Suits*, for a discussion of fashion's general trajectory toward impressions of greater nudity and undress in this period.

15 For the story of this portrait's controversy, see Mary D. Sheriff, 'Portrait of the Queen,' in *Marie Antoinette: Writings on the Body of the Queen*, ed. Dena Goodman (New York: Routledge, 2003), 45–71.

16 Mary Sheriff notes that such fine white muslin was extremely expensive in the 1780s and says that Vigée-Lebrun was unlikely to have actually worn fine muslin dresses to paint in, despite her claims in her memoirs (*Exceptional Woman*, 145). I agree that Vigée-Lebrun unduly attributes much fashion innovation to herself retrospectively, and that she may well not have adopted this costume as early as she claims. Nonetheless, by the mid-1790s, the white, informal drape was thoroughly and publicly associated with Vigée-Lebrun's practice via her portraiture, her self-presentation in public, and her written self-presentation. For a representation of a female artist wearing a white muslin smock for painting, see the 1796 portrait of Adélaïde Binart (Mme Alexandre Lenoir) by Marie-Genevieve Bouliar, in the collection of the Musée Carnavalet.

17 *Memoirs of Madame Vigée-Lebrun*, trans. Lionel Strachey (New York: George Braziller, 1989 [originally published by Doubleday, 1903]), 22.

18 *Memoirs*, 42.

19 Ibid., 38–9. *Anacharsis* was written by the Abbé Barthelemy, and ran to several editions after its initial publication in 1788. Extensively footnoted with references to classical texts, it was an act of scholarly imagination that seemed to make the

classical past come to life – precisely the same impulse that animated the embrace of neoclassical dress. For the influence of *Anacharsis* on eighteenth-century political thought, see Colleen A. Sheehan, *James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 157–70.

20 *Memoirs*, 39.

21 Ibid., 40–1.

22 Angela Rosenthal insightfully discusses the space of the studio in Georgian England in *Angelica Kauffman*, 77–122. Marcia Pointon's magisterial *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) frames many issues involved in the studio encounter between sitter and artist.

23 This physical connection to domesticity helped make portraiture an easier genre in which women could succeed. See Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman*, 83.

24 For reforms in theatre and performance, see Kirsten Gram Holmström's monumental *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivantes: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion, 1770–1815* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1967); Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (London: Pinter, 1991); Cecilia Feilla, *The Sentimental Theater of the French Revolution* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013); Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); and Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th-century Acting* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987).

25 Holmström, 21.

26 For accounts of the reforms in ballet in this era, see Judith Chazin-Bennahum, *The Lure of Perfection: Fashion and Ballet, 1780–1830* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Marian Hannah Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet* (London: Pitman and Sons, 1974); Sibylle Dahms, 'Vienna as a Center of Ballet Reform in the Late Eighteenth Century,' in *The Great Tradition and its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theater in Austria and Central Europe*, eds. Michael Cherlin, Halina Filipowicz, and Richard L. Rudolph (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 153–9; and Dahms, *Der konservative Revolutionär: Jean George Noverre und die Ballettreform des 18 jahrhunderts* (Munich: Epodium, 2010).

27 See Marvin Carlson, 'The Eighteenth-Century Pioneers in French Costume Reform,' *Theater Survey* 28, no. 1 (May 1987): 37–47.

28 See Holmström, 45.

29 The engraving is by Mariane Kraus in *Theater Kalender* 1776; the painting is by Anton Graff and is in the collection of the Schloss Wahn, Köln. An engraving by Heinrich Sintzenich was published in 1781 (collection Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky).

30 *Theater Kalender* 1776; see Holmström, 47.

31 Chazin-Bennahum, 105. Satirist James Gillray captured the public's scandal and fascination with Didelot's troupe's transparent costumes and athletic pirouettes during their London appearance in 1796; see, for example, British Museum satires catalogue numbers 8891–4.

32 The offended empress was Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily, granddaughter of the more famed empress by that name; she was an avid and influential patron of

music and theatre. See *Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theater, 1737–1832*, eds. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 504; Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet*, 3.

33 Besides Rousseau's and Rameau's *Pygmalions*, a ballet *Pygmalion* in London in 1734, choreographed and danced by Mademoiselle Sallé, pioneered a minimal, neoclassical ballet costume that was not rivalled for some 40 years. See Holmström, 41.

34 Angela Rosenthal, 'Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture,' *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2007): 563–92, notes the significance of the Pygmalion myth in the eighteenth century as a racializing discourse central to the creation of the idea of the 'fair sex.' See also J. L. Carr's learned discussion in 'Pygmalion and the Philosophes: The Animated Statue in Eighteenth-Century France,' *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, no. 3/4 (1960): 239–55.

35 See Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock*, trans. Alison Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

36 The most helpful comprehensive accounts of the life of Emma Hart are Flora Fraser, *Emma, Lady Hamilton* (New York: Knopf, 1987); Ulrike Ittershagen, *Lady Hamiltons Attitüden* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1999); Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection* (London: British Museum Press, 1996); Brian Fothergill, *Sir William Hamilton, Envoy Extraordinary* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969); and Amber Ludwig, 'Becoming Emma Hamilton: Portraiture and Self-Fashioning in Late Enlightenment Europe' (PhD diss., Boston University, 2012).

37 Scholars differ on the balance of movement and stasis Hart deployed in the attitudes, but largely agree that the attitudes were consciously modelled on classical pantomime. See Ismene Lada-Richards, "Mobile Statuary': Refractions of Pantomime Dancing from Callistratus to Emma Hamilton and Andrew Ducrow,' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 10, no. 1 (2003): 3–37; Lori-Ann Touchette, 'William Hamilton's 'Pantomime Mistress': Emma Hamilton and her Attitudes,' in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby (Rome: British School, 2000), 123–46; Jenkins and Sloan, 253; and Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Goethe on Emma Hamilton's Attitudes: Can Classicist Art Be Fun?,' *Goethe Yearbook* 9 (1999): 222–52.

38 For an analysis of the iconographical significance of the *Herculaneum Dancers* for eighteenth-century visual culture in general and Hart's self-construction as a living artwork in particular, see Amelia Rauser, 'Living Statues and Neoclassical Dress in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples,' *Art History* 38, no. 3 (June 2015): 462–87.

39 Comte d'Espinchal, letter of 28 January 1790, *Journal d'Emigration* (Paris: Perrin, 1912), 89.

40 For example, Johann Wolfgang Goethe credited her lover (and later husband), Sir William Hamilton, with inventing the costume: 'He has had a Grecian costume made for her that suits her to perfection, and she lets down her hair, takes a few shawls, and varies her postures, gestures, expressions, etc. until at last the onlooker really thinks he is dreaming.' Goethe, letter of 16 March, 1787, *Italian Journey*, trans. Robert R. Heitner (New York: Suhrkamp Publishers, 1989), 171.

41 Shearer West notes that one can imagine Hart's attitudes as just a more various and entertaining version of her sitting as a model for Romney. Both were performances, in a sense, since her sittings in Romney's studio often also had an audience. See West, 'Romney's Theatricality,' in *Those Delightful Regions of Imagination: Essays on George Romney*, ed. Alex Kidson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 131–58, 151.

42 *Memoirs*, 67.

43 Hart arrived in Naples in 1787 and in a letter dated that year she wrote to her old lover, Greville, requesting more shawls, 'for I stand in attitudes with them on me.' (See letter in Alfred Morrison, ed., *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*, Hamilton and Nelson Papers, 1756–1815 (London: Printed for private circulation, 1893–4), 131.) This particular letter was begun on 4 August and added to over the subsequent four months so it addresses events that occurred in the fall of 1787 as well. Vigée-Lebrun did not arrive in Naples until 1790.

44 Ibid. Eccentricities of spelling and grammar are maintained from the original.

45 Fraser, *Emma, Lady Hamilton*, 165.

46 *Times of London*, 3 May 1793.

47 For Lady Charlotte Campbell's role in leading English fashion, see Rauser, 'Living Statues and Neoclassical Dress.'

48 While eccentric sitters (such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau or Benjamin Franklin) were sometimes depicted in eccentric clothing, a large oil portrait like this one would never deliberately depict the sitter in out-of-date fashionable clothes; we must assume the student's clothing represents a temporal setting of the 1780s.

49 Joseph Baillio, 'Vie et œuvre de Marie Victoire Lemoine (1754–1820),' *Gazette des beaux-arts* 127, no. 30 (April 1996): 125–64. See also Laura Auricchio, *Royalists to Romantics: Women Artists from the Louvre, Versailles, and Other French National Collections* (Washington, DC: National Museum of Women in the Arts, 2012), 95; and Marie-Josèphe Bonnet, *Liberté, égalité, exclusion: femmes peintres en révolution, 1770–1804* (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2012), 148. For a thorough account of the changing dates and attributions for this painting, see the detailed entry for it on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's website: http://www.metmuseum.org/collection.

50 Baillio and Gerrit Walczak agree that the depiction of Vigée-Lebrun in this context was meant to generate sympathy for her in exile, although Walczak wonders why such a scene did not catch the attention of Salon critics in 1796. See Baillio, 135, and Walczak, *Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun: Eine Künstlerin in der Emigration, 1789–1802* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004), 42–3.

51 See Bonnet, 147–8, 198, 202; she also concludes that the standing artist is meant to represent Vigée-Lebrun.

52 Review of the ballet in the opera *Diane et Endymion* in the *Mercure de France* (26 November 1791). See Chazin-Bennahum, 103.

2

PARURES, *PASHMINAS*, AND PORTRAITURE, OR, HOW JOSÉPHINE BONAPARTE FASHIONED THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

Heather Belnap Jensen

In his memoirs, Napoléon would describe his first wife, Joséphine, thus: '*Era la dama la più graziosa di Francia*. She was the goddess of the toilet; all the fashions originated with her; everything she put on appeared elegant; and she was so kind, so humane – she was the best woman in France.'[1] Known for her grace, beauty, and style, her gentle and generous nature, and her impeccable sense of taste, Marie-Josèphe Rose Tascher de La Pagerie (whom Napoléon nicknamed Joséphine) was not only adored by her husband, but also by the French people. Born into an aristocratic but impoverished Creole family from Martinique, she gained entrée into the elite circles of the waning *ancien régime* via her first marriage, survived imprisonment and near execution during the Revolution, and became one of the most spectacular socialites of Directory Paris before marrying the young Corsican general in 1796. As her husband's political stature increased, so did her position as a style icon, and as the wife of the Consul and then Emperor of France, Joséphine became the undisputed arbiter of European fashion, custom, and taste. In the words of one of her biographers:

> Josephine's influence on the way an entire generation wanted to look, dress and behave cannot be overstated. She was the wife of the world's most powerful man, and the most visible female figure of her era. Her every action and nuance of appearance were followed eagerly by newspapers and journals in France and abroad. She was the high priestess of style, and fashion-conscious women the world over idolized her. They poured over fashion journals like the *Journal des Dames et des Mode* [sic] . . . in order in order to see what Josephine was wearing and attempted to copy her style.[2]

Joséphine used her position as the high priestess of style to perform several other roles. She functioned as a businesswoman inasmuch as she promoted the growth of the French fashion industries, an ambassador inasmuch as she attempted via sartorial means to bridge historical, cultural, and geographical gaps in the Empire, and a propagandist inasmuch as she used the medium of *la mode* to create imperial identity. Joséphine's agenda was individual and multifaceted, to be sure, but she shared the collective purpose of promoting the Bonapartist regime, and fashion was one of the key media through which she performed this cultural work. As Caroline Weber so ably demonstrated in her 2007 book *Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution*, clothing was a particularly critical signifier in France, and the world of fashion could provide a means to female empowerment.[3] The spaces of culture – the literary and visual arts, theatre, and yes, fashion – proved especially hospitable for women in the post-Revolutionary era.[4] To say that Joséphine 'fashioned the empire' is to say that she found *la mode* to be a space wherein she could not only participate, but even lead in the public sphere. In so doing, she succeeded in extending the borders of that contested space known as 'women's empire,' or sphere of influence.[5]

This essay will examine how costume in the later portraits of Joséphine Bonaparte was actively engaged in the construction of the Empire and part of the broader enterprise of cultural imperialism. The cultivation of a sophisticated sartorial eclecticism in her ensembles, with attention to the fabric, cut, and embellishments of the clothing as well as to the symbolic and material significance of the accessories selected, was important to the imperial project. By conjuring up the glory and piety of gothic France, drawing upon established European styles, incorporating regional and provincial patterns, and appropriating materials from the French colonies, Joséphine's costume proposed that the Empire was an inclusive enterprise. The historical and colonialist developments in later Napoleonic fashion, including the recuperation of styles associated with the *ancien régime* and the *style troubadour* as well as the integration of non-Western fabrics, cuts, and accessories into French fashion, have not received nearly the amount of consideration accorded to the earlier classicizing trends of the Consulate era.[6] Indeed, couture was a significant means of constructing a material and visual culture that simultaneously consolidated and expanded the Empire, and Joséphine, whose costume imaginatively bridged historical, geographical, and cultural divides, was uniquely qualified to accomplish this task. Furthermore, Joséphine had, in the words of her most recent biographer, a 'mania for having her portrait painted,' and so she commissioned dozens of portraits to be displayed in public venues and distributed to foreign courts, to adorn the homes of family members and friends, and even to reward faithful servants and tradespeople. These portraits were much copied, and there was high demand for prints and other consumer products, such as commemorative cups and plates, cards, and other mementos inspired by her portraits.[7] Her dress was therefore highly visible and well positioned to exert influence on style throughout Napoleonic Europe.

I will anchor my discussion in the portraits of Joséphine that were either prominently placed in royal residences and formative to court taste or exhibited in the Paris Salons and accessible to the public. Although dozens of such portraits were produced, my analysis will be limited to a few exemplary works, including Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *Portrait of the Empress Joséphine in the Park of Malmaison* (1805–09), Baron François-Pascal-Simon Gérard's *Portrait of Empress Joséphine in her Coronation Costume* (1807–08), Antoine-Jean Gros's *Portrait of Empress Joséphine* (1808–09), and

Firmin Massot's *Portrait of Empress Joséphine* (1812). These portraits capture Joséphine's unique sartorial style, which was a mixture of neoclassical simplicity, imperial grandeur, and exotica from the established colonies as well as the newly conquered lands of Eastern Europe and the Orient, and which served to expand the empires of France and of fashion.

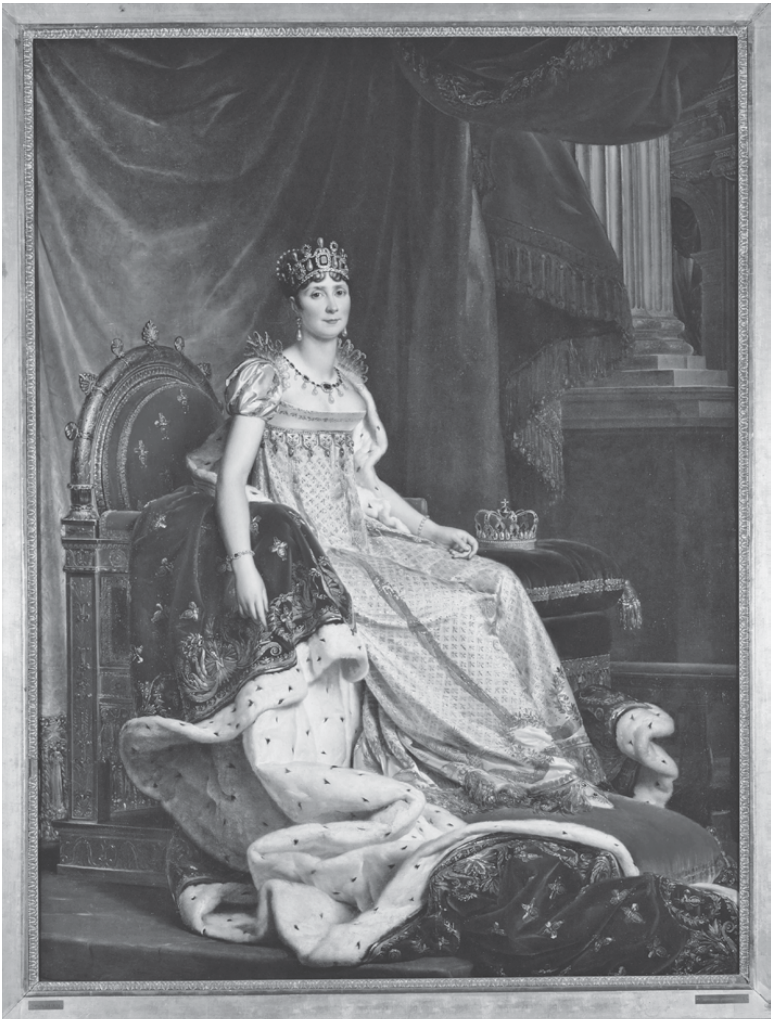
Portraiture, which was in its ascendancy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is a critical place for examining the politics of dress. The rising bourgeoisie and the elite alike clamoured for portraits to be displayed in public fora such as the Salon or state buildings, as well as in domestic and private settings. The Bonapartes were enthusiastic patrons of the genre. Portraits of the imperial family received privileged placement in the biannual Salons and drew attention in the periodical press and other literary venues. They were conspicuously displayed in their residences for visitors to admire, and this included the female as well as the male members of the Bonaparte family. A drawing room at the Château of Saint-Cloud, referred to as the 'family salon,' was hung with full-length portraits of all the princesses of the Bonaparte family, and the Château of Rambouillet was reportedly filled with representations of Napoléon's female relatives.[8] Interestingly, although Revolutionary-era portraiture has experienced a resurgence of scholarly attention, the portraits of the Bonaparte women have not.[9] The notable exception is Carol Solomon Kiefer's *The Empress Josephine: Art and Royal Identity*, where Kiefer compellingly argued for the primary role her portraits, along with other representations, played in the creation of her identity. However, she neither framed these portraits as performing the cultural work of uniting disparate regions of the Empire nor attended to the role of fashion in this identity construction.[10]

Fashion during the Napoleonic era was important business indeed, for Bonaparte recognized its potential for growing the nation's economy and for propagating imperial ideals of history and grandeur. With priority placed on manufacturing clothing from French-made materials, one of the first things he did was mandate uniforms and costumes for all officials and dignitaries to stimulate the floundering domestic textile and embroidery trades.[11] The October 1804 edition of *Le Courier des spectacles* reported that court attire for women meant dresses made of French fabrics such as satin, silk, and velour, with a long, elaborately embroidered train attached.[12] Napoléon's commitment to developing the luxury goods trade meant that Parisian shops were brimming with desirable items for one's *toilette*, and the *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, the chief organ of the French fashion world, extolled the virtues of supporting domestic products to its readers. Truly, the promotion of France's textile industries was viewed as a civic obligation.[13]

Joséphine personally contributed substantially to the vitality of the French fashion industry, as a perusal of an inventory taken of her wardrobe in 1809 attests. It records that she possessed 49 grand court dresses, 676 dresses, 60 cashmere scarves, 496 other scarves, 498 blouses, 413 pairs of socks, 1,132 pairs of gloves, and 785 pairs of shoes.[14] Her expenditure for clothing and personal expenses that year was 920,816 francs, well over her annual budget of 600,000 francs.[15] While her insatiable appetite for clothing and accoutrements and her habitual overspending was a frequent leitmotif in their arguments,[16] Napoléon recognized the value of a court life centred on conspicuous display and its engendering of a broader commodity culture.

François Gérard's *Portrait of Empress Joséphine in her Coronation Costume* (1807–08) (Figure 2.1) is a magisterial demonstration of the grandeur of the French fashion industries and the Bonapartist appetite for ostentation.[17] Joséphine's sumptuous dress was made from heavy silks and velvets produced in Lyon. Its cut was a modified *robe à la française*, blending the style of eighteenth-century French court dress with the narrow, straight cut of the classical dress that had been so popular in the post-Revolutionary era. Indeed, compromise and ingenuity were hallmarks of Joséphine's style; while she recognized the need for her court costume to be appropriately French, she also refused to adopt several of the traditional elements of court dress suggested by some of her advisors, including the whalebone corset or bustles.[18]

Her coronation dress was embroidered with a cascade of iridescent golden bees showcasing the high level of craftsmanship of French artisans. While developing an iconographic programme for the coronation and imperial regime, Napoléon had determined that Joséphine should be associated with bees, saying: 'You take the stars, or rather,



2.1 Baron François-Pascal-Simon Gérard. *Portrait of Empress Joséphine in her Coronation Costume*, 1807–08. Oil on canvas, 214 × 160.5 cm. Musée national du Château du Fontainebleau. Photo: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.

the bees … The stars will be for me, the bees for the people.'[19] Bees are prominently featured on the exterior of her deep scarlet mantle, shown pooling dramatically at her feet in Gérard's portrait, which required 25 yards of velvet, weighed over 80 pounds, and was lined and banded with ermine.[20] The edges of the dress and mantle are heavily embroidered in gold, weaving other imperial motifs, including the laurel branch and ubiquitous 'N' monogram of the Emperor. Additionally, the embellishment of the dress with a *chérusque*, or ruff-like standing lace collar, displayed the skill of French lace-makers.[21] As the official commemorative portrait of the Empress, this painting was perhaps the most widely reproduced of all the portraits of Joséphine. Shown in the Salon of 1808, placed in the Tuileries, and then copied by porcelain painters and tapestry weavers at Gobelins, it was also reproduced in a variety of prints.

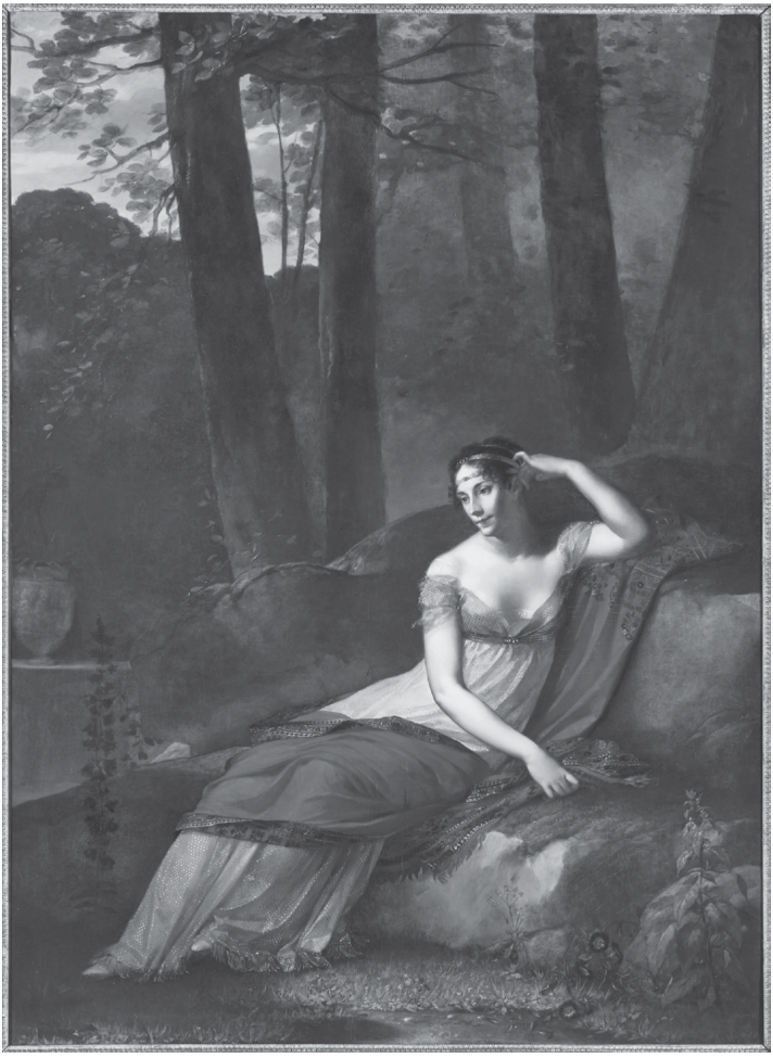
Joséphine found it necessary to negotiate her personal taste for the lightweight fabrics produced outside of France with her husband's demands for the use of domestic textiles. Napoléon's displeasure over how the classicizing trend in fashion privileged such British imports as muslin and cashmere scarves is well documented.[22] An anecdote related by her daughter Hortense is suggestive of what this negotiation entailed:

> In order to revive the manufactures of Lyon and to prevent us from trading with Britain, the First Consul forbade us from wearing muslin and would become incensed when we appeared in a British fabric. When my mother or I would come into the room wearing an elegant dress, his first question was, 'Is that gown made of muslin?' We often replied that it was lawn from Saint-Quentin, but if a smile betrayed us he would instantly tear the offending garment in two. This disaster having befallen our clothes several times, we were obliged to revert to satin or velvet. But the fashion [for these forbidden fabrics] had already been set and despite his frequent threats to burn our cashmere shawls, they survived the proscription.[23]

One of her confidantes, the Duchess d'Abrantès, reported that Joséphine did not hesitate to 'buy massive amounts of Indian muslin or foreign fabric,' and this was in 1807, during the height of the trade embargo.[24] A member of the court recounts that when Napoléon proclaimed his intention to prohibit the use of cotton in France, Joséphine registered her shock and displeasure at this idea and persuaded her husband to abandon the notion.[25] Although Napoléon's protectionist trade practices frequently countered her stylistic preferences, she was the recognized authority on such matters. Designers who presented Joséphine with models of gowns knew that she held strong opinions about fabric, cut, and colour, and that the final product would be the result of collaboration.[26] In the realm of fashion, Joséphine exercised considerable agency.

Her most beloved portrait, Prud'hon's *Portrait of the Empress Joséphine in the Park of Malmaison* (1805–09) (Figure 2.2), features a dress made of muslin but embellished with motifs and techniques associated with France and its fashion industries.[27] Joséphine had always preferred lightweight and breathable fabrics, and this was perhaps a consequence of her upbringing on the French colony of Martinique, located in the lesser Antilles of the Caribbean. There, she was accustomed to wearing dresses made of fabrics produced in India and the Orient that would be far more comfortable to wear in the tropical heat than the heavy fabrics of satin, silk, and velour produced in France.[28] Joséphine's favourite costumer, Louis Hippolyte Leroy, took this simple robe and adorned it with gold edging, one of his trademarks, in order to make it more regal and befitting an empress. He also embroidered spangles over the entire surface of the fabric, which gives the visual effect of shimmering stars. Given that stars had been declared as a symbol of Napoléon's greatness and that he frequently referred to his wife as his 'lucky star,' their use was not insignificant. Furthermore, the embroidering of muslin was one way of making French these robes of foreign-produced material, as the embroidery industry was heavily promoted by the state for official costume and also décor of the imperial palaces.[29] Although a seemingly small detail, it intimates how Joséphine navigated her personal stylistic preferences with the demands of the state for couture that promoted and celebrated the French fashion industry.

Many of Joséphine's later portraits signal the return to the gothic era in Napoleonic France, and indeed, the Empress was at the forefront of



2.2 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon. *Portrait of Empress Joséphine in the Park of Malmaison*, 1805–09. Oil on canvas, 244 × 179 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo: Gérard Blot, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

this aesthetic turn.[30] The coronation announced this development, especially in the realm of couture. One of the most innovative elements of Joséphine's coronation costume involved the vertical embroidery on her dress, a style that emerged after the 1804 exhibition in Paris of the Bayeux Tapestry.[31] This technique was known as *à la reine Mathilde*, as it was thought at the time that Queen Mathilda was the embroiderer of the great tapestry, and its evocation of the Normans conquering the Anglo-Saxons would have had a particular cultural saliency, as France was currently at war with Britain. Hence, as Kiefer argues:

> it was not for aesthetic purposes alone that embroidery *à la reine Mathilde* appeared on the garment worn by Josephine at the coronation and by women at court. Loaded with political, historical, and nationalistic allusions, this and other elements in the design of coronation and court costumes shaped or enhanced Napoleonic identity by invoking previous beloved rulers and asserting Napoleon's and Josephine's position as their rightful heirs.[32]

The most elaborate portrait of the era, Jacques-Louis David's magisterial *Coronation* (1806), with its architectural and sartorial blending of the neoclassical and gothic and its weaving of the republican and the monarchic, embodies the imperialist practice of portraiture.[33] One of her ladies-in-waiting, Madame de Rémusat, specified that the design of the court costumes was a collaborative effort between Joséphine and her advisors, explaining that for the coronation ceremonies, 'the Empress engaged the best artists in Paris and the most famous designers [and], with their assistance, she determined the form of the new court habit and her particular costume.'[34] Particular attention should be paid to how Joséphine, artists such as Jean-Baptiste Isabey and François Gérard, and the premier costumer of the period, Louis Hippolyte Leroy, collaborated to expand the Empire via fashion through their artful combinations of historical and regional styles. Together, they fashioned a sumptuous style steeped in Napoleonic expansionist ideology and one that would quickly make its way into the foreign courts of Germany, Italy, and Russia.[35]

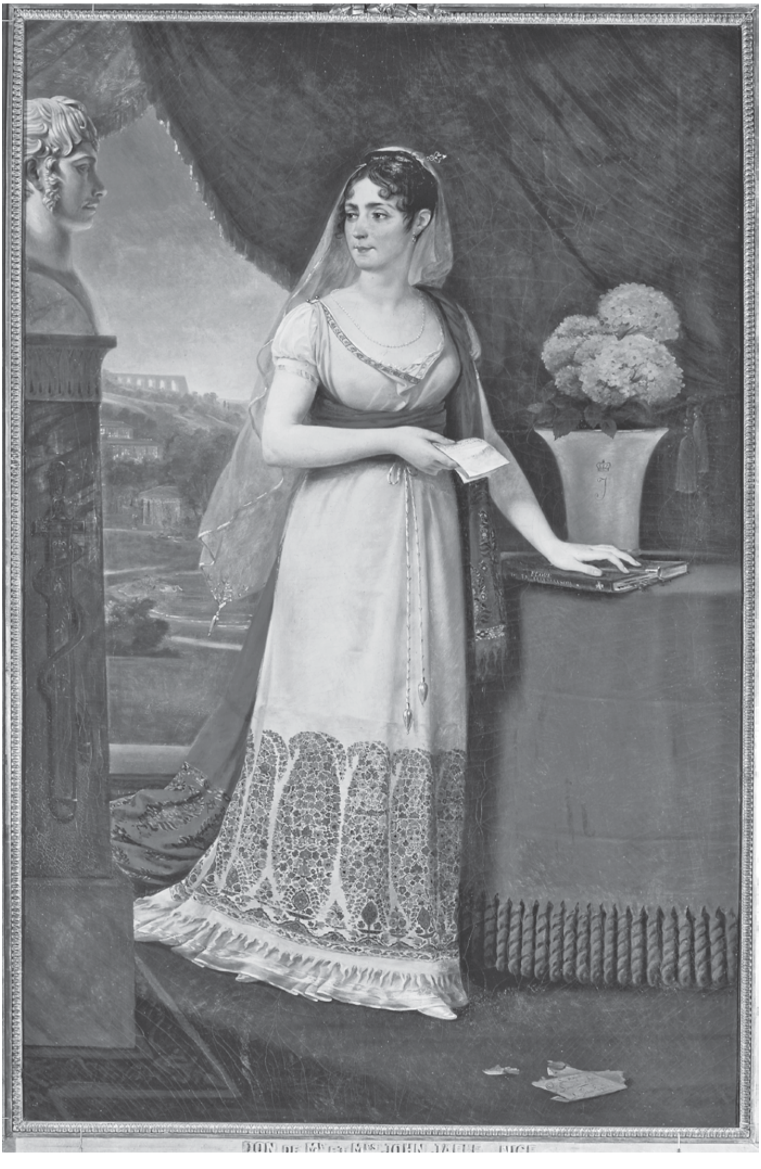
Troubadour-era elements of dress that invoked the golden age of monarchic France are found in several of Joséphine portraits. In Prud'hon's portrait, she wears a headband, reminiscent of the *fournière* (jewelled chain) worn in the Renaissance,[36] which serves as an informal crown and subtle invocation of the bygone years of courtly love. Her costume in Robert Lèfevre's 1805 portrait in the Museo Napoléonico in Rome and Jean-Antoine Laurent's *Full-length Portrait of her Majesty the Empress Joséphine* (1805) is clearly aligned with this so-called 'romantic' era. In the latter, she is shown in an ermine-edged and gold-embroidered crimson velvet cloak over a white satin gown that cascades around her slippered feet. Wearing a red crushed velvet toque, with its bejewelled banding and elaborate white pluming, Joséphine appears as if she could have stepped out of one of the troubadour genre paintings that she collected.[37] Additionally, the portrait has been staged so as to pay tribute to the glory of gothic France, for she is shown standing on a balcony featuring medieval stonework and stained glass in the doorway's lunette and with the silhouette of the Strasbourg cathedral figuring in the distance. The portrait celebrated the Empress's 1805 trip to the city, where she resided for two months.[38]

While Joséphine was an ardent advocate for *le style troubadour*, or medieval taste, in art, literature, and fashion, her costume generally retained elements that invited associations with the still-relevant antique world. By the time of the Revolution, neoclassicism had become a pan-European aesthetic widely embraced in art and fashion and had accrued important social and political valences. The continuance of this established mode in Napoleonic culture could be seen as one means of uniting the disparate nations. But even more to the point, the valorization of the classical world was fundamental to Napoléon's agenda for recreating the glory of the ancient Roman Empire, and hence the ubiquity of antique elements.[39] The conquest of the Italian principalities, the cradle of Western civilization and heart of this former empire, meant that this was a region to be both courted and controlled, and one of the means of accomplishing this was through weaving its materials and motifs into the fabric of imperial cultural production.

Joséphine showed steadfast commitment to the classically inspired dress, which suited her physique and which she had done much to popularize during her reign as one of the trendsetting *merveilleuses* of Directory Paris. Prud'hon's portrait of Joséphine shows her in a robe inspired by the cut and drape of the ancient Greek shift and hemmed with gold-tasselled fringe, an antique motif incorporated into interior décor as well as into fashion.[40] Additionally, the Empress's contemplative expression and disposition of her left hand are reminiscent of representations of the allegory of Melancholy, whose iconographical origins were rooted in the ancient world and which had experienced a surge in popularity at the turn of the century.

Antoine-Jean Gros's *Portrait of Empress Joséphine* (1808–09) (Figure 2.3) emphasizes the enduring appeal of classical couture while grafting onto it elements from the newly colonized regions of the French Empire. In this painting, Joséphine is shown wearing a gauzy veil reminiscent of those seen in portrait busts of Roman Republic matrons. The veil, edged in gold, is secured by a long antique pick similar to the one adorning Madame Récamier's hair in Gérard's famous classicizing portrait of the celebrated beauty.[41] It is decorated with an ornamental weight that matches those fixed to the end of the corded belt of the dress, yet another classical detail. Joséphine's adoption of the veil introduced a vogue for these in bourgeois culture, as seen in fashion plates published in the *Journal des Dames et des Modes* in 1809. Yet while the chiton-like draping of the white, lightweight fabrics in the dress are sartorial elements derived from the antique, the fabrics used were decidedly colonial. Here, two cashmere scarves are used to create her ensemble. One scarf, with its teardrop-shaped pattern with floral and palmette motifs, is fashioned into a tunic that is worn as an overdress over a muslin shift. The other, a gorgeous amaranth shawl, is draped artfully around her shoulder and then wrapped around her waist.

Importantly, Gros's portrait of Joséphine marks a critical shift in the representation of female royal authority from the old to the new France, and this is accomplished in no small part by costume. There are enough of the conventions of queenly royal portraiture from the *ancien régime* to suggest this painting was envisioned as part of this tradition, including the positioning of her standing figure next to a table laden with flowers and other symbolic accessories and under the careful gaze of a sculpted



2.3 Antoine-Jean Gros. *Portrait of Empress Joséphine*, 1808–09. Oil on canvas, 212.5 × 142 cm. Musée de Masséna, Nice. Photo: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.

portrait bust of a male royal (here, her son from her first marriage, Prince Eugène). At the same time, this painting follows the freer, more intimate style that had been introduced into royal representation by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun with her *Portrait of Marie Antoinette en chemise* (1783).[42] Replacing the distant demeanour and formality of the *robe à la française* typically found in such representations with a more intimate pose and casual costume that invokes the antique and the colonized, the artist and his sitter achieve a more approachable figure.

The cashmere scarves that figured so prominently in Gros's portrait were Joséphine's signature piece, and would become the key fashion accessory of the era. Nowhere is this accoutrement more spectacularly displayed than in Prud'hon's *Portrait of the Empress Joséphine in the Park of Malmaison*, where another amaranth cashmere scarf, this time elaborately edged in a dark ribbon, is displayed against her understated white dress and heavily powdered body.[43] The cashmere scarf was brought back to the forefront of French fashion after the Egyptian campaign of 1799, where Napoléon and his troops witnessed its display by Mamelukes wearing it not only as a sash, but also as a turban.[44] As the most coveted luxury good of this era, there was, as Walter Benjamin so aptly describes it, a veritable 'cashmere fever' that overtook citizens of the fashion nation. Its frequent appearance in everyday dress meant that the reach of the Empire was constantly underscored, and thus this accessory would serve as a vivid reminder of the socioeconomic and political expansion of the French empire. It also, as convincingly argued by Susan Hiner, would have invoked the fantasies of sexual conquest that were figuring in many of the travelogues of the Orient.[45] One of Joséphine's chief means to power was her sexuality, and so her consistent use of this fantasy-laden object and its calculated placement on the body so as to highlight certain features seems aimed toward the end of reminding the audience of her charms.

Joséphine, who, as the 1809 inventory revealed, purportedly owned several hundred of these scarves, was reputed to be the most elegant scarf-wearer in France. And although Napoléon would murmur about the influx of foreign commodities into the French market, this did not prevent him from making gifts of these coveted items: one of the scarves that Napoléon gave his wife was said to have cost over 10,000 francs.[46]

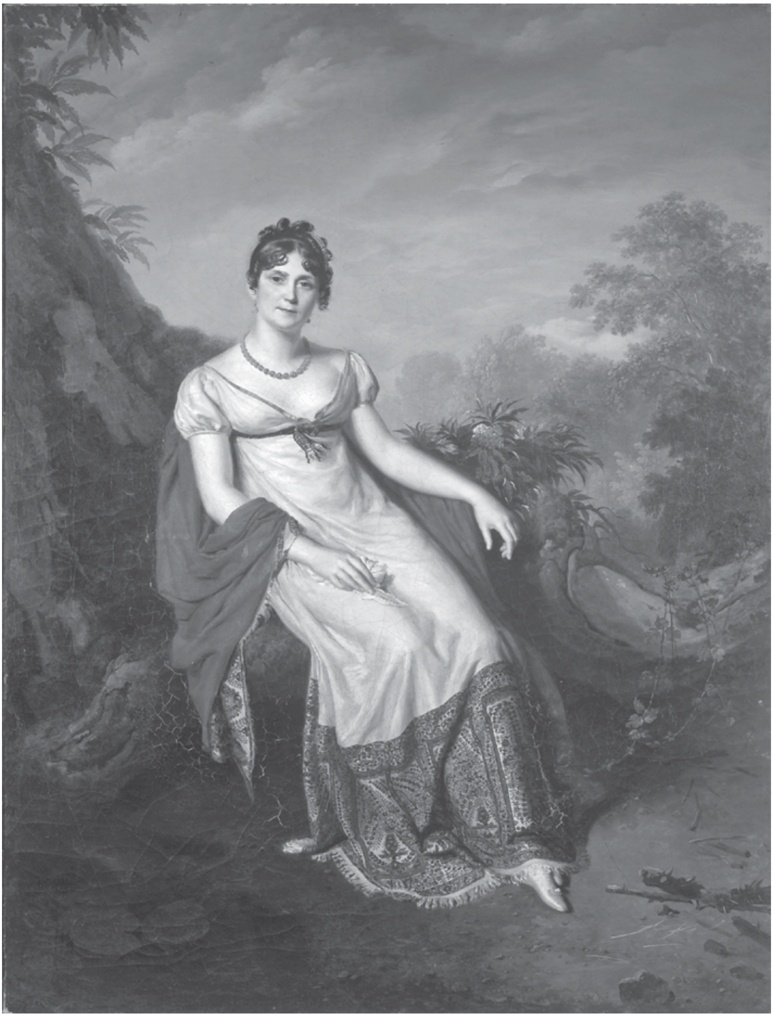
Joséphine was not only intent on incorporating foreign-made fabrics and accessories into her costume; she was also keen on imitating colonial modes of comportment. In the memoirs of Napoléon's aide-de-camp, General Count Rapp, he recounts the following:

> Josephine had received a magnificent shawl from Constantinople and that evening, she wore it for the first time. 'Permit me to observe,' said I, 'that your shawl is not thrown on with your usual elegance.' She good-humouredly begged that I would fold it after the fashion of the Egyptian ladies.[47]

The incorporation of not just the material object, but also the desire to wear it in the fashion of the colonized, is suggestive of how the Empire style, developed under Joséphine, was truly an expansive enterprise.

In addition to the frequent citation of the colonies by means of the cashmere scarf, there were other important accessories with imperialist implications displayed in Joséphine's portraits. In Firmin Massot's *Portrait of Empress Joséphine* (1812) (Figure 2.4), we see two such accessories. One is the embroidered belt, whose pattern was associated with the folk art of the Cossacks, the legendary warrior class of Eastern Europe. At the time, there was a vogue for clothing in the style *à la Cossack*, as evidenced in several fashion plates with this descriptor that were published around this time. Joséphine's inclusion of an embroidered belt can be viewed as part of the Bonapartist approach to imperialism, which was to not only allow conquered regions to retain indigenous customs, but to also incorporate some of these into the developing Empire style.

The other unusual accessory featured in this painting is the coral *parure*, or jewellery set, of necklace, earrings, and hair comb, which references the Mediterranean region and its importance to the imperial economy. The *parure*, the most characteristic jewellery of the First Empire, was an ensemble that had originated in the sixteenth century and consisted of a necklace, head ornament, chain, and pendant.[48] During the Napoleonic era, this typically comprised a comb worn on top of the head, a headband, necklace, earrings, and an ornamented belt. The women at court all wore *parures* at Napoléon's coronation, and this trend was quickly adopted



2.4 Firmin Massot. *Portrait of Empress Joséphine*, 1812. Oil on canvas, 74.5 × 66 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo: Leonard Kheifets.

throughout Europe.[49] Joséphine owned 40 *parures*, composed of precious jewels and rare materials.[50] The set that the Empress wears in Massot's portrait is particularly noteworthy for its invocation of the Mediterranean and the Empire's economic and political interests in this region. The wearing of coral, which became quite fashionable around 1810,[51] can be seen as a celebration of French industry, from the procuring of raw materials from their African colonies to the manufacturing in their Italian principalities. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the French had a monopoly on the coral fisheries off the coast of Africa and Marseilles, and then for a brief period in 1806, the British gained control of these fisheries. During this volatile period in the coral industry, production shifted to the French-controlled regions of Naples, Rome, and Genoa. Joséphine's jewellery thus emphasizes the sizeable reach of the Empire, a point that is underscored by the expansive landscape that serves as a backdrop in this portrait. The relaxed pose, verdant setting, and red cashmere shawl found in Prud'hon's earlier portrait of Joséphine, along with the dress composed of a scarf decorated with palmettes and floral motifs, similar to that in Gros's representation of the Empress, find their way into this image, thus suggesting that these elements were now central to her sartorial iconography. Joséphine was so pleased with Massot's painting that she ordered 25 bust-sized copies of this portrait.[52]

Another important element in the representations of Joséphine is the ubiquitous 'accessory' of the luxuriant and exotic landscape of Malmaison. Joséphine's extensive gardens at her primary residence in Paris were carefully cultivated so as to reproduce her family's verdant plantation in Martinique. In a letter addressed to her mother, she asked her to send seeds and clippings of as many species of plants from the island as possible. She also requested specimens from agents in far-flung regions of the Empire, including Africa, South America, and the Middle East.[53] Kiefer rightly describes the gardens at Malmaison as 'a living metaphor for the expansion of Napoléon's empire.'[54] Joséphine's gardens were prominently featured in many of her portraits; in addition to the portraits of Prud'hon, Gros, and Massot, there were other representations in this space, including François Gérard's watercolour, *An Allegory of Empress Joséphine as Patroness of the Gardens of Malmaison* (*c*. 1805–07) (Metropolitan Museum of

Art) and his painting *Madame Bonaparte in the Salon of Malmaison* (1801), where the grounds are central to its composition. Through the foregrounding of the luxuriant landscape of her Parisian home, these portraits subtly allude to Joséphine's heritage as a privileged Creole, or member of the landed class of French colonizers.

Joséphine's strategic use of her Creole status in the construction of her identity constitutes an important and under examined element of her imagemaking. Napoléon frequently referred to his wife as his 'little Creole,' and several contemporaries of Joséphine recount her wearing her hair tied up *à la créole*.[55] What she characterized as her Creole indifference was sometimes invoked when she found court protocol too stifling, and members of the court often commented on her easy, graceful manners, crediting her life in the colonies as its source.[56] Creole women were known for their languor and liveliness, their grace and elegance, and their carefree and sometimes capricious natures. François Girod ascribes to costume a primary place in the creation of this persona, writing: 'Dressed lightly, as necessitated by the climate, they appeared that much freer in their movements and thus better able to awaken the idea of pleasure, made especially seductive by the nonchalance that characterized all their actions.'[57] Joséphine capitalized on these associations in life and art, preferring lightweight, diaphanous fabrics and cuts which displayed the contours of her shapely figure. And while the semi-reclined pose of Joséphine in Prud'hon's portrait was consonant with those adopted by other social luminaries of the period – witness Gérard's portrait of Madame Récamier and Antonio Canova's sculpture of Pauline Borghese as Venus Victrix[58] – it was also evocative of the sensual and languorous lifestyle associated with the French colonies.

Significantly, Joséphine's sartorial ensembles folded in various historical, regional, and cultural elements, and in simultaneously citing these, the portraits of the Empress served as a unifying agent for the Empire. They suggested that the Empire was not just France; that is to say, that it was pan-European and embraced other nations' histories, customs, and culture as well as its own. By electing to draw the folk handicraft of the Cossack or the shawl of the Orient into the costumes that would be featured in the portraits of her, Joséphine was not only reminding her viewers of France's conquests in Europe and in the far-flung regions of the Caribbean, Africa, and the Middle East; she was also intimating that these disparate cultures and peoples were constituent of the Empire – that is to say, that the French imperial style was global. At the same time, the costumes created by Joséphine were firmly rooted in old France. Gowns in Lyonnaise silks and velvets, embroidery work in the style of the Bayeux tapestry, accessories like the Catholicized veil would work to legitimate Napoléon's rule of France. Her style was a carefully orchestrated ensemble of colonial, classical, and monarchical motifs. In her creation and promotion of a sartorial sensibility that aligned with her personal taste and embraced elements from disparate regions of the Empire, Joséphine found a way to exercise agency and perform meaningful political work. If we take as truth the report of Napoléon's stepdaughter Hortense that the Emperor 'believed the affair of women was and should be *la toilette*,' he had ceded this terrain to his wife.[59] By all appearances, and especially by those in her portraits, Joséphine well understood the politics of *la mode* and proved more than equal to the task of fashioning of the Empire.

Notes

1 Barry Edward O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile: or, A Voice from St. Helena, the Opinions and Reflections of Napoléon on the Most Important Events of His Life and Government in His Own Words*, vol. 1 (London: W. Simpkin & R. Marshall, 1822), 224.

2 Andrea Stuart, *The Rose of Martinique: A Life of Napoleon's Josephine* (New York: Grove Press, 2003), 335.

3 Caroline Weber, *Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution* (New York: Picador, 2006).

4 For an overview of women's participation in the visual arts and literature, see Gen Doy, *Women and Visual Culture in 19th-Century France, 1800–1852* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1998) and Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1810* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), respectively. The role of fashion in the politics of culture is explored at length in my work in progress, *Art, Fashion, and the Emergence of the Modern Woman in Post-Revolutionary Paris*.

5 For discussion of the expansive definition of women's domain in this era, see Elizabeth Colwill, 'Women's Empire and the Sovereignty of Man in *La Décade Philosophique*, 1794–1807,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 265–89.

6 Examples of this focus on the neoclassical trends in Napoleonic-era fashion are Cristina Barreto and Martin Lancaster, *Napoleon and the Empire of Fashion, 1795–1815* (Milan: Skira, 2010); and Claire E. Cage, 'The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France, 1797–1804,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 193–215.

7 Kate Williams, *Ambition and Desire: The Dangerous Life of Josephine Bonaparte* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2014), 242.

8 Margaret Oppenheimer, *The French Portrait: Revolution to Restoration* ex. cat. (Northampton, MA: Smith College Museum of Art, 2005), 9.

9 Recent publications on portraiture of the period include Amy Freund, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014); Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public: Portraiture in the Aftermath of the French Revolution* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999); Sébastien Allard and Robert Rosenblum, *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760–1830*, ex. cat. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2007); and Oppenheimer, *The French Portrait*. None of these consider portraits of the Bonaparte women.

10 Carol Solomon Kiefer, *The Empress Josephine: Art & Royal Identity*, ex. cat. (Amherst, MA: Mead Art Museum, 2005).

11 Barreto and Lancaster, 116.

12 Quoted in Claudette Joannis, *Joséphine, Imperatrice de la Mode. D'élégance sous l'Empire* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2007), 34.

13 Philippe Verzier, 'Napoléon et la Grande Fabrique,' in *Soies tissées, soies brodées chez l'impératrice Joséphine* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2007), 14.

14 Bernard Chevallier, *L'art de vivre au temps de Joséphine* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), 74. This did not include the 533 items that she had given away to family and friends that year.

15 Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 120.

16 Napoléon would write: 'Every day I discover new instances of it, and it distresses me. When I speak to her – on the subject I am vexed; I get angry – she weeps. I forgive her, I pay her bills – she makes fair promises; but the same thing occurs over and over again.' Quoted in Williams, 238.

17 Some modifications were made between the costume worn and the costume represented. See Amaury Lefébure, *Joséphine*, ex. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2014), 93.

18 Verzier, 15.

19 'Vous mettrez des étoiles, ou plutôt des abeilles … Les étoiles seront pour moi, les abeilles pour le peuple.' Quoted in Verzier, 18.

20 Ribeiro, 160.

21 A description of the Empress's coronation costume is given in Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine's *Livre du Sacre* (Paris, 1807) and Claire Élisabeth Jeanne Graviaer de Vergennes, Comtesse de Rémusat, *Mémoires de Mme. de*

Rémusat 1802–1808, vol. 1 (Paris: Lévy, 1880). The costume, unfortunately, has not survived.

22 Even with the trade restrictions and embargoes between France and England, there was a thriving industry of fabric contraband. The following anecdote is told of an evening in the Tuileries early in the Consulate period: 'One evening Napoleon, after staring at a group of *merveilleuses* in their transparent gowns, walked over to the fireplace and began throwing logs on the fire. When someone asked what he was doing, Bonaparte replied loudly, 'We must have more heat! Don't you see that these ladies are naked?' The gesture was not subtle, but his point was effectively made; the flimsy Directoire fashion was not becoming to the dignity of the new state.' Quoted in Stuart, 269.

23 *Mémoires de la reine Hortense*, ed. Christophe Pincemaille (Paris: Mercure de France, 2006), 59. 'Le Premier Consul, pour faire revivre les manufactures de Lyon et nous affranchir d'un tribut payé à l'Angleterre, nous défendait de porter de la mousseline et jetait au feu tout ce qui lui paraissait de fabrique anglaise. Quand ma mère et moi entrions fort parées, sa première question était toujours: 'Est-ce de la mousseline linon de Saint-Quentin?'; mais un sourire nous trahissait et, à l'instant, ses doigts partageaient en deux la robe étrangère. Ce désastre des toilettes se répète plusieurs fois, et il fallut en venir au satin et au velours. La mode acheva ce que le Consul avait commencé et ce qu'il n'eût pas obtenu sans elle, car les châles de Cachemire, malgré les fréquentes menaces de les brûler, survécurent à la proscription.'

24 Joannis, 33.

25 Comte de Emmanuel-Auguste-Dieudonné Las Cases, *Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoléon* (London: Henry Colburn & Company, 1823), as quoted in Barreto and Lancaster, 121–2, n. 10.

26 Bernard Chevallier and Christophe Pincemaille, *Douce et incomparable Joséphine* (Paris: Payot, 1999), 170.

27 This portrait was commissioned in 1805 but not finished until after the divorce of Napoléon and Joséphine, and thus was only on display at Malmaison. That said, she welcomed guests to her art galleries regularly (and even had a guidebook of her collection published for their use), so it would have had some exposure.

28 Céline Meunier, 'Histoires de garde-robe,' *Joséphine*, ex. cat. Musée du Luxembourg (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2014), 37.

29 Jean Coural, *Paris, Mobilier national. Soieries Empire. Inventaire des collections publiques françaises* 25 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1980).

30 See Guy and Denise Ledoux-Lebard, 'L'Impératrice Joséphine et le retour au gothique sous l'Empire,' *Revue de l'Institut Napoléon* 92 (July 1964): 117–24.

31 The term *à la reine Mathilde* (sometimes *à la Mathilde*) seems to have been rather loosely employed. Some historians associate this solely with vertical embroidery work; others use it to describe horizontal bands, such as those found at the neckline or waist of a dress. See Joannis, 40, and Yvonne Delandres, 'Joséphine and *La Mode*,' *Apollo* 106 (July 1977): 44–9.

32 Kiefer, 45.

33 Indeed, as Todd Porterfield argues, within Joséphine's figure and placement the move to 'resacralize the monarchy' is made evident. See Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging the Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 163. To my mind, Porterfield's characterization of the Empress as a pawn of the patriarchy does not adequately credit her with the creative roles she played in the production of the coronation ceremonies and concomitant development of the official court costume.

34 '[L]'impératrice s'entoura des meilleurs artistes de Paris et des marchands les plus fameux. Aidée de leurs conseils, elle détermina la forme du nouvel habit de cour et son costume particulier.' *Mémoires de Madame de Rémusat, 1802–1808, publiés par son petit-fils Paul de Rémusat*, 14 ed., vol. 2 (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1880), 54–6.

35 Amaury Lefébure, 'Le bel homage à Joséphine,' *Joséphine. Exposition au musée du Luxembourg*. Dossier de l'art no. 216 (2014): 9. Leroy's registers, which detail commissions from Joséphine and other clients, give tremendous insight into the tastes and customs of this era. See 'Registres des dépenses de la Cour sous l'Empire et Restauration' (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale), MS. 5931, 1812–18.

36 Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, 'The Empress of Fashion: What Joséphine Wore,' in *Joséphine and the Arts of the Empire*, ed. Eleanor P. DeLorme (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 170–1.

37 Indeed, the Empress was perhaps the first, and certainly the major, collector of paintings done in *le style troubadour* prior to the Restoration. See Alain Pougetoux, *Le Collection de peintures de l'Impératrice Joséphine. Notes et documents des musées de France* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003).

38 See Pougetoux's catalogue entry on the painting in *Joséphine*, ex. cat., 152.

39 For an overview, consult Daniela Gallo, 'Pouvoirs de l'antique,' in *L'Empire des Muses. Napoléon, les Arts et les Lettres*, ed. Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris: Belin, 2004), 317–29.

40 See, for example, Bernard Chevallier and Marc Walter, *Empire Style: Authentic Décor* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008).

41 Ribeiro, 120.

42 Mary D. Sheriff, 'The Portrait of the Queen,' in her *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 143–79.

43 Amaranth was the official colour of the court costume for Joséphine and her ladies-in-waiting. See Ribeiro, 120.

44 The Mamelukes in the Battle of the Pyramides of 13 July 1798 were described by a French officer thus: 'In the background, the desert under the blue sky; before us, the beautiful Arabian horses, richly harnessed, snorting, neighing, prancing gracefully and lightly under the martial riders, who are covered with dazzling arms, inlaid with gold and precious stones. Their costumes are brilliantly colourful; their turbans are surmounted by a crest of feathers, and some wear gilded helmets. This display produced a vivid impression on our soldiers by its novelty and richness. From that moment on, their thoughts were set on booty.'

Quoted in Stuart, 233, n. 5. For additional discussion of how Mameluk attire was incorporated into French costume, see Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, 'Revolt. Egypt. Girodet's *Revolt of Cairo*,' in her *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 105–63.

45 For an excellent discussion of this accessory and its cultural import, see Susan Hiner, "Cashmere Fever': Virtue and the Domestication of the Exotic,' in her *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 77–106.

46 Stuart, 269. To put this in perspective, in 1803, one franc was worth approximately 2.4 euros, meaning that these accessories were worth more than 24,000 euros or $30,500 (USD). This is the 1999 conversion rate, as offered on the copyright page in Joannis.

47 *Memoirs of General Count Rappe, First Aide de Camp to Napoléon* (London: Henry Colburn & Co, 1823), as recounted in Barreto and Lancaster, 126, n. 17. This cashmere shawl took on an important symbolic function during Joséphine's lifetime, for it seemed to have saved her life in the assassination attempt that was made on Christmas Eve of 1800. Although there are differing accounts of this event, it appears that it was her adjustment of a cashmere shawl that kept her carriage waiting, thus sparing her life.

48 See Clare Le Corbeiller, 'Jewels of the Empire,' in *The Age of Napoleon: Costume from the Revolution to the Empire, 1789–1815*, ex. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art / Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 122.

49 J. A. Azur, *Almanach des fabricants travaillant en matières, d'or, argent, et autres métaux* (Paris, 1906), as quoted in Le Corbeiller, 122.

50 Chevallier and Pincemaille, 171.

51 Another portrait of the era that features coral jewelry is Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Portrait of Madame Panckoucke* of 1811, which was executed in Rome. Also, illustrations of nineteenth-century regional Italian costumes frequently feature women wearing coral jewelry.

52 The provenance of this painting prior to its entering the Hermitage collection in 1922 is sketchy, so it is unclear if this work was destined for Malmaison or another location. See Pougetoux's catalogue entry on the painting in *Joséphine*, ex. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2014), 176.

53 Williams, 165–6.

54 Kiefer, 62.

55 For mention of Joséphine's adoption of this hairstyle, see Georgette Ducrest, *Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Joséphine, ses contemporains, la cour de Navarre et de la Maison*, vol. 1 (Paris: Lévy, 1828), 332; and Chantal de Tourtier Bonazzi and Jean Tulards, eds., *Napoléon: Lettres d'amour à Joséphine* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), 123.

56 In his interview with Jeanne Faton, curator Lefébure makes much of Joséphine's Creoleness. See 'Le bel hommage à Joséphine,' *Dossier de l'art* No. 216 (March 2014): 1–11. (Special issue for the exhibition *Joséphine. Exposition au Musée du Luxembourg*.)

57 'Douce langueur et vivacité piquant, grâce, élégance native: autant de traits communs à l'ensemble des femmes créoles. Elles sont souvent insouciantes … [et] capricieuses … Vêtues avec une légèreté que le climat exige, elles ne paraissent que plus libres dans tous leurs mouvements et mieux faites pour réveiller l'idée d'une volupté d'autant plus séduisante que la nonchalance caractérise toutes leurs actions.' François Girod, *La vie quotidienne de la société créole. Saint-Domingue au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1972), 30.

58 Pougetoux, *Joséphine*, ex. cat., 89.

59 Quoted in Joannis, 40. 'Il croyait que l'affaire des femmes était et devait être la toilette.'

3

TEMPORALITIES OF COSTUME AND FASHION IN ART OF THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

Susan L. Siegfried

‘Costume’ and ‘fashion’ are seldom brought together in the scholarly literature on these subjects, provided they are recognized as distinct concepts to begin with, owing largely to variations in definitions of the terms according to different disciplinary and historical perspectives. One aim of this essay is to consider their co-existence as equally prominent and interrelated aspects of the visual culture of the romantic period, principally in France. I focus on the work of Achille Devéria, arguably the most important printmaker of the romantic era, who realized several series of large lithographic prints of costume and fashion subjects in the years around 1830. Serial in format, affordable in price, and inventive in form, they responded more directly – and in many ways more creatively – to the burgeoning fashion culture of early nineteenth-century bourgeois society than fine art painting could or did.

TERMINOLOGY

To begin with an orientation to our semantic field, the terms 'costume' and 'fashion' were simultaneously in use during the early nineteenth century, in England as well as France, though they had different connotations and their relation to one another was shifting. 'Costume' still designated the traditional clothing and social customs of a country or a people or a time, whereas 'fashion' was associated with taste and caprice and carried a notion of temporal instability.[1] We see both words employed in the *Journal des dames et des modes*, the leading fashion journal in France, and a model for Europe, during the first 40 years of the nineteenth century: the French term for fashion, 'mode,' was featured in the journal's title and in the heading of textual commentaries on its plates ('Modes. Explication de la Gravure.'). But the plates themselves were entitled 'Costume Parisienne': this is the customary dress of Paris. The implication here was decidedly hegemonic: by the end of the eighteenth century, costumes worn in cosmopolitan cities such as Paris and London referred to a common manner of dressing among 'civilized men [and women],' owing to the spread of fashion and its amalgamation of design elements from other cultures.[2] By 1830, in his 'Treatise on the Elegant Life,' Honoré de Balzac could write, 'Today, our mores have so modified costume that there is no more costume properly speaking. All the European families have adopted broadcloth [*le drap*].'[3] In this usage, the traditional meaning of costume has been thoroughly transformed by transcending national boundaries to take on an international or transnational character, as 'European costume.' What Balzac called 'costume' (and also 'toilette'), others were increasingly calling 'fashion' or 'mode,' that is, a manner of dressing and more broadly of design that created a cosmopolitan identity. Balzac himself published his essay in a journal called *La Mode*, which typified the next generation of fashion journals from the 1830s in titling its plates 'La Mode' or, like the *Petit Courrier des dames*, 'Modes de Paris' rather than 'Costume Parisienne.' 'Mode' gradually replaced 'costume' as a reference to the contemporary dress of the well-heeled classes in major

European capitals, and this was accompanied by a shift in connotations from customary dress, which was rooted to place and endured in time, to current dress, which emanated from a cosmopolitan centre and was temporally unstable.

Costume did not, *pace* Balzac, entirely disappear but rather was used to define what cosmopolitan fashion was not – namely, regional, foreign, and historical dress. The subordination of 'costume' to the rising notion of 'fashion' was graphically illustrated in the *World of Fashion* (1824–51), a British journal that ran from the mid-1820s through to the 1840s. In its plates, figures dressed in national and in historical costumes appear alongside models wearing the 'Newest London and Paris Fashions,' with their difference as sartorial signs often marked by their smaller scale or brighter colours relative to the main figures. The colonizing function of European culture with respect to other national and ethnic groups is clearly illustrated in plates like these. Historical costumes were presented as analogous to foreign costumes in their exotic difference from modern fashions. The journal's series 'Costumes of All Nations' included a 'Dress of Queen Elizabeth,' for example, and the accompanying text explained that this costume was worn at a fancy-dress or costume ball, which might qualify the authenticity of its status as an historical record.[4] My discussion favours exploration of the temporal dimension of this shifting and relativist definition of fashion – the 'now and then' rather than the 'us and them' – because it is less obvious, as the 'Queen Elizabeth' example suggests, less discussed by scholars, and certainly no less important than geography for visual culture during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

TEMPORALITIES

Karl Gutzkow was a German writer and journalist living in Paris in the 1840s, when he wrote an essay that precociously associated fashion with the social, cultural, and economic state known as modernity. This was written in 1846, some 17 years before Baudelaire famously formulated that connection in *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863). Gutzkow's essay is of interest for this chapter because he regarded history and historical referencing as an integral part of the equation:

> Fashion [here he used the French word *mode*] does not reject the old-worldly; it returns … conspicuously enough to most of the previous century's judgments of taste. This characteristic of fashion prepares the way for a conceptual definition of the modern. The modern does not reject the old, but rather either molds it according to its own taste, or drives it to an extreme where it becomes comical, or refines it in some other manner. A gothic room with stained-glass windows, bulky old-fashioned furniture, and the full illusion of the Middle Ages is the most modern thing one can have. The modern accordingly consists only in a certain aftertaste – in, one would almost like to say, a *haut goût* of things, a culmination that makes them piquant. One can be partial to antiquity and romanticism and yet still find oneself amid the modern.[5]

This idea that the old can be new, and that the modern needs the past and feeds off of it to define itself as modern, is the one I wish to highlight.

Gutzkow was in the grip of an acute consciousness of history that pervaded European culture in the decades following the French Revolution of 1789. Reinhart Koselleck has argued in *Futures Past* that a major shift in the sense of historical time took place between 1750 and 1850, and while the conditions of possibility for thinking revolution were in place at the outset, he contended that the Revolution significantly increased the acceleration of time that we regard as a characteristic of modern life.[6] This sense of acceleration came from no longer being able to predict the future, which henceforth was seen as unknowable yet, in theory at least, as controllable by man (rather than being in the hands of God or providence or kings).[7] Such a sense of temporal rupture was long-term and profound and was accompanied by an increased interest in history. The 1820s saw the rise of the professional historian and a craze for the historical novel, and within both domains of writing the temporal focus on the past shifted from classical Greece and Rome, which were abandoned as cultures and polities to emulate, to the post-classical Christian world, which was searched for patterns that might explain and offer inspiration for the present.[8] The middle ages and the Renaissance both exerted widespread fascination, though distinctions between these periods remained extremely imprecise during the first half of the nineteenth century.[9]

I am interested in how the larger change in temporal framework manifested itself in visual representations of fashion and costume during the late 1820s and 1830s, just before Gutzkow moved to Paris, when the parallelism that he discussed was taking shape. Achille Devéria's lithographs of costume and fashion subjects exemplify the reverberations between present and past that characterized the modern sensibility of post-Revolutionary Europe.

LITHOGRAPHY AND FASHION

Around 1830, the most abundant and revealing visual imaging of fashion and costume is to be found in prints rather than in oil paintings. This was a measure of the tremendous growth of print culture: the number of illustrated women's journals rose sharply in the late 1820s, partly in response to censorship of the political press.[10] The illustrations in these journals establish a kind of baseline for the visual culture of fashion: they are the most immediate depictions of changes in clothing that we have and while they played to an element of fantasy, and were designed to stimulate consumption of their middle- and upper-class readers, they included practical information about form, fabric, colour, construction, and trimmings that was useful to seamstresses, *modistes*, and tailors to women in the days before ready-to-wear. Most journal plates were small hand-coloured engravings (H: 8 inches or 22–6 cm), which were sold separately or for binding into weekly or monthly issues. Alongside this category of visual image, lithographs of fashion and costume subjects proliferated, ranging in format from small to very large sheets (H: 14 inches; 34–7 cm). Their efflorescence was a direct effect of the commercialization of lithography; in France, the number of licensed lithographic printers rose from five in 1818 to 59 in 1831. The costs of producing a lithograph are estimated to have been 100 times cheaper than those of a comparable copper-plate burin engraving, taking into account a drop in the price of paper.[11]

In 1832, the chronicler Herbinot de Mauchamps commented on lithography as the preferred medium of fashion: 'The lithographic stone has become, in effect, a power that fashion encourages and protects.'[12] The historians Fischel and Von Boehn later remarked that lithography became the medium of fashion par excellence in the 1820s and 1830s because it was able to keep up with the pace of fashion's change:

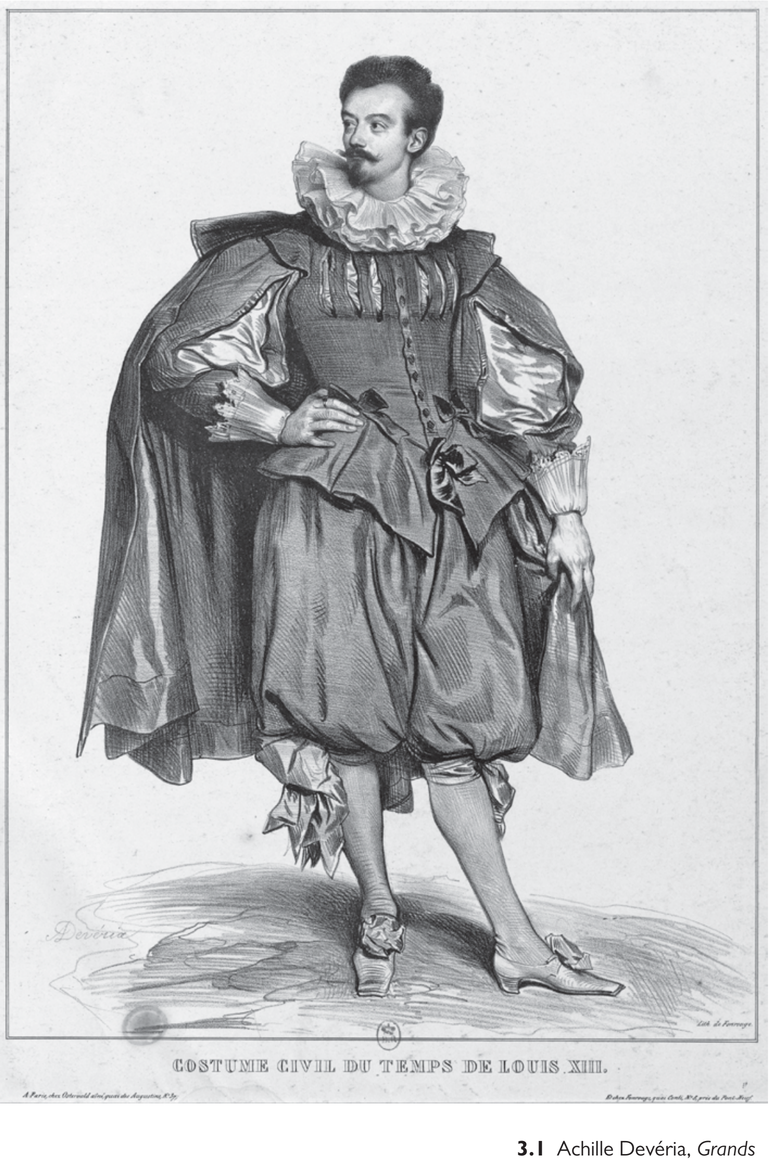
> [Lithography] superseded copper and wood engraving, for these are lengthy processes: and the times were restless and hurried and out of breath, as if pursued by fashion and taste – as if fearing that the truth of the morning had already become a lie – and so they needed a quicker method of reproduction.[13]

As a technique with no previous history, lithography was free to embrace contemporary subject matter that the fine arts had traditionally shunned, ranging from military episodes to fashion.[14] At the same time, the ahistorical character of lithography accommodated the historicism of the period by providing a clean slate on which to re-imagine and renew historical and exotic costume.

DEVÉRIA'S COSTUME PRINTS

The free-wheeling play of the historical imagination in the visual representation of costume and fashion during the 1830s can be seen particularly clearly in Achille Devéria's lithographs. Devéria (1800–57) was trained in the academic tradition of figure painting, having enrolled in the École Royale des Beaux-Arts between 1815 and 1818 and studied with the painter and draughtsman Louis Lafitte and the neoclassical history painters Pierre-Narcisse Guérin and Anne-Louis Girodet. After becoming the sole supporter of his family, Devéria produced drawings for engravers, especially illustrations for books, and exhibited drawings at the Salons of 1822, 1824, 1827, and 1828, where engravings after his work were also shown. Thereafter, he devoted himself exclusively to lithography, which he had begun to practice in 1819, and which gave him control over the draughtsmanship of the print.

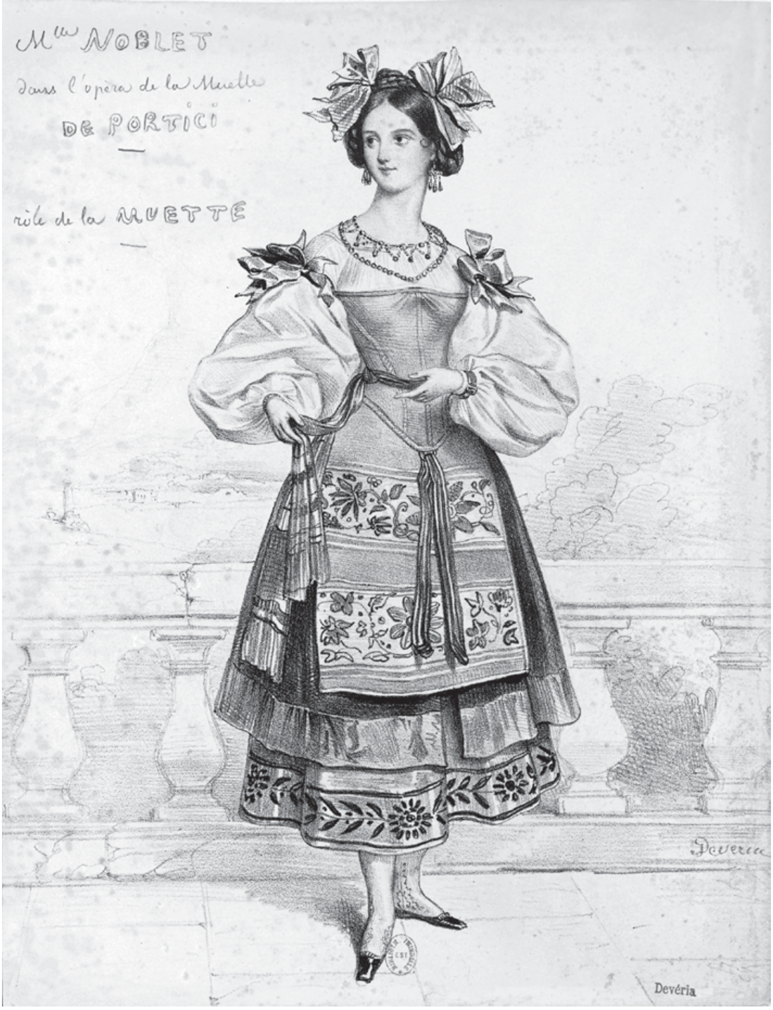
Devéria designed eight stand-alone lithographic series of costume and fashion subjects between 1830 and 1839, each containing between eight and 24 prints and, in one case, 125. Devéria, or perhaps his editors, called his first set *Grands costumes* (1830), probably referring to the large scale of the figures, which stand a foot high, and to their striking presence (Figure 3.1).[15] His lush and confident strokes define the substance and surfaces of clothed bodies that stand out from loosely sketched and minimally indicated surroundings, a control of tone that achieves a colourism in black and white. *Grands costumes* was marked by the variety of its subjects. It included six historical costumes (from the reigns of Charles VI, Henry II, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and sixteenth-century Germany); four regional French costumes (from Bolbec, Valencienne, Alsace, and Bresse); and four exotic costumes (Albanian, Scottish, Chinese, and Ischian).[16] The prints follow the conventions of presentation for costume prints, which had been established in the sixteenth century by printmakers such as Cesare Vecellio, by showing a single standing figure in full length. Devéria studied costume prints from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, collecting and making watercolour copies of them for his extensive archive of reference materials.[17] However, he infused those traditionally rigid and stereotyped figures with natural poses and specific facial features, and he registered his own presence as an artist through the quality of his drawn strokes. Although a few figures in *Grands costumes* are generic types, such as *Une Chinoise* and *Femme d'Ischia*, the majority were based on individuals in Devéria's family and social circle, including writers, artists, publishers, and visitors who frequented his Sunday gatherings.[18] The dressed figures in this series represent the kind of real but fictive personae created by masquerade costumes.[19] They were published as costume subjects, for the captions name characters, not individuals, and there is no evidence to indicate whether they were legible at both levels beyond Devéria's circle. Yet with these lithographs Devéria created a new hybrid by merging portrait conventions, such as natural poses and specific facial features, with those of the costume print.


Devéria
Lith. de Fonrouge
COSTUME CIVIL DU TEMPS DE LOUIS XIII.
A Paris, chez Ostervald aîné, quai des Augustins, N° 37.
Et chez Fonrouge, quai Conti, N° 2, près du Pont-Neuf.

3.1 Achille Devéria, *Grands costumes*, Paris: Ostervald aîné and Adolphe Fonrouge, 1830, ‘Costume civil de temps de Louis XIII.’ Lithograph, 34 × 24 cm. Photo credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

He accentuated that fusion in *Costumes historiques, de ville et du theatre, et travestissements* (Historical, city, and theatre costumes, and masquerade costumes) (1830–9; 1842–3).[20] This series included actors dressed as the characters they performed on stage, and as celebrities they were named in the inscriptions following a primary emphasis on costume: 'Spanish Costume of the 17th Century / worn by Mme Dorval (Role of Marion Delorme).'[21] This doubling of real and assumed identities was a mark of the flourishing masquerade culture of the Romantic period, when costumes worn for carnival and winter balls no longer served to disguise the wearer, as they once had, but rather to display his or her imagination.[22] Accordingly, the names of individuals and of the costumed characters they assumed, their *habits de caractère*, were both identified in a report on the 1829 Mardi Gras balls in the *Journal des dames et des modes*. For example, Alexandrine Noblet came dressed as La Muette de Portici (The Mute Girl of Portici), the lead character in an opera-ballet she had performed on stage; other women imitated her Neapolitan costume at the 1829 balls and Devéria later portrayed the actress in the costume she had popularized as the first plate of his *Costumes historiques* (Figure 3.2).[23] While actresses wore their theatre costumes to masquerade balls, others imitated the costumes of those stage characters and of other historical, popular regional, and exotic characters based on printed images of them. The *Journal des dames et des modes* published a description of a party where one Mademoiselle Wilmen dressed in a *Catalan* costume that the journal had previously published as no. 4 in its *Suite of Masquerade Costumes*.[24] This embedded piece of self-promotion on the part of the journal editor gives us an insight into how such costume prints were used. The variety of regions and periods represented in the prints was echoed in the mixture of costumes actually worn, as reports on several costume balls indicate: 'Mlle. Irma, in *Chinese* costume … Madame Théodore as a *German peasant* … Mlle Jamareck was the *Bayadère* … Mlle Léontine Fay, as a *Swiss boatwoman* (from Brientz); Madame Théodore [at a different ball] as *Charlotte Corday*.'[25]

These costumes blurred the distinctions between performance, whether for the stage or a masquerade ball, and the documentation of purportedly authentic historical and exotic costumes, as the tumble of categories in the title of Devéria's series indicates. Actors and actresses


Mlle NOBLET
dans l'opéra de la Muette
DE PORTICI
rôle de la MUETTE
Deveria
Devéria

3.2 Achille Devéria, *Costumes historiques, de ville et du théâtre, et travestissements*, Paris: Aumont, and Rittner and Goupil; London: Charles Tilt, 1830–9, plate 1, 'Mlle. Noblet, dans l'opéra de *la Muette de Portici* / rôle de la Muette.' Lithograph, 34 × 24 cm. Photo credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

increased their demands for ‘historical truth’ in the costuming of historical dramas, which were enormously popular at the time, even though modern fashion continued to influence its interpretation through features such as voluminous *gigot*-like sleeves or ankle-length skirts.[26] By the same token, the prevalence and popularity of masquerade costumes left their mark on ordinary fashions, as Algirdas Julien Greimas observed in his study *La Mode en 1830*:

> Having lost their true character of disguise, and becoming, on the other hand, generalized [with the spread of masquerade balls], these costumes did not cease to influence ordinary outfits and contributed to giving romantic fashion this allure of carnival that certain contemporaries did not fail to criticize.[27]

The interference of ‘costumes of character’ with ordinary fashions was most readily seen in hairstyles and headdresses though it also, as we shall see, left its mark on other aspects of modern dress.[28]

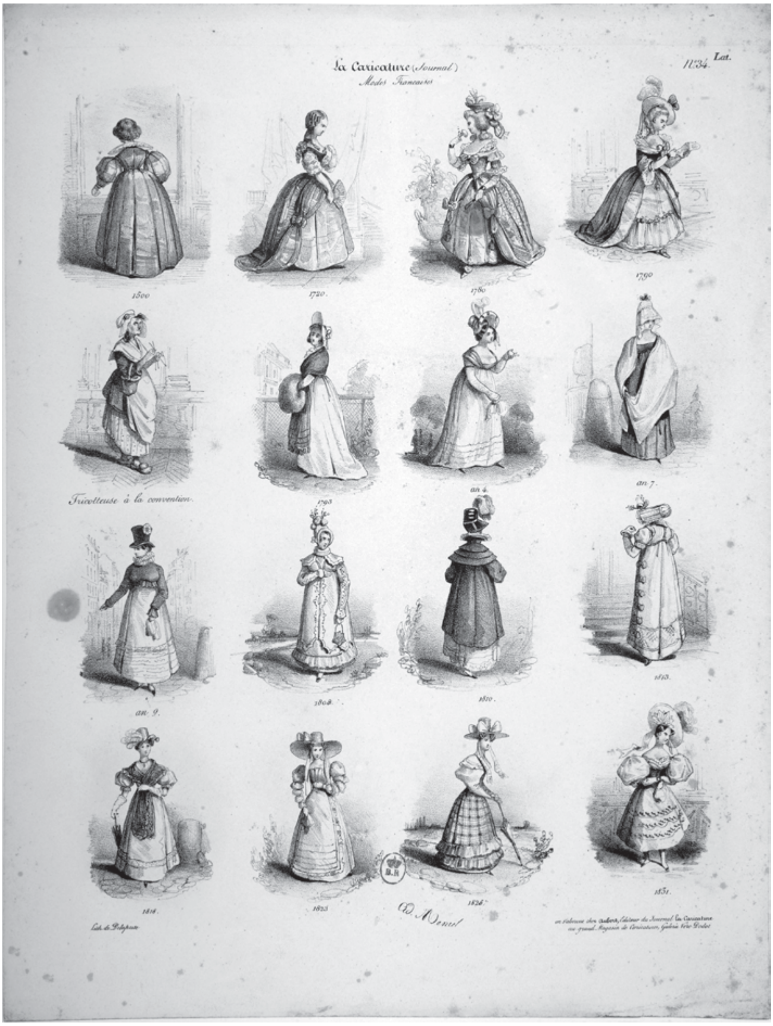
Costumes clearly spoke to the cultural imaginary of the time. Etienne-Jean Delécluze, the art critic, pupil, and biographer of the neoclassical painter Jacques-Louis David, described the period’s aspirations toward the faraway and the unknown, stressing the trouble his acquaintances took ‘to avoid having the air of being from their country, from their century, of their time.’[29] More specifically, Théophile Gautier emphasized the role of costume in defining an oppositional sartorial identity for poets, writers, and artists of the romantic generation, which he also conceived only with reference to the male rather than female figure:

> In this period of eccentricity when each one looked for a way to distinguish himself by some singularity of costume, hat of soft felt in the style of Rubens, coat with velvet panels thrown over the shoulder, doublet in the style of Van Dyck, Polish jacket with frogs and loops, braided Hungarian frock-coat, or any other exotic piece of clothing.[30]

In extolling eccentric dress, Gautier pushed to extreme lengths the culture of normative fashion that he was criticizing even as he drew upon the same sources of inspiration that it did – in this case, the historical dress depicted in Old Master paintings, which Devéria also drew on for his historical costume prints (see Figure 3.1), and the exotic modern military glamour of Eastern Europe.

DEVÉRIA'S FASHION PRINTS

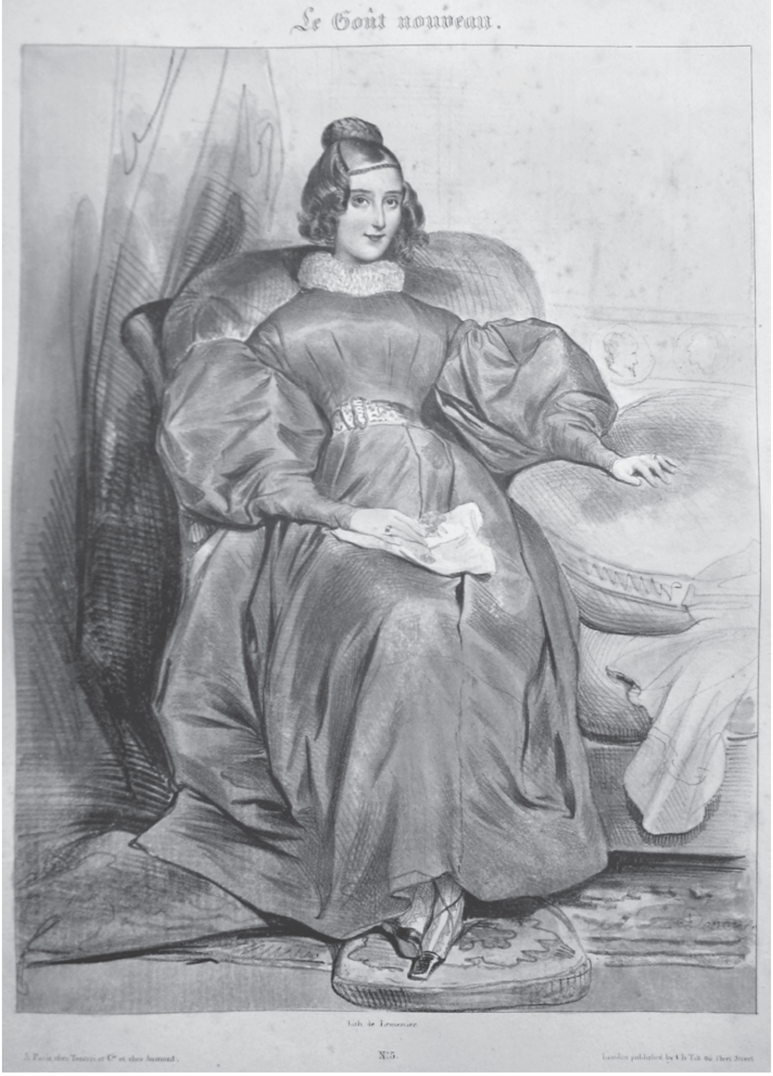
The new sense of a 'temporalization of history,' to use Koselleck's phrase, was visualized through costume in a plate from *La Caricature*, which presented a timeline of changes in women's fashions from 1500 to 1831 (Figure 3.3). Historical time was viewed through the wrong end of a telescope: the intervals of time are longer the further back one goes, jumping from 1500 to 1720 in the first two costumes, and shorten as one approaches the present, the pace of change quickening to decades and then a few years.[31] The idea visualized by this print, that the history of dress was in sight of the present and piled up behind it, so to speak, carried over into the conception and imaging of fashion in another series by Achille Devéria. In *Les Heures du jour* (1830), it is as if the intervals of years that speed up as they rush toward the present in the historical timeline from *La Caricature* spill over into the cycle of a single day, as the hour succeeds the decade and the half-decade as a new unit of measure.[32] Devéria's reference to temporality as a conceptual framework for fashion was not new but the link between time and changes of clothing was accelerated: compared with the several times of day and occasions represented in Moreau le Jeune's celebrated *Monument du costume* (1776 and 1783), Devéria's series depicted women wearing different outfits during no fewer than 18 hours in the day. The Empress Joséphine was reported to have changed her clothes and linens (or undergarments) three times a day, which was an extravagance reserved for the richest court in Europe, yet that ritual seems modest compared with Devéria's fantasy of fashionable *Parisiennes*, who were not even royalty, wearing something different during every waking hour of the day.[33] This was a fiction but it dramatized something real in its appeal to excess and its picturing of the accelerated sense of time in the modern city.


La Caricature (Journal)
Modes Françaises
N°34.
Lat.
1500
1720.
1780
1790
Tricotteuse à la convention.
1793
an 4.
an 7.
an 9.
1804.
1810.
1813.
1818.
1823
1826.
1831.
Lith. de Delaporte
A. Menut
on s'abonne chez Aubert, éditeur du Journal la Caricature
au grand Magasin de Caricatures, Galerie Véro Dodat

3.3 A. D. Menut, 'Modes Françaises de 1500 à 1831,' *La Caricature (Journal)*, no. 17 (24 February 1831), plate 34. Lithograph, 30 × 23 cm. Photo credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Devéria's other modern series, *Le Goût nouveau* (1831), shows that contemporary fashion could assume a period look without going to the extreme of masquerade since the 'new taste' declared in the series title has the look of the old.[34] The series includes 24 scenes of women in contemporary day and evening dress, placed in interior and exterior settings that read as normatively middle-class rather than theatrical or exotic. The modern dresses pictured resemble sixteenth-century Renaissance gowns in several respects – big bouffant (*gigot*) sleeves and sleeve caps (*mancherons*), smooth, fitted bodices with high collars and ruffs, and bell-shaped skirts that recalled the epochs of Francis I and Charles X – although they followed what Gutzkow called 'the *gracefulness*, or better yet, the *aesthetic* law' of modern culture (Figure 3.4).[35] The important point is not so much what the modern aesthetic was, on which Gutzkow did not elaborate, but rather that he saw the revival of an historical style as a modern phenomenon.

Here it is worth remarking on the status of Devéria's lithographs of modern subjects relative to fashion plates in journals because they represent unusually elaborate and rich variations on them. His figures are situated in detailed settings, which fill out the pictorial field, and are engaged in an activity – looking at landscape prints, reading a book, gazing into the distance or at us, kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, pulling on a glove, lounging or collapsed on a couch – which is slight but suggests absorption in a world of one's own, which offered comfort, leisure, and occasions for reflection and daydreaming. Fashion plates in contemporary journals sometimes indicated settings and activities as well but they kept the visual focus squarely on the clothes, often doubling figures to provide different views of the same garment, the material properties of which were described in an accompanying text. Devéria's large lithographs were more dedicated to creating 'meaning at a distance' for fashion, as Roland Barthes put it in his study of twentieth-century fashion magazines, by evoking 'a psycho-sociology of roles' or 'what could be called an 'atmosphere' from discontinuous situations and objects.'[36] Analogous to the fragments of speech that Barthes studied as linguistic signs in his analysis of 'written fashion,' a Devéria print such as *Goût nouveau* No. 5 (see Figure 3.4) presents a collection


Le Goût nouveau.
Lith. de Lemercier
A Paris chez Tessari et Cie et chez Aumont.
No. 5.
London published by Ch Tilt 86 Fleet Street

3.4 Achille Devéria, *Le Goût nouveau*, Paris: chez Tessari; London: Charles Tilt, 1831, No. 5. Hand-coloured lithograph, 37 × 30 cm. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown. Photo © the author.

of loosely assembled visual signs that evoke an ambience without adding up to a particular narrative episode or spatial situation. The central sign is always the young woman of fashion, who in this print lounges on a couch, displaying the stylish features of her dress (ample skirt, *gigot* sleeves, fitted bodice, buckled belt, ruff, flat shoes laced across the ankles) and hairdo (braided crown, hanging ringlets, *ferronière*). She fixes us with a knowing look that invites our scrutiny and perhaps curiosity about the square of paper or cloth spread out on her lap, beneath her hand, but its identity hardly matters for it signifies idle, non-labouring hands; it is one of many visual signs of the woman's leisured bourgeois status. Surrounding her are a large hanging drapery, a couch with bolsters, a foot cushion, a rug and a shawl or cloth draped over the couch – generous fabrics and soft furnishings that evoke comfort and a domestic interior without describing a perspectivally legible room. All of the objects but for the foot cushion are in fact fragments, which re-appear, differently arranged, in other prints in the series, as do the stylish features of her dress and coiffure. Just as each plate presents a loose array of visual signs, so does the series as a whole. The possibility of reading the plates in sequence as a coherent narrative is consistently denied by changes among them, such as different models wearing outfits for different occasions and posing in a variety of fragmented interior and exterior settings. Devéria's academic training in figure drawing came into play in the greater attention he paid to mores and attitudes than to clothing per se – that is, he approached *mode* in the traditional terms of 'costume' understood as custom. This is borne out by the scant evidence that survives for his preparation of the fashion prints. The many boxes and folders of reference materials and studies that he bequeathed to the Bibliothèque nationale de France contain only one drawing of a woman in contemporary dress, and this sketch reveals his interest in recording her relaxed pose, not her clothing.[37] The *Goût nouveau* prints are not fashion studies in any traditional sense but rather convey a modern romantic sensibility, which took the stylishly dressed young bourgeois woman as one of its central images. These lithographs might best be understood as belonging to a new hybrid category of print, which situated itself in between the conventional costume print and the painted genre scene.

The artist's reportage of real or worn clothing was not out of the question: surviving garments from the early 1830s indicate the popularity of striped cotton daydresses like the one he depicted in *Goût nouveau* No. 9, although their simple bodices lack the pronounced shoulder flounce that gives his figure so much character.[38] He could have improvised this feature from one of the many ideas for trimmings proposed in fashion journal plates of the time.[39] Certainly some of the artist's information must have come from print culture rather than from direct observation, despite assertions by his editors and biographer that his figures were drawn 'from nature' and that he simply 'bore witness to what he saw.'[40] The extreme basket-weave hairdos worn by many of his models such as his sister Laure, for example, were probably taken from hairdressing manuals or journals or fashion plates illustrating the latest *coiffures* since they do not appear in portraits of Laure painted by their brother Eugène.[41] One might surmise that Devéria combined direct observation of poses and environments with some fantastic aspects of fashion that he extrapolated from fashion plates and other printed images.

With their emphases on attitudes, settings, and telling features of fashionable dress Devéria's lithographs, particularly hand-coloured versions, resemble genre scenes. Painted lithographs were said to rival watercolour drawings in a popular manual on colouring, now that 'several artists' – Achille Devéria would certainly have qualified – 'having given themselves over to this type of occupation [drawing lithographs], it hardly suffers from mediocrity today.'[42] Devéria's elaboration of pictorial scenarios and the large scale of his prints were symptomatic of the artistic pretentions of certain lithographs that appeared in the early 1830s.[43] The *Goût nouveau* plates measure 37 × 30 cm (14 13⁄16 × 11 13⁄16 in.); *Les Heures du jour* measures 29 × 23.5 cm (11 27⁄64 in. × 9 1⁄4 in.). These folio dimensions made the prints much too big for insertion in albums and 'keepsake' books, which were usually octavo in format, 20 to 25 cm (8 to 10 in.) high.[44] The large size of the lithographs might have made them suitable for framing as wall images but they were most likely kept loose in portfolios or bound into a dedicated folio album.[45] At the same time, though, Devéria's large lithographs are much closer to the world of fashion than to the art of the period because of their seriality, which generated seemingly endless sequences of slightly different looks, and because of their relative ephemerality as productions of the print industry. They were an integral part of the visual culture of fashion and functioned within it as generators as well as representations of fashion ideas.

THE PROBLEM OF STYLE

An intriguing aspect of *Le Goût nouveau* is that the newness of the taste in question is never named or explained. The sheets lack captions, apart from plate numbers, and there is no accompanying text, which obliges the viewer to think about novelty in purely visual and inductive terms. This is the first instance I know of where newness in fashion announces itself as such while still not quite being named in journals of the period. It seems noteworthy because the change was structural and was noticed at the time. In contrast to an incremental succession of changes in fashion, a big shift took place in the form, decoration, colours, and fabrics of dress in the late 1820s and early 1830s, which affected other aspects of luxury consumption as well such as decorative arts, furnishings, and interior design. The new taste radically rejected the neoclassicism that had come before and was comparable to it in magnitude, being just as widely adopted and long-lasting in setting a formal template for the next 30 or 40 years. Yet whereas the major shift from ‘artificial’ Rococo court dress to ‘natural’ urbane styles that took place in the late eighteenth century had received considerable comment and the new style had been named, as ‘antique,’ ‘neo-Greek,’ and ‘natural,’ the new style of the late 1820s and 1830s was noticed but not pinned down. It was as if the style of modern fashion could not be designated during these early decades of the century except in negative terms, with reference to history or to another medium such as architecture, for example. Gutzkow, to recall, said that ‘fashion prepares the way for a conceptual definition of the modern,’ and he went on to say, ‘Compared to antiquity, the modern is a negative process.’[46]

That there was clearly an awareness of broad stylistic change, and a desire to name it, is indicated by debates that took place in England in the

1830s, with an eye on France. In response to early effects of the Industrial Revolution, Parliament appointed a Select Committee on Arts and Manufacture of Britain in 1835, charged with 'Extending a Knowledge of the Arts and the Principles of Design among the Manufacturing Population.' The committee took testimony from a range of architects, craftsmen, and manufacturers, including a leading cabinet maker who noted that the style of interior design spreading in France, and from France to Britain, was called '*de la renaissance*.'[47] The important thing about 'renaissance' style in this instance is that it was neither Greek nor Gothic, which were the two styles that the committee considered as potentially appropriate to the design of English products. It should be noted that stylistic principles of design were conceived at this juncture in historical terms. It is perhaps no surprise that the new trend toward 'renaissance' design was articulated within the sphere of interior decoration since that lay someplace between architecture, an established profession with a highly codified vocabulary, and clothing design, a highly unregulated profession that did not yet produce many machine-manufactured commodities.

While 'renaissance' was adopted in interior design and architecture circles as a way of describing the style of the day, the fashion press was remarkably imprecise in its use of historical terminology. The term *renaissance* was never used in contemporary fashion journals, as the linguist Greimas observed in his authoritative study of the proliferating vocabulary of fashion in 1820s and '30s Paris, even though sixteenth-century visual sources were relatively well known and exerted some influence on the design of contemporary dress.[48] A similar discrepancy between the textual and visual evidence for a revival of medieval taste pertained, though here the situation was inversed: despite repeated declarations of a 'taste for the middle ages' in the fashion press, there was hardly any evidence of the imitation of medieval clothing in contemporary clothing, partly because knowledge of those centuries remained limited and superficial; material manifestations of neogothic taste were instead mostly confined to small-scale decorative arts and interior decoration.[49]

The introduction of the term 'romantic' to designate the style of the 1820s and '30s, which costume historians tend to favour, is just as problematic since it is notoriously vague, especially as regards the visual arts.[50] Hegel, for example, in lectures on aesthetics delivered in the 1820s, began his chronology of Romanticism in the Middle Ages and saw it drawing to a close, for he significantly added a section called 'The End of the Romantic Form of Art' in recognition that something different was taking place in the present.[51] Meanwhile, young poets, novelists, and playwrights across Europe claimed the term 'Romantic' for their new literary and dramatic style, which they aligned with the 'Renaissance' by promoting Shakespeare as a model over the classical unities of Racine. Stendhal extended this literary opposition between 'Racine' and 'Shakespeare,' classic and romantic, to contemporary painting in his review of the Salon of 1824.[52] While the terminology of historical styles was nebulous and applied unevenly to different media and cultural forms, 'Renaissance' seems generally to have designated a sense of the modern by the late 1820s and 1830s. All in all, these evocations of post-classical pasts and reflections on their relation to the present suggest a desire for a connection with tradition, which was not merely nostalgic but energized by an opening out to a sense of new possibilities.

EQUIVALENCIES

An easy alternation between historical and modern subjects was one of the characteristics of lithographic prints that Herbinot de Mauchamps noted in his comments on the medium, quoted earlier in this essay:

> Now elegant and gracious, lithography, in the skillful hands of a Devéria, a Morin, a Menut, a Colin, a Watier, and so many others, reproduces by turns former times and today's times; costumes, architectures, landscapes, interiors, gothic or foreign genres, moral scenes and saucy pictures, everything is submitted to its empire.[53]

The passage moves from a contrast between past and present to a sequence of terms that fall into pairs of opposites: costumes and architecture, landscapes and interiors, gothic and foreign genres, moral and immoral scenes, all grist to lithography's mill. These categories establish equivalencies which suggest that temporal dichotomies are analogous to spatial, geographic, and moral ones. This dichotomous structure of thought could be said to underpin Achille Devéria's lithographic production as a whole, which was prolific and ranged from maternal to erotic subjects and from male portraits to genre scenes of modern civilian life. Devéria's production was in this respect symptomatic of the larger organization of the trade in lithographic prints.

In his sales catalogue from 1828, Godefroy Englemann, the foremost publisher and editor of lithographic prints in Paris, divided his offerings of costume subjects into 'ancient costumes' and 'modern costumes,' echoing Herbinot de Mauchamp's observation on lithography's alternation between 'former times and today's times.' Englemann further sub-divided those categories into series on Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Swiss costumes (for *Costumes anciens*) and Swiss, Russian, Persian, and Dutch costumes (for *Costumes moderns*). These series were extensive, averaging 36 plates each, and were designed by (and probably commissioned from) different artists.[54] This gives us an idea of the tremendous popularity of costume subjects in the romantic period, which indexed the territorial exploration and imperial expansion of the period and also appealed to national identity and realms of fantasy through collections of historical, theatrical, and masquerade costumes. Costume became one of the largest categories of printed image circulating by mid-century. René Colas catalogued over 1,115 titles for the period 1800–49, including multi-volume sets and periodicals, in his bibliography of costume and fashion subjects.[55] Nearly every major printseller in Paris and London carried series of costume and fashion subjects in the first decades of the century, in steadily increasing numbers.[56] In 1846, the enormously influential Maison Aubert, which accounted for 20 per cent of all printed images sold in Paris, advertised about 650 prints of costumes, more, it appears, than any other subject.[57] These costume prints were sub-divided into 17 series titles, including 12 nationalities or geo-cultural groups, two sets of military costumes, two sets of masquerade, ball, and theatre costumes, and one very large set of contemporary Paris fashions.[58]

The plethora of costume and fashion prints appears as an excess of a capitalist system of image production that was in the throes of transforming reproductive print technologies and establishing new markets. A complementary relationship between proliferation and standardization characterized the production of these prints. Different publishers commissioned similar subjects from different artists and the same publishers commissioned different subjects from the same artist.[59] Taken together, these prints indicate a generation of images that depended upon equivalencies between styles of dress that were nominally different.

Devéria re-purposed figures from *Le Goût nouveau* for another series, *Types de femmes de différents pays* (Types of Women from Different Countries) (1831), which was published in the same months by the same firms in Paris and London.[60] He transposed seven full-length figures into half-length figures and re-labelled them for the eight plates of national types, devising only one figure wholly for it. Sometimes these transpositions made sense, as when he re-cast his sister Laure as the *Hollandaise*, presumably paying homage to her status as a flower painter, but in most cases they did not: nothing in the ethnicity or attire of the very French Zoë Champollion, who sat for *Goût nouveau* No. 10, suggests her particular appropriateness for the *Italienne* in *Types de femmes de différents pays*, No. 7.[61] Re-purposing of this kind occurred in other costume series as well: the sixteenth-century German costume modelled by Alfred de Musset in *Grand costumes* (1830) re-appeared in Devéria's *Costumes historiques* (1838), still German but now dated to the fifteenth century and worn by a generic figure with a different face and modified pose.[62] Such variant figures should be partially understood as effects of a capitalist system of image production, which cloned and customized designs to suit new print products. Thus the *Italienne*'s dress acquired a printed pattern and her pose was slightly altered to accommodate the half-length format, just as the period of and the model wearing the German costume were changed. The blasé change of century suggests a liberal attitude toward these borrowings from the past, which would only much later in the century rigidify into a preoccupation with historical accuracy.

Much as whole figures migrated from one subject series to another, apparently distinctive details of fashionable dress also appeared in different historical and geographic contexts. The bold zig-zagged pattern created by saw-toothed edging was sufficiently unusual and eye-catching to have been incorporated in the fanciful theatre costumes of a comedian in the 1820 ballet-pantomime *Clary*.[63] In Devéria's lithographs, saw-toothed edging stands out as an unusual feature without being distinctive enough to denote a particular time or place since it recurs on dresses claiming to represent contemporary Paris, sixteenth-century Tudor England, the French region of Bolbec, and the nation of Italy.[64] Some of these lithographic plates follow an unstated logic of economic expansion: the prints move outward from imaging Parisians as the source and centre of fashion toward imaging representatives of other countries such as Italy who are shown wearing the latest Paris fashions. In such cases, the distinction between 'costume' and 'fashion' has dissolved, even though it is maintained in the series titles ('New Taste' and 'Types of Women of Different Countries'). The process of image generation suggested here corresponds to Roland Barthes' view of the semantic process as a parasitical one of theft and colonization, ultimately driven by economics.[65]

CONCLUSION

To draw some of these threads together by way of conclusion, I've suggested that within the shifting temporal framework of history of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a general move towards a new, somewhat medieval- and Renaissance-inspired modern styling by the 1830s. Fashion journals played a crucial role in establishing norms for cosmopolitan dress, and their illustrations played up the more exotic and experimental styles with often slightly fantastic concoctions that left the outmoded (in this case, neo-Greek or Empire) styles of the very recent past behind. Most painters and printmakers *did not* pick up on this new fashion imaginary of the day, instead featuring more mundane renderings of contemporary dress, but there were exceptions, Achille Devéria among them, particularly attuned as he was to changes taking place in the material culture of costume and fashion, including its visual culture, and effectively devising his own creations of contemporary dress within the pictorial domain of his artwork.

'The new taste' of the 1820s and '30s in all of its manifestations – in the normalizing repetition of fashion journal plates, in the rare 'piquant' expressions of fashion and costume prints such as Devéria's, and in the sartorial flamboyance of certain writers and artists – sought to differentiate itself from the perceived dreariness of bourgeois culture, including its fashion, by drawing on what seemed by contrast to be the refreshing liveliness, variety, and colour of past and of exotic costume. This was a moment both of rapid change and of interregnum when people were caught between reverberations of the past, its authority, and its models, and the drive of present-day commercial imperatives pointing toward an unknown future. In his 1835 novel *Ferragus*, Balzac described the young aristocrats of the Bourbon Restoration (1815–30) as a generation suspended in time:

> The young people of those times belonged to no precise period: they were divided between memories of the Empire and memories of the Emigration, between the ancient traditions of the royal Court and the studied calculations of the bourgeoisie, between religious observance and fancy-dress balls.[66]

That evocation of not belonging to any period applies more broadly, I think, to other social groups as well as to a more pervasive feature of subsequent nineteenth-century culture with its apparently mutually contradictory aspects of progress and historicism.[67] Within the general turn toward post-classical history that characterizes the early century, being modern involved seeking out aspects of the past that held some meaning for the present, whether political, social, or sartorial, and also inventively reworking them in terms of contemporary taste. These temporal reverberations and doublings involved both exploiting the distance between the look of these past elements and modern clothing styles, and telescoping this distance by assimilating and bringing aspects of the past into the present day. With its sense of simultaneous rupture from and intimacy with the past, this was a sensibility particular to post-Revolutionary Europe. It was quite different from the ironic, postmodernist play with empty fragments of the historical past, as it was too from a modernist impulse to break definitively with the forms and values of past societies.

Notes

1 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st ed. (1694): 'Mode'; 4th ed. (1762): 'Costume'; https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois, accessed 31 October 2014.

2 Algirdas Julien Greimas, *La mode en 1830* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000), 19. Writing in 1948, Greimas reflected a nationalistic bias in presenting Paris as the unrivalled centre of European fashion. For developments in Russia, see Christine Ruane, *The Empire's New Clothes: A History of the Russian Fashion Industry, 1700–1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 4–8.

3 Honoré de Balzac, 'Traité de la vie élégante,' in *Œuvres complètes de H. de Balzac. Oeuvres Diverses*, I (Paris: Société d'éditions littéraries et artistiques, [1830] 1902), 291.

4 'Newest Paris and London Fashions for March, 1829. Plate the First. Costumes of All Nations – No. 37, Queen Elizabeth (centre figure),' *World of Fashion* (March 1829): 56.

5 Karl Gutzkow, 'Fashion and the Modern (1846),' trans. Kelly Berry, in *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, ed. Daniel Leonhard Purdy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 197–8.

6 Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, [1979] 2004).

7 Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 9–71.

8 Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1978); and Brian Hamnett, *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

9 Théophile Gautier said he and others referred to 'the Middle Ages, for lack of a better definition,' in *Souvenirs of Romanticism* (Paris: Seuil, 1996), 84.

10 Raymond Gaudriault, *La Gravure de mode féminine en France* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'amateur, 1983), 64–5; Greimas, *La Mode en 1830*, 6–7.

11 Corinne Bouquin, 'Rose-Joseph Lemercier e la stampa litografia nel XIX secolo,' in *Carte dipinte: Esotismo e Intimismo nell Ottocento francese*, ed. M. Mosco (Milan: Art World Media, 1989), 98.

12 Herbinot de Mauchamps, 'La Mode en 1832,' *Album de la mode. Chronique du monde fashionable ou choix de morceaux de littérature contemporaine* (Paris: Louis Janet, 1833), 54–5.

13 Oskar Fischel and Max Von Boehn, *Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century as Represented in the Pictures and Engravings of the Time*, vol. II, *1818–42*, trans. from the German (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927), 100.

14 Jonathan Bober, *Lithography: The Modern Art and its Traditions* (Austin: Blanton Museum of Art, 1998), 4.

15 Paris: Ostervald aîné and Adolphe Fonrouge, 1830, 14 plates. Cabinet des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Œuvre d'Achille

Déveria, Dc 178 d rés., t. V [hereafter BnF Est]; Jean Adhémar and Jacques Lethève, *Inventaire du fonds français après 1800*, 15 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1930–85), *Tome sixième, Daumont-Dorange* (1953), 498–9, no. 134, as 'Suite de déguisements pour un bal masqué, chez A. Dumas (?), chez Ostervald aîné, 1830.' [hereafter Adhémar and Lethève, *Inventaire*, v. 6]. The title '*Grands costumes*' was recorded for the series in the legal registration of the second instalment of prints on 26 June 1830; George D. McKee, *Image of France, 1795–1880*, no. 20390. *Bibliog. de la Fr.*, 29 mai 1830, no. 452; no. 20489, 26 juin 1830, no. 551; http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/imagefrance, accessed 20 April 2012 [hereafter *ImofFr*, with the second number cited taken from the Bibliographie de la France]. Two plates in this series were not registered: 'Costume allemande au XVIe siècle [Alfred de Musset]' and 'Costume du temps de Henry II [Robelin].'

16 Variety of subject matter was a hallmark of early lithography, as Adolphe Thiers remarked in 'De la lithographie et de ses progrès,' *La Pandore*, no. 259 (30 mars 1824), reprinted in W. McAllister Johnson, *French Lithography: The Restoration salons, 1817–24* (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1977), 46–8.

17 BnF Est, SNR-1-Devéria, Achille (20 boxes); SNR-3-Devéria, Achille (2 boxes); Recueil. Œuvre d'Achille Devéria, ZA-569 (29), boîte pet. fol.; Oe-195 (1–4), pet. fol.; and Oe-196 (1–2), pet. fol. The encyclopaedic scope of Devéria's archive, which he organized geographically and chronologically and which is dominated by the iconography of costume, extends beyond the parameters of a project he outlined for a *Cours de dessin* or a history of art; see Maximilien Gauthier, *La vie et l'art romantiques: Achille et Eugène Devéria*, 2 vols., text and plates (Paris: H. Floury, 1925), 159–60.

18 The identification of individuals is based on handwritten inscriptions on the mounts of the prints in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, probably made by Achille Déveria during his tenure as curator and director of the Cabinet des Estampes (1848–57). On that phase of his career, see Gérard Jubert, 'Achille Devéria, conservateur du départment des Estampes de la Bibliothèque impériale,' *Nouvelles de l'Estampe* 175 (March–April 2001): 6–28.

19 Adhémar and Lethève catalogued the series as 'déguisements pour un bal masqué, chez A. Dumas (?),' *Inventaire*, v. 6, 498, no. 134. However, publication of the prints in 1830 significantly precedes the famous costume ball given by Dumas in 1833. For accounts of it, see Adolphe Bossange, *Journal des dames et des modes*, 5 and 20 April 1833 [hereafter *JDM*], in Annemarie Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes,' ou la conquête de l'Europe féminine (1797–1839)* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2001), 205–06; and Alexandre Dumas, *Mes Mémoires*, ed. Isabelle Chanteur (Paris: Plon, 1986), 766–81.

20 Paris: Aumont, and Rittner and Goupil; London: Charles Tilt, 1830–39, 125 plates; Paris: Goupil and Vibert, 1842–3, 18 plates. BnF Est, Œuvre d'Achille Déveria, Dc 178 d rés., t. V; Adhémar and Lethève, *Inventaire*, v.6, 499–500, no. 135, as 1831–9. The *dépôt légal* indicates a continuation of the series in 1842–3 under the same title by a different publisher, Rittner and Vibert: *ImoFr*, no. 22275, 3

décembre 1831, no. 926; no. 24021, 28 décembre 1833, no. 785; no. 23361, 23 février 1833, no. 129; no. 24833, 29 novembre 1834, no. 780; no. 26939, 29 octobre 1836, no. 983; no. 28110, 18 novembre 1837, no. 999; no. 28480**,** 17 février 1838, no. 196; no. 29441, 9 mars 1839, no. 181; no. 35316, 24 décembre 1842, no. 1834; and no. 36786, 9 septembre 1843, no. 1364. See also *Achille Devéria, témoin du romantisme parisien 1800–1857* (Paris: Musée Renan-Scheffer, 1985), 35–7, cat. nos. 43–7.

21 *Costumes historiques*, pl. 5: 'Costume Espagnol du XVIe siècle, porté par Mme. Dorval (Rôle de Marion Delorme).' Victor Hugo read *Marion Delorme* at Achille Devéria's house in July 1829 before it was performed on stage; Dumas, *Mes Mémoires*, 439.

22 Greimas, *La Mode en 1830*, 76. Aileen Ribeiro offers a range of approaches to the study of masquerade and fancy dress in the social practice and art of the eighteenth century in works such as *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture* (New York and London: Garland, 1984); 'Portraying the Fashion, Romancing the Past: Dress and the Cosways,' in *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, Stephen Lloyd, Roy Porter and Aileen Ribeiro (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995), 101–08; *The Art of Dress. Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 133–234; and *Dress in the Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715–1789* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 245–82.

23 *JDM* 14 (10 March 1829), 108: 'Mmes Alex[andrine] Dupont (Noblet), et Mimi Dupuis, en costumes de l'opéra-ballet de *La Muette de Portici*.' The subsequent 20 March issue reported on women dressed as Fenella, the mute girl of Portici; Greimas, *La Mode en 1830*, 76. The costume worn by the actress in this role had already been published by Martinet in 1828 coincident with the play's opening; Louis Maleuvre [*La muette de Portici, opera d'Auber, Scribe et Germain Delavigne: costume de Melle Noblet (rôle de Fenella)*], 1828, hand-coloured etching (BnF, Départment Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, BMO C-261 [7–617]). Devéria not only gave the actress individualized portrait features but made her Neapolitan costume look more fashionable than it appears in Maleuvre's print by making the skirt fuller, the sleeves more bouffant and *gigot*-like, and accenting her shoulder and hair bows in accordance with the current 'butterfly' (*papillon*) style.

24 *JDM* 14 (10 March 1829): 108. The journal publicized its *Suite de Travestissements* in August 1824, pp. 338–40.

25 *JDM* 14 (10 March 1829): 108–09. Dumas described 73 different costumes guests wore to a costume ball he hosted in 1833; *Mes Mémoires*, 777–80.

26 Adolphe Julien, *Histoire du costume au théâtre depuis les origines du théâtre en France jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1880), 301, 317, and 328.

27 Greimas, *La Mode en 1830*, 76.

28 'Coiffures à la Renaissance' were promoted in 1837 and 1838 to accompany a Renaissance-style gown for a masquerade ball as well as for routine fashion; Croisat, 'Description des coiffures' and 'Coiffures à la Renaissance, inventées et exécutées dans la Séance extraordinaire, le 31 octobre 1838, Salle de la Redouté,'

Les Cent-un Coiffeurs de tous les Pays, vol. 2 (1837): 63–4 and plate facing p. 63, and vol. 3 (1838): 3–6.

29 Etienne-Jean Delécluze, 'Les barbus d'à présent et les barbus de 1800,' *Livre des cent-et-un* 7 (1832): 61, reprinted in his *Louis David: son école et son temps: souvenirs* (Paris: Didier, 1855), 420.

30 Gautier, *Souvenirs*, 113.

31 Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 37. A. D. Menut, 'Modes Françaises de 1500 à 1831,' *La Caricature (Journal)*, no. 34 (5 March 1831); the dates inscribed under the figures were '1500/1720/1780/ 1790/Tricotteuse de la convention/1793/an 4/an 7/ an 9/1808/1810/1813/1818/ 1823/1825/1831.'

32 Paris: Adolphe Fonrouge and Ostervald aîné, 1830, 18 plates. BnF Est, Œuvre d'Achille Déveria, Dc 178 d rés., t. IV; Adhémar and Lethève, *Inventaire*, t. 6, 495, no. 106, as 'Fonrouge, v[ers] 1829.' Nine of the 18 prints in the series were legally registered in 1830 and sold through Fonrouge as well as Ostervald aîné: *ImoFr*, no. 20555, 10 juillet 1830, no. 596; and no. 21254, 27 novembre 1830, no. 1282. A rare complete set of hand-coloured plates of *Les Heures du jour* is in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris; see *Achille Devéria, témoin du romantisme*, 43–8, cat. nos. 50–68, and Gaudriault, *La Gravure de mode*, 74.

33 Madame de Rémusat, *Mémoires de Madame de Rémusat*, ed. Pierre-André Weber (Paris: Les Amis de l'histoire, 1968), 270–1.

34 Achille Devéria, *Le Goût nouveau. Motifs variés, pris d'après nature par A. Devéria* (Paris: Tessari et Cie, et Aumont; London: Ch[arles] Tilt [1831], 24 plates). BnF Est, Œuvre d'Achille Devéria, Dc 178d rés, t. VI; Adhémar and Lethère, *Inventaire,* v. 6, 503, no. 159; *ImoFr*, no. 21854, 11 juin 1831, no. 506; no. 21908, 2 juillet 1831, no. 560; 21959, 16 juillet 1831, no. 610; and 22046, 20 août 1831, no. 697. The first two instalments of the prints were registered as '*Le Goût nouveau, costumes de femme*.' A complete black-and-white set of *Le Goût nouveau* with five duplicate hand-coloured plates bound into an album, is in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, MA, NK 4706 D45g.

35 Greimas, *La Mode en 1830*, 278. Gutzkow, 'Fashion and the Modern,' 201.

36 Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Mathew Ward and Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, [1967] 1983), 244 and 247.

37 BnF Est, SNR-1-Devéria, Achille, box 317, dos. 'Intérieurs – Louis-Philippe,' dos. 'Coin de feu'; see *supra* n. 17. A few full-length portrait drawings of women in contemporary dress by him are known: *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1827 (British Museum, 1881, 1112.365); *Portrait of Céleste Motte* (Musée des Beaux-arts, Angers, MBA J 781 (J1881)); *Adèle Hugo holding Charles on her knees* (Musée Victor Hugo, Paris, MVHP D 661); and *Sarah Devéria and Laure Devéria*, 184[?], in Gauthier, *Achille et Eugène Devéria*, 139.

38 Day dress, 1830s, French, blue white striped muslin (Musée Galliera, Paris, inv. 1920-1-101); Day dress, 1830s, blue and beige striped cotton (Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, inv. 49.32.30).

39 See, for instance, the striped dresses illustrated in *La Mode* 3 (April–June 1830): pl. 52, and *Petit Courrier des dames*, 1830–4, pl. 559.

40 Covers of two Devéria series state that his drawings were done 'from nature': *Le Goût nouveau. Motifs variés pris d'après nature*; and *Alphabet varié, choix de costumes dessinés d'après nature par A. Devéria* (Paris: Adolphe Fonrouge, 1831, 25 plates). Gauthier *Achille et Eugène Devéria*, 86.

41 Extreme hairstyles are illustrated in *Album Grandjean, à l'usage des coiffeurs et des modes*, November 1829–April 1831; Croisat, *Méthode de coiffure*, 2nd ed. (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1832); and periodicals such as *Le Follet* and *Petit Courrier des dames*. Portraits of Laure Devéria painted by Eugéne Devéria are reproduced in Gauthier, *Achille et Eugène Devéria*, 14 and 44.

42 Emile Thomas Blanchard, Aristide Michel Perrot and L. S. Thillaye, *Nouveau Manuel complet du coloriste ou, Instruction simplifiée et élémentaire pour l'enluminure, le lavis et la retouche des gravures, images, lithographies, planches d'histoire naturelle, cartes géographiques, peinture orientale, plants topographiques* (Paris: L. Laget, 1978; facsimile of Paris: Manuels Roret, nouvelle édition, très augmentée, 1840), 159.

43 This point is developed in Susan L. Siegfried, 'Portraits of Fantasy, Portraits of Fashion,' *nonsite*, no. 14, *Nineteenth Century France Now* (2014), http://nonsite.org/issue-14-nineteenth-century-france-now-art-technology-culture. Recent precedents for large printed series of fashion subjects included Philibert Debucourt's *Modes et manières du jour à la fin du 18ème siècle et au commencement du 19ème* (Paris: Pierre de La Mésangère, 1800–08, 52 hand-coloured etchings) and Horace Vernet's *Incroyables et Merveilleuses* (Paris: Pierre de La Mésangère, 1810–18, 31 hand-coloured engravings).

44 Keepsakes in smaller and folio formats are known. Fréderic Lachèvre, *Bibliographie sommaire des keepsakes et autres recueils collectifs de la période romantique 1823–48*, 2 vols. (Paris: L. Giraud-Badin, 1929); and Carol Rifelj, "Ces tableaux du monde': Keepsakes in Madame Bovary,' *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 25, nos. 3–4 (Spring–Summer 1997): 360–1.

45 Herbinot de Mauchamps noted that '[lithography] ornaments the walls of our houses, fills our portfolios' in 'La Mode en 1832,' 54–5.

46 Gutzkow, 'Fashion and the Modern,' 198.

47 'Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on Extending a Knowledge of the Arts and the Principles of Design among the Manufacturing Population, Part II, evidence of George J. Morant, 17 June 1836,' *British Parliamentary Papers. Reports from Select Committees on Arts and Manufacture with Minutes of Evidence, Appendices and Index. Industrial Revolution: Design I* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1968), 47. The context for the Select Committee is discussed by Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550–1960* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 248.

48 Griemas, *La Mode en 1830*, 275–8.

49 Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 173–4. Penelope Byrde presented the penetration of 'gothic' elements into high fashion in somewhat more positive terms, in *Nineteenth Century Fashion* (London: Batsford, 1992), 29–30.

50 For example, Phyllis Tortura and Keith Eubank, *A Survey of Historic Costume* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1989), 219–34.

51 Georg Wilhelm Hegel, *Aesthetics. Lectures on Fine Art*, 2 vols., trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), I, 602–11.

52 August W. Schlegel, Alessandro Manzoni, and Victor Hugo held up Shakespeare as the model for modern theatre in the 1820s. Stendhal [Henri Beyle], 'The Salon of 1824,' in *Stendhal and the Arts*, ed. David Wakefield (London: Phaidon, 1973), 120–1.

53 De Mauchamps, 'La Mode en 1832,' 54–5.

54 *Catalogue des ouvrages composant le fond de Englemann et Cie* (Paris, 1828), 18.

55 René Colas, *Bibliographie générale du costume et de la mode; description des suites, séries, revues et livres français et étrangers relatifs au costume civil, militaire, et religieux, aux modes, aux coiffures et aux divers accessoires de l'habillement, avec une table méthodique et index alphabétique*, 2 vols. (Paris: R. Colas, 1933). See also Franz Jospeh Lipperheide, *Katalog der Freiherrlich von Lipperheideschen kostümbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Berlin: F. Lipperheide, 1896–1905); and Hilaire and Meyer Hiler, *Bibliography of Costume: A Dictionary Catalog of About Eight Thousand Books and Periodicals* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1939, reissued 1967).

56 Of the rare sales catalogues of Paris print dealers that survive from the 1820s and 1830s, costume series were advertised in *Extrait du catalogue du fonds des estampes imprimées et publiées par Charles Motte* (Paris, 1829), 4; *Catalogue des ouvrages récemment publiés par Giraldon-Bovinet et Cie* (Paris, 1831), 15 and 32; *Catalogue du fonds de Rittner & Goupil* (Paris: E. Duverger, s.d. [1834]), 4, nos. 152–3, nos. 99–122, and nos. 829–45; and *Liste de gravures nouvelles qui paraîtront successivement chez Rittner & Goupil, et de celles qui ont paru le plus récemment* (Paris, 1838), 12 and 13. Though an approximate indication, the database of *dépôts légal* for prints published in France shows steadily rising numbers of titles containing the word 'costume' until mid-century: 57 (1800–10); 323 (1810–20); 412 (1820–30); 377 (1830–40); 900 (1840–50); and 394 (1850–60); *ImoFr*. For London, Colas indexed certain editors and the publications they sponsored in his table of proper names; *Bibliographie générale du costume et de la mode*, vol. 2. Prideaux catalogued about 40, Tooley over 100, titles referencing costume and fashion subjects published in England in the first half of the nineteenth century; S[arah] T[reverbian] Prideaux, *Aquatint Engraving: A Chapter in the History of Book Illustration* (London: Duckworth, [1909], repr., London: Foyle, 1968), 314–23 and Appendix A; and R[onald] V[ere] Tooley, *English Books with Coloured Plates, 1790 to 1860: A Bibliographical Account of the most Important Books Illustrated by English Artists in Colour Aquatint and Colour Lithography* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1954).

57 H. Hazel Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 22; James Cuno, 'Charles Philipon, La Maison Aubert and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829–41,' *Art Journal* 43 (Winter 1983): 349 and 352.

58 'Costumes' filled five columns compared with three and a half for the next largest category, comic images and albums, in Aubert et Cie, *Livres et albums publiés pour le jour de l'an prochain* (Paris: Aubert & Cie, [1846]).

59 For further discussion of this point, see Siegfried, 'Portraits of Fantasy, Portraits of Fashion.'

60 Nos. 2, 5, 3, 16, 7, 10 and 4 from *Le Goût nouveau* were adapted for all but plate 4 of his *Types de femmes de différents pays* (Paris: Tessari et Cie, et Aumont; London: Ch[arles] Tilt, 1831, 8 plates); BnF Est, Œuvre d'Achille Devéria, Dc 178 d rés, t. VII; *ImoFr* no. 21888, 25 juin 1831, no. 540; no. 21979, 23 juillet 1831, no. 630; and no. 22002, 30 juillet, no. 653. The *Hollandaise* was registered a week in advance of *Le Goût Nouveau*, No. 7 though its design probably derived from the full-length figure.

61 The models who posed are identified on their Cabinet des Estampes mounts, see *supra* n. 18.

62 *Grands costumes* (1830), 'Costume allemand au XVIe siècle [Alfred de Musset]'; *Costumes historiques* (1838), 'Seigneur Allemand, XVe siècle.'

63 [Auguste Garnerey], 'Une jeune Comédienne. (Mlle. Brocard). Dans *Clary*, ballet, pantomime en 3 actes. (Académie R[oya]le de Musique),' [*Recueil des costumes de tous les ouvrages dramatiques représentés avec succès sur les grands théâtres de Paris*] (Paris: Martinet, 1819–22), pl. 8; see also BnF Gallica, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454503n/f8.item, accessed 31 October 2014. 'Vandykes' was the term used for zig-zagged and dog-toothed edging on ladies clothing after 1780, especially in England, regardless of the faint resemblance to the seventeenth-century fashions portrayed by Anthony Van Dyck; J. L. Nevinson, 'Vandyke Dress,' *The Connoisseur* 157, no. 633 (November 1964): 171.

64 Saw-toothed edging distinguishes costumes portrayed by Devéria in *Grands costumes* (1830), 'Femme de Bolbec'; *Costumes historiques* (1831), pl. 2, 'Mme Tadolini / Caractère de Jeanne Seymour'; *Goût nouveau* (1831), pl. 7; and *Types de femmes de différents pays* (1831), 'Italienne.'

65 Roland Barthes, 'Le Mythe Aujourd'hui,' in *Mythologies* (Paris: Seuil, 1970), 193–247.

66 Honoré de Balzac, *Ferragus: Chief of the Companions of Duty*, in *History of the Thirteen*, trans. Herbert Hunt (London: Penguin Classics, 1974), 40.

67 Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 60.

4

DRESS AND DESIRE

Rossetti's Erotics of the Unclassifiable and Working-Class Models

Julie Codell

Honoré Balzac's statement that 'A woman's dress is a permanent revelation of her most secret thoughts, a language, and a symbol' (*Une fille d'Eve*, 1839) assumed a legibility in which women's dress simply reflected their thoughts. Yet more often dress was illegible, unreadable, and untranslatable, a mask of women's thought. British artists, especially those linked to Aestheticism, frequently depicted an invented dress outside of conventional fashion, sometimes increasing its illegibility. The most prominent examples are the invented (and not always archaeologically correct) classical dress in works by Frederic Leighton and Albert Moore and the loose, uncorseted 'aesthetic' dress in paintings by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and James Whistler. Leighton's and Moore's invented classical dress (inspired by the Elgin marbles)[1] suggested a new eroticism of the unsegmented body antithetical to commercial fashion that hugged and exaggerated the body's shape. They did not reiterate the femininity of the crinolined 1860s or the bustles, cuirasse bodice, and tight sleeves of the 1870s. According to Kimberly Wahl, Aestheticism offered women an 'awareness of the agency they possessed with regard to the importance of the feminine in domestic

Aesthetic settings.' A woman 'might both construct herself as a creative work and present herself as an image of Aesthetic idealism, in essence synthesizing the subject/object split';[2] for example, artist Marie Spartali Stillman painted herself in Aesthetic dress that she adapted or reinvented. Wahl's arguments are especially relevant to my point that Rossetti's re-invention of dress, anticipating Aestheticism, shared this awareness of agency. As I will argue, his own approach underscored issues of agency as he identified with his subject and turned his re-invention of dress into a synthesis of his and his models' dress and taste.

As Rita Felski and Linda Simon recognize, decisions about dress in general represent negotiations with 'circulating social energies via various forms of appropriation, acquisition, transaction, and symbolic exchange,' especially class and gender 'energies,' on which I will focus. As a complex social act, dressing is filled with 'a plenitude of yearning, desires, impulses, and attachments,'[3] that, in turn, communicate 'a panoply of identity traits, including class, ethnicity, marital status, education, moral and ethical convictions, access to leisure, financial dependence or independence, sexuality, conceptions of beauty, and desire for visibility.'[4] Commenting on an 1865 *Blackwood's* article, 'Dress,' Suzanne Daly points out that, for many in the nineteenth century, 'ownership of clothing extends metaphorically to moral ownership of one's person, which has the effect of proper self-regulation' and moral conduct.[5] Victorians appear to have read complex messages in dress that emphasized character, classed identities, gender conformity, and status – making a woman's secret thoughts à la Balzac much more complex.

It is precisely dress's wide and legible range of identity traits that I think Rossetti scrambled and subverted, especially class, rejecting dress as a social sign system of any traits, what I would call de-socializing dress and its codes. For some Victorian artists, dress reflected their own aesthetic authority. Whistler sometimes designed his well-to-do portrait sitters' dress to make their virtual dresses more beautiful than their fashionable outfits. William Holman Hunt designed items for his narrative paintings that often disturbed the social context of his lower-class figures. Mary in *The Shadow of Death* (1870–3) wears a hand-woven indigo-dyed *thob* Hunt owned; it was meant for weddings, not for sitting on a dirty carpenter's shop floor as she does. While the dress lends authenticity to the scene, it is out of place in the action and setting, though Hunt's spectators might not have caught this disparity.[6] The excessive embroidery he added to the shepherdess's dress in *The Hireling Shepherd*, was, however, a disparity Victorians would have recognized.[7] Carol Jacobi notes that Hunt's *The Triumph of the Innocents* is uncannily filled with 'silky fabrics, glassy spheres, bubbles, pots, metallic jewellery and tools,' shiny things unfit for the desert setting.[8] Hunt's disjunctions were, however, mild and subtle, compared to the more radical dress in Rossetti's paintings.

Rossetti's dress in his 1860s paintings, unlike the revivalist dress of his earlier works (e.g., thirteenth-century-ish dress in *Beatrice, Meeting Dante at a Marriage Feast, Denies Him her Salutation*, 1855) created unexpected juxtapositions of items that he himself called 'queer details.'[9] These were pre-industrial European and Asian folk jewellery, like the seventeenth-century German or Tyrolean belt in *Astarte Syriaca* (1876–7).[10] He filled paintings with cheap costume jewellery, once requesting from his assistant a 'theatrical jewel … for a few shillings in Bond Street.'[11] His things were either second-hand, exotic, or usually both, challenging the increasing industrialization of domestic goods, and thus outside the social signifying legibility of regular Victorian dress. Such resistance to fashion may have appeared in his artistic circle as early as 1846 in the loose uncorsetted dress of his sister, poet Christina Rossetti, later echoed in dresses worn and made by his models Jane Morris, his lover, and Elizabeth Siddall, his wife.[12] His unusual deployment of dress challenged Victorian fashion principles of the ensemble, in which dress and accessories were coordinated, and of protocol that adhered to social codes for appropriate dress or accessories, for example, jet for mourning, diamonds for married women only.

Rossetti chose jewellery from second-hand shops in Lambeth, Hammersmith, or Leicester Square, not from couturiers or department stores. He preferred jewellery of 'vulgar' coral (*Regina Cordium*, 1860; *Girl at a Lattice*, 1862), paste (the 'patently cheap' heart necklace in *The Blue Bower*, 1865),[13] filigree gold (*Fair Rosamund*, 1861; *Bocca Baciata*, 1859), and European peasant or Asiatic items (*The Beloved*, 1865–6). Many artists, like Hunt and Edward Poynter, designed expensive versions of peasant or non-European jewellery, sometimes collaborating with the fashionable jeweller Castellani.[14] Peasant jewellery from India and Eastern Europe was at the time gaining a following and an aesthetic through international exhibitions, such as London's 1862 exhibition that prompted the South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert) Museum to start collecting these objects.[15] Yet in art figures wore expensive replicas of these objects, and in portraits of wealthy Victorian women wearing actual peasant jewellery from Eastern Europe, India, the Middle East, and Scandinavia, the women were fashionably dressed and pictured at home among expensive collections of *objets d'art*, corresponding to their status, wealth, and presumed educated taste.[16] Drawing on, and perhaps parodying, conventional portraiture's constructions of identity through dress and accessories, Rossetti subverted the genre's adherence to high fashion through his dis-ensembles of second-hand dress and portraiture's focus on aristocratic or middle-class subjects subverted by his working-class female figures.

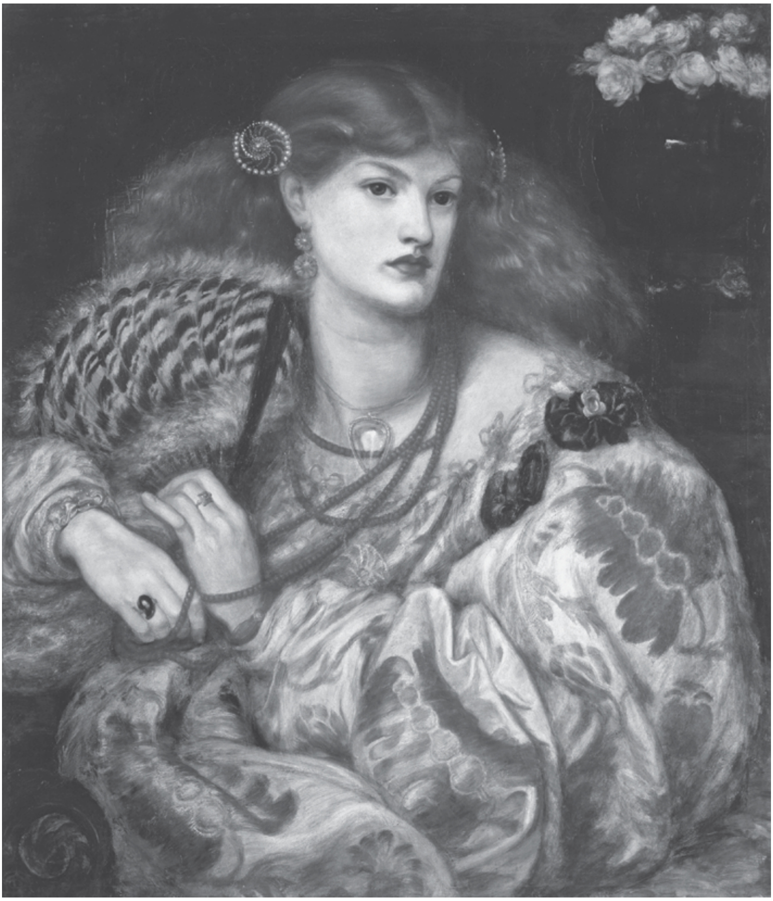
Examining the meanings of second-hand clothes, Catherine Waters argues that these may make the wearer's identity and the object's meaning hard to discern. The residue of previous and often unknown wearers' lives 'destabilizes opposition between the spheres of production and consumption, between ideas of individuality and conformity.'[17] I suggest that Rossetti's use of second-hand, often cheap, peasant, or colonial-made jewellery and dress engaged this destabilization to explore relationships among dress, gender, and class in collaboration with his models as they imaged alternative femininities.

RECEPTION OF ROSSETTI'S BAD GIRLS

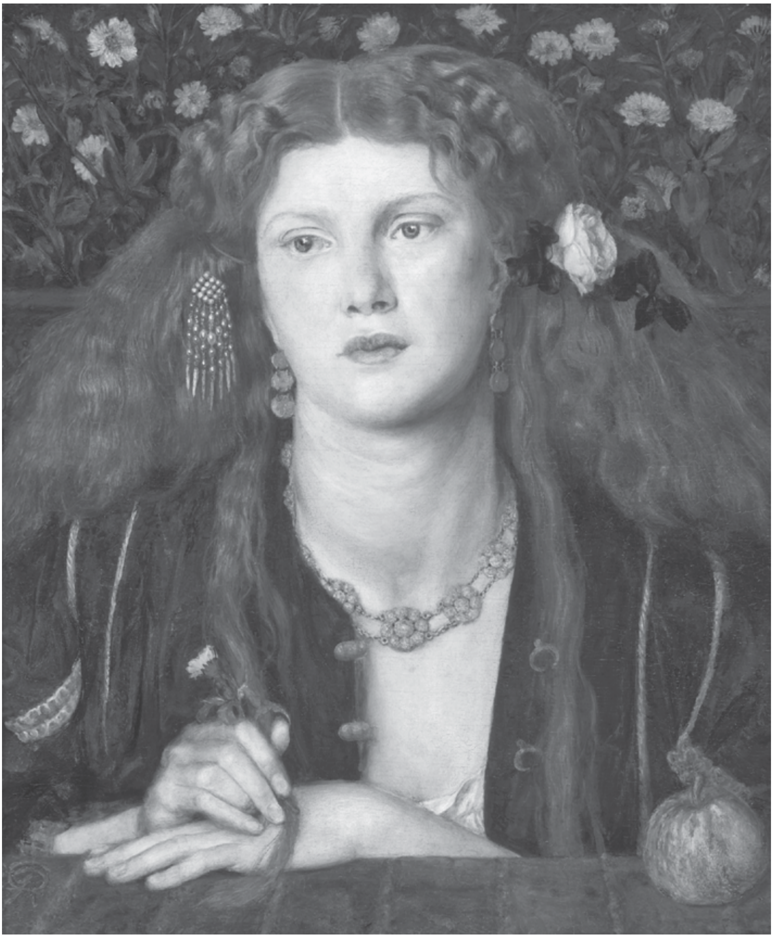
Rossetti's paintings' dress alluded to castoffs and trinkets commonly associated with prostitutes' odd combinations of dress items, although Rossetti's figures' dress was not ragged or dirty like prostitutes' dress[18] (Rossetti only depicted one prostitute subject, in *Found*).[19] These morally ambiguous allusions appear to have resonated uncomfortably with Victorian spectators, underscored by what his figures did *not* wear: bonnets or shawls common in fashion plates and signifying middle-class identities (e.g., the use of shawls depicted in Hunt's paintings).[20] Victorian prostitutes, to better display themselves, often eschewed hats or shawls. Despite such omissions, prostitutes often looked as if they were imitating highborn ladies' dress 'at evening parties and the theatre,' as one 1858 Home Office report reveals.[21] According to Judith Walkowitz, this imitation may have 'signified status, autonomy and freedom from the workaday world of their respectable sisters,' while also being meant to attract men.[22] Thus Rossetti's depicted apparel bore allusions to prostitutes and to their imitations of, and perhaps parodying of, upper-class dress, but he did not deploy prostitutes' castoff dress.

Typically, these Rossettian allusions do not offer a coherent narrative on class, but they raise class as an issue, as he did in his poetry. For example, in 'Jenny,' the speaker has hired a prostitute who falls asleep; without having sex, he then spends this poetic monologue thinking about her life as a social pariah, however beautiful she is. Jerome McGann thinks the poem includes a critique of middle-class complacency, hypocrisy, and social ambitions that adhered to the double standard and harsh judgements of 'fallen' women. Furthermore, McGann argues, the poem exemplifies Rossetti's notion of the 'inner standing-point' by which Rossetti is involved 'in his own poem's dramatic action.'[23] In this monologue the standing point is 'constructed and then occupied simultaneously' by Rossetti the Victorian poet and by the poem's speaker.[24] The narrator is full of 'contradictions' and becomes 'doubtful and ambivalent' as Rossetti's poem becomes a 'space for studying problems' and rethinking social and gender disparities.[25] 'Jenny' interrogates the reliability of the speaker's interpretation and knowledge of the sleeping Jenny and undercuts his authorial voice. Indeed Rossetti intended the poem to disrupt social norms.[26] I would argue that, similarly, Rossetti turns some of his paintings into spaces for studying problems of class and gender through illegible dress that seems a conglomerate of his models' and his own taste to undercut the authority of the portrait and of fashion.

Rossetti's allusions to prostitutes' dress suggest tensions that provoke an 'undecidability,' to use McGann's term.[27] Like the poem, his paintings suggest an interpretive act of some kind.[28] McGann claims *Monna Vanna* (1866, Figure 4.1) is Jenny without the sentiment.[29] He views *Bocca Baciata* (1859, Figure 4.2) as 'a coded way of representing himself [Rossetti], his work and his contemporary world,' by using his lovers as models



4.1 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Monna Vanna*, 1866 (repainted 1873). Oil on canvas, 88.9 × 86.36 cm. © Tate, London 2015.

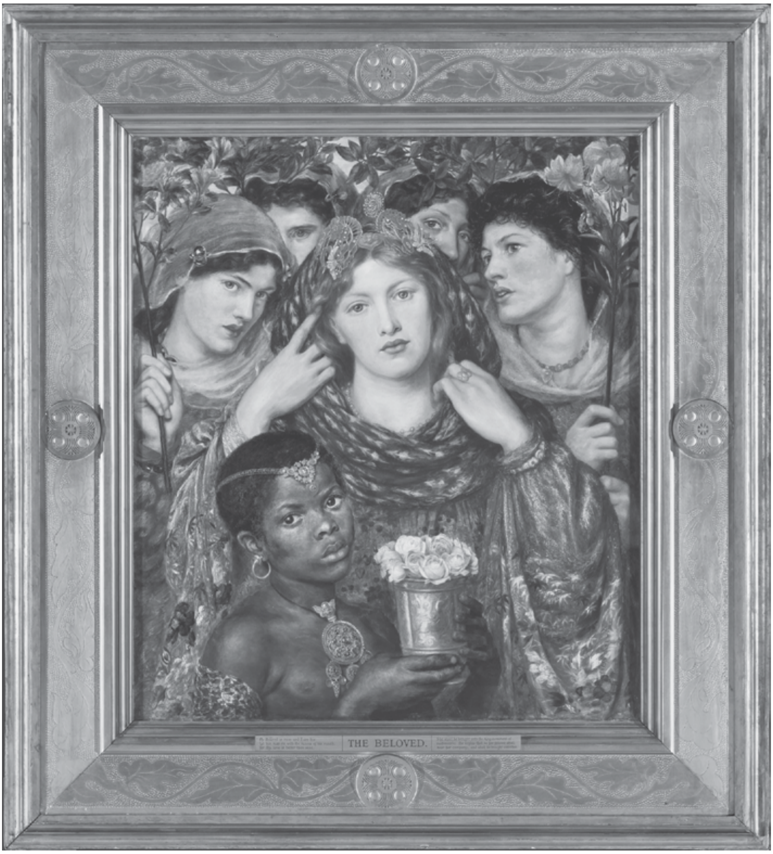


4.2 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Bocca Baciata*, 1859. Oil on panel, 32.1 × 27.0 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of James Lawrence, 1980.261.

in literary subjects that reflect those models and his relations with them in disguised Italianate encryptions (*Monna Vanna* meaning 'vain woman' from Dante's *Vita Nuova*, *Bocca Baciata* meaning 'the already kissed mouth' from Boccaccio's *Decameron*).

Jonathan Culler distinguishes between intentionally transparent conventional codes and aesthetic expression that communicates 'complexities which have not yet been formulated.' But when this expression itself becomes a code, then 'works of art … question, parody and generally undermine the code while exploring its possible mutations and extensions' to 'modify the codes which they seem to be using.'[30] Rossetti's aesthetic complexities modify portrait and fashion codes and privilege his working-class models. Despite their dress's allusions to prostitutes' dress, they embody an intersection of gender and class as a problem to be studied, as it was in 'Jenny.' Victorian critics, patrons, and colleagues read Rossetti's figures as eroticized, vivified by strange dress and exoticized accessories worn in ways defined by Victorians as 'Oriental.' According to one nineteenth-century writer on gems, Oriental women 'wreathe [gems] in their tresses, clasp them round their throats, their arms, their waists, decorate their bosoms, ears, fingers, ankles, and even … their very toes and nostrils with them.'[31] In Rossetti's paintings, pins appear in hair (*The Beloved*, *Bocca Baciata*), and Monna Vanna clasps her coral necklace 'orientally' around her throat as described above. Rossetti seems to be mixing visual, artistic codes of portraiture, fashion, Orientalism, gender, and class.

Contemporaries' readings of the paintings grappled with this combination of ambiguous allusions to prostitutes and incorporation of the exotic, itself a term that signified difference. *The Beloved* (sometimes titled *The Bride*, modelled on laundress Ellen Smith, Figure 4.3) depicts a bride, her four attendants and an African slave or page. On the frame Rossetti inscribed passages from the *Song of Solomon* in which physical love expresses spiritual love. One of the original co-founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood with Rossetti, critic F. G. Stephens referred to the painting's black child's 'barbaric jewellery' (Norwegian and African folk jewellery, a remarkable global juxtaposition) and described the beloved's kimono robe as 'lustrous as silk and as splendid as gold,' her eyes as 'amorous-lidded' and


THE BELOVED.

4.3 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Bride / The Beloved*, 1865–6. Oil on canvas, 82.55 × 76.2 cm. © Tate, London 2015.

her headpiece (a Chinese kingfisher feather brooch) as a 'peculiar head-dress of ancient Egyptian royalty.'[32] His description becomes rapturous:

> She has thrown backwards a large ringlet of her hair, revealing the softened dignity of her loveladen eyes, as well as her face, which is exquisitely fair and fine, and has the least hint of blushes within the

> skin as though the heart of the lady quickened, while we see there is tenderness in her look but voluptuous ardour nowhere.[33]

Stephens's erotic description builds to a climax of passion that he then feels obliged to restrain: she is tender, but not voluptuous, and the painting reveals 'the chastity of the conception,' as if he must protect Rossetti's reputation as much as the fictive bride's. But Stephens's remarks come in 1894 and Rossetti did not exhibit his paintings at the Academy after the early 1850s, and only rarely in other venues, and sold them almost exclusively to private patrons. Even when friends wrote about his paintings in the press, the public could not view them.[34]

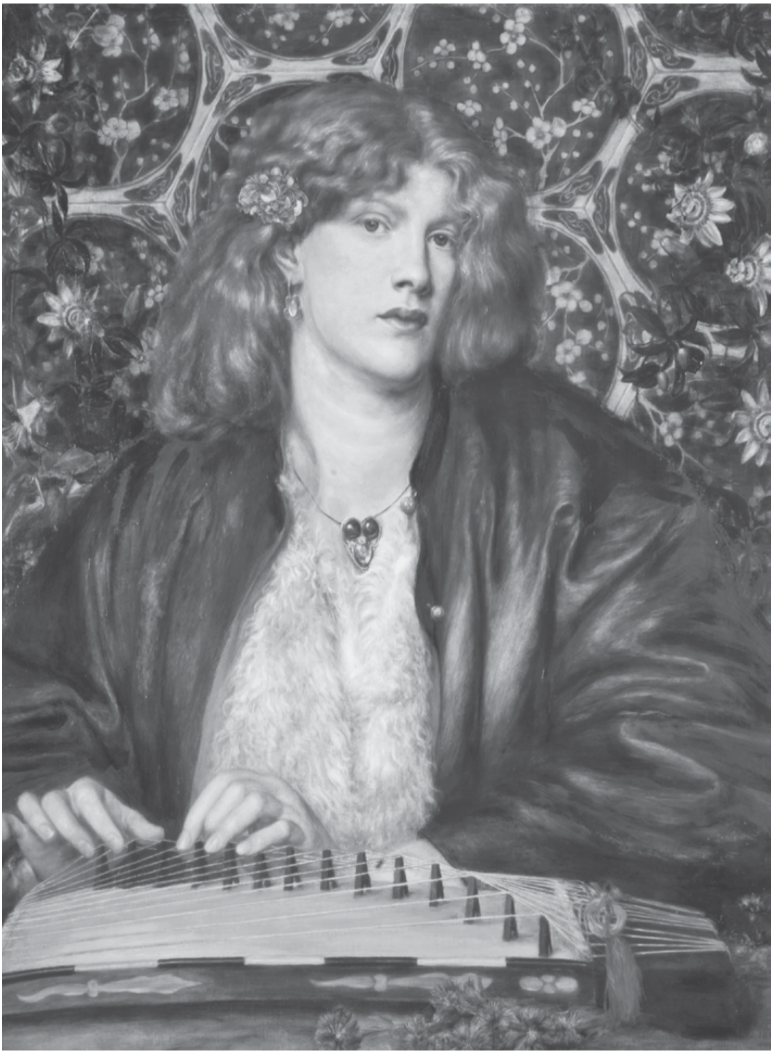
Stephens's comments then attempt to sustain and even sensationalize Rossetti's works. To Stephens, *Bocca Baciata* was so 'saturated with passion' that it 'baffles description.'[35] Yet she appears on the surface calmly (though incorrectly) playing a short koto, a popular version of the traditional Japanese instrument. The koto alluded to the *Japonisme* of the period but, here, too, the instrument is markedly unusual from typical *Japonisme* props of fan, kimono, or screen in Whistler's paintings, for example. Rossetti's work is layered: he modelled *Bocca Baciata* on his mistress Fanny Cornforth to illustrate Boccaccio's praise of the sexually experienced female character Alatiel in the *Decameron*. Painted in 1859, this was Rossetti's first painting in which he employed the focus and scale of portraits to depict female figures in strange dress, second-hand jewellery, and untied hair, a sign of sexual availability. In the painting, the figure looks calmly aside, not at the viewer, and wears an oversized robe with piping and what appear to be Chinese knot buttons. Her dress hides her figure and her gaze does not appear 'saturated with passion.'

In 1860, after seeing the painting exhibited at the Hogarth Club, Hunt attacked its 'gross sensuality' as 'a mere gratification of the eye.'[36] But Rossetti's colleague George Boyce, who commissioned the painting as a portrait of Cornforth, loved its colourful 'Venetian' style and was said to have kissed the painting, a very different response from Hunt's dismissal.[37] Rossetti's patron George Rae similarly felt an 'electric shock of beauty'[38] when viewing his Rossetti paintings and his wife Julia apparently spent hours in front of their collection.[39] Rae commissioned *The*

Beloved (see Figure 4.3) originally as a gift for his wife.[40] These paintings' reception was not defined solely by a dominant or monolithic male gaze, and their content, while mostly recognized as erotic, was not assessed in the same way by all viewers.

Stephens condemned other Rossetti figures: Lady Lilith preened 'with voluptuous self-applause,'[41] with her 'voluptuous physique';[42] Monna Vanna was 'evanescent and fickle in her expression, a self-centred character' wearing a robe 'the folds of which are at once beautiful and unstable,' because her unchaste 'often kissed' lips are 'not warmed by inner passion, nor exalted by rapture of contemplation.'[43] Stephens's bafflement and unease are reflected in the word 'unstable' and his repetition of 'voluptuous' and 'passion.' But these figures are quite cool in their indecipherable dress and self-absorption ('not warmed,' 'self-applause'). Stephens's comments exceed these images' aloof appearances and may derive more from his confusion regarding items not clearly legible in any Victorian way; their uncanny dress and lack of domestic settings may have encouraged Stephens to suspect the figures' morals, commensurate with the Victorian double standard and limited 'acceptable' female identities. Stephens knew the models, so perhaps this knowledge also led him to read beyond the images themselves.

Yet, these figures remained modest compared to the classicized nudes by Leighton or Moore. Rossetti was uncomfortable with nudes and the frankness of French Realism and his figures were hardly conventionally feminine. The green robe in *The Blue Bower* (Figure 4.4), 'a fur-lined robe of green, such green as that which the sea knows, and of which she shares the secret with a chosen few of the world's great colourists,'[44] according to one of his biographers, enlarges the model's body toward masculine proportions. Monna Vanna's shapeless tented brocade similarly hides her body. The eroticism projected onto these works is not a function of an exposed body, conventional beauty, or flirtatious figure, but may be a function of their uncannily juxtaposed accoutrements and dress, a kind of erotics of the unclassifiable. Liberated from the social hierarchy, they became eroticized in the context of this very failure to signify. Such defamiliarized, uncanny dress deterritorialized the female English body (a heavily territorialized body in the nineteenth century) and exercised



4.4 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Blue Bower*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 84 × 70.9 cm. Inv. No. 59.1. The Henry Barber Trust © The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.

Rossetti's contemporaries who attempted to re-territorialize it by trying to fit it into the socio-moral categories limited for women.

Hostile reactions far exceeded the demeanour and actual character of the images. I suggest that such moralizing displaces a deeper unease over both the erasure of social codes and the aestheticization of Rossetti's working-class models. As Geoffrey Squire notes, 'the parts played here by models … is a worth-while subject for speculation.'[45] In my speculation, their class underscored by uncanny dress and second-hand accessories alluding to prostitutes and produced by peasant or colonial artisans combined to induce anxieties for some and pleasures for others, receptions that merit serious examination.

BEYOND HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

In Rossetti's paintings, dress and accessories were outside fashion's categories. Whereas peacock and ostrich feathers were popular in art and fashion, the owl feather fan in *Monna Vanna* was unusual and, like several of the jewellery pieces, appears in other Rossetti paintings. Such objects mirrored the strange things he collected and his own unusual apparel.[46] This was certainly 'queer collecting,'[47] a term Victoria Mills applies to collections that 'participate in the creation of 'new life narratives' ' and pleasures outside 'reproductive time' to create 'alternative relations to time and space, to the disorientation in arrangements of time and between things and human bodies.'[48] Even Stephens recognized that *The Blue Bower* had 'nothing to suggest subject, time or place.' Instead Rossetti let his aesthetic expression, to use Culler's phrase, modify codes to produce what Stephens called 'purely artistic splendour.'[49] Artistic here is a euphemism for what is uncategorizable and uncoded.

Furthermore, putting such things into painting in an apparently chaotic jumble was an affront to painting's conventions that resonated with moral and social purposes for Victorians, just as wearing castoff things affronted social conventions. In *The Beloved*, dress and accessories are from Norway, China, India, Japan, and Africa. The bride wears a Chinese kingfisher brooch in her hair, a kimono, and a gold and ruby Indian 'makara' bracelet.[50] The black child incongruously wears Norwegian and North African pendants, one on his head.[51] These colonial or peasant things foreground the Victorian global circulation of goods while suggesting that these goods' origins and histories have been lost in *deraciné*, uprooting processes of commodification and circulation that remove items from their original geography and culture. Inhabited anew by each subsequent wearer, they emphasize, despite their materiality, how ephemeral were their wearers' identities in the expanding visual culture and global trade.

The global marketplace was probably an economic subtext in these paintings. McGann sees Rossetti's use of excess or abundance of goods as 'complicity … between the discourse of high art and commodity fetishism.'[52] Rossetti's juxtaposition of goods from multiple markets, places, and times reiterated the structures of international exhibitions, overfilled parlours, and department stores. For Karl Marx, circulation was a process of production, and an exchange as social as it was economic and global: for Marx, it 'breaks through all local and personal bounds inseparable from direct barter … it develops a whole network of social relations spontaneous in their broth and entirely beyond the control of the actors.'[53] Circulating goods also circulate iconography, stories, identities, and the meanings of things in multiple, diverse, even contradictory directions to generate new, centrifugal meanings.[54]

I argue that Rossetti's paintings are also exchange sites between material and virtual things, between objects at once recognizable in material social contexts and their uncanny dis-ensembled virtual arrangement. A *deraciné* makara bracelet loses its Indian mythological meaning and gathers new meanings in each place in which it resides: the South Kensington Museum, *Monna Vanna*, or a second-hand shop. The painting then can become the bracelet's origin and provide it with a history. Julie Carr points out that Rossetti's writings address the hermeneutics of desire as a means of escaping market pressures while also being inevitably constructed by the institutions that desire tries to escape.[55] Rossetti's rejection of dress and painting conventions to escape time, space, and the marketplace is carried out by a counter economy of uncanny things uncannily juxtaposed which, although shining and exotic, nevertheless instantiate the imperial market, however strange they look against ordinary, legible Victorian dress and parlour objects.

GAZING AT ALTERNATIVE FEMININITIES

Rossetti's dress does not invoke timelessness in a sacred sense, but does exist outside of chronological time. Spatially he piles clothes, trimming, and accessories in a catalogue of objects, privileging, as Mills argues, 'description over narrative,' with its own erotics of excess.[56] In his paintings, each dress or accessory has its own perspective and acts as a focal point amid a collection of focal points. Georg Simmel suggests that jewels offer 'an enlargement or intensification' of the wearer as the focal point of 'sensuous attention.'[57] Indeed, in these paintings each accessory becomes a focus of sensuous attention.

But second-hand jewellery also becomes a focus of other kinds of attention. Its secret, inchoate histories and sensuous patina acquired from far-flung geographies and 'backward' cultures still cling to it. Bedecked in diverse, uncanny, second-hand, and exotic goods without categories or clear meanings in dress code language, Rossetti's female images are not simply the temptresses described by his cohorts and even by scholars today.[58] Emptied of legible social meanings these figures both consume and produce their identities through imaginative ensembles that reflect on them, as well. Some Victorian advice books suggested that women's intelligence and artistry were reflected in their originality in dress. In her popular books, nineteenth-century author Mary Eliza Haweis advocated bricolage and a rejection of ensembles to permit a woman's invention in dress to demonstrate her taste, intellect, and identity. An admirer of Rossetti, Haweis advocated the unsystematic and the singular as signs of women's creativity, taste, and thoughtfulness.[59] Yet, Rossetti's works were marked by excess that also parodied Victorian middle-class women's obsession with dress trimming, cladding, and yards of material.[60] In *Monna Vanna*, we can see an example in two rows of bows at the collar – a sartorial exuberance like her billowing sleeves. Excess in dress was often condemned, by such tastemakers as architect-designer Charles Locke

Eastlake who in 1868 railed against women's over-ornamented dress and parlours – decorative excess Eastlake further associated with 'uncivilized' cultures.[61] Perhaps Rossetti was challenging the authority of such taste-makers, as well as conventions and codes of portraits and fashion.

Rossetti's models, writers like Haweis and Eastlake (among others), and parodies of middle-class dress are linked by what Christine Bayles Kortsch calls dress culture. Victorian women of most classes were steeped in dress arts – needlework, embroidery, knowledge about fabrics and textiles. This knowledge was vast – girls learned to unpick garments and re-use material, read patterns either printed or from clothes, and create or customize a dress.[62] These complicated skills and ties to material goods gave many women the ability 'to understand and monitor the social implications of fashion.'[63] Kortsch calls dress culture women's second language, with multiple meanings and implications for good and bad taste[64] and 'the reading of material, of fabric.'[65] For working-class women, sewing skills were a means to improve their lives (despite seamstresses' typically poor conditions and overwork); for middle-class women, manipulation of and participation in dress culture were essential to their education and socialization. Novelists Margaret Oliphant and Elizabeth Gaskell struggled with sewing as both creative and oppressive, reflecting the contradictions of dress culture as conformist or resistant or innovative or occasionally all of these.[66]

Sometimes dress culture endorsed 'the social order and hierarchies,' or was 'in resistance to them, and not always in expected ways'; it could be feminine or feminist or both at once.[67] Wahl argues that the tea gown, at first defiant but soon fashionable, was both modern and anti-modern (reverting to eighteenth-century dress) for middle- and upper middle-class women. It was ambiguously fashionable and resistant to fashion, being British and Orientalist in its allusions to Asian dress and fabrics.[68] Oriental clothing offered a critique of fashion and further marked the tea gown as unstable, complex, and highly individual, unpredictably 'between standards of taste and individual embodiment.'[69] This critical possibility was sometimes tied to female agency to use fashion to assert themselves. David Kunzle argues that women in wide crinolines were not only fashion slaves; they could force men into streets and off sidewalks, defy medical and moral authority, and assert their identities. Fashion could invoke narcissistic, erotic pleasure that provoked opprobrium in the press in this indeterminate semiotics of dress.[70]

Rossetti, too, appears to have used Oriental accessories and dress as a form of critique, as well as an invitation to fantasy. Rossetti's models were engaged in dress culture. Alexa Wilding, the model for *Monna Vanna*,[71] was a dressmaker. Siddall was an artist who worked in a milliner's shop (which meant dressmaking, not just hat-making) and sewed clothes in clients' homes, including that of artist Walter Deverell's mother.[72] In a letter in 1852, Christina Rossetti described two dresses Siddall made for herself.[73] Jane Morris designed and wore aesthetic dress, loose-cut without crinolines or corsets, and is credited with creating the green velvet dress she wears in Rossetti's paintings and in the photographs of her that he commissioned.[74] She also made costumes for other artists. Rossetti included her accessories in paintings of her.[75] In Rossetti's *Mariana* (1868–70) Morris is in a dress she probably designed.[76] She became an accomplished embroiderer for her husband William's firm,[77] as did her sister Bessie. In a letter, Rossetti described a dress Morris made for him: 'of crimson Chinese silk lined with yellow striped green. Also a green silk belt ornamented with gold thread – an Oriental thing.'[78] Clearly 'Oriental' things could be invented, as well as purchased. Jane Morris suggested clothing for Rossetti long after their affair ended; as late as December 1880 she sent him 'an old blue cachemire gown, and a cloak that I thought might serve for the girl's dress in your picture.'[79]

As noted above, 'Oriental' was a free-floating term that could refer to inventions, including popular imitations of 'Oriental' goods manufactured in Britain (e.g., Paisley shawls) and sold at Liberty's department store. Despite its function in constructing gender codes and expectations, dress has indeterminate meanings, as all material objects can. This semiotics permits women, as literature scholar Felicity Nussbaum argues, to ventriloquize dominant gender and class ideologies while also speaking 'alternative discourses of 'experience' to erupt in the gaps between subject positions.'[80] As Fred Davis argues, 'the opposing pulls one feels over how to dress translate, at the level of perception, into mixed, contradictory, conflicting, or, at the very least, inchoate identity messages.'[81]

Aestheticism helped make these struggles visible. In Wahl's view, 'Aesthetic dressing can, in some cases, be viewed as questioning, subverting, and even redressing the terms of female subjectivity.'[82] Consumer sites like the department store were liminal spaces of fantasy and play 'where domestic and public identities lost their hard-edged boundaries,' a process, I suggest, like some of Rossetti's paintings.[83]

Rossetti was not alone in this de-socialization of dress. Wahl argues that Whistler's emphasis on the ephemeral nature of fashion made dress into 'a form of visual pleasure rather than … an expression of social betterment.'[84] Fashion scholar Elizabeth Wilson suggests fashion could be a focus of liberation, a site of opposition and a complex signifier of gender and sexuality because the ambiguities surrounding dress problematize its relationship to the body: 'dress, which is an extension of the body yet not quite part of it, not only links that body to the social world, but also more clearly separates the two. Dress is the frontier between the self and the not-self.'[85]

Rossetti's dress is an active frontier that questions identity as it speaks for his models – their style, their accessories, their dressmaking skills and tastes. Rossetti emphasizes this frontier separation between body and dress in *Monna Vanna*'s tented brocade and the Bride's *deraciné*, incorrectly wrapped kimono. In his art, dress and accessories become ontological, a source for the invention of identity and marked by 'différance,' the deconstruction term that combines difference and deferring. Both are here – tremendous differences in dress from Victorian fashion and painting conventions in his depicted Orientalized objects and ways of wearing them placed on working-class females in portrait scale and centrality. The deferring is in their absence-as-presence: these women's dress did not exist in Victorian daily life, but was of, and for, the imagination – theirs and the viewers'. Ambiguous, unclassifiable, and illegible, their identities are deferred, absent, never fulfilled or defined virtually or in reality, since such dress identities would never be encountered except in painting.

Rossetti blurred distinctions between high art and working-class dress culture, rejected goods as signs of wealth and status, and asserted his aesthetic authority to sanctify second-hand objects and working-class women. He invoked the power of the virtual to call forth difference from the everyday and to defer the desire to touch or see the image in any material form, as Martin Danahay has argued.[86] Victorian artists were well aware that painting was becoming overrun by a vast array of visual venues – shops, ads, world's fairs – and art had to retrieve the individualities of both subject and artist. Rossetti's strategy was to exploit the virtual as both a critique and a replication of these venues in the piling-up of global goods.

In Rossetti's art, working-class women were central and beautiful, and their cheap uncanny dress became transcendentally ubiquitous, from all geographies. J. B. Bullen recalls that Rossetti considered his female figures 'dramatic personae of the soul.' He projected onto them his anxieties, pleasures, and needs, as he mythologized and 'shaped them,' changing 'the direction of their lives, and sometimes made and sometimes destroyed them.'[87] For Bullen, Rossetti's persistent motif of erotic desire was expressed through women (I would add, significantly, working-class women). Whistler improved wealthy sitters' fashion and Hunt improved workers' virtual dress; both played with legible codes. Rossetti, however, undermined legibility itself to problematize the relation of dress to the classed body and to let aesthetics do this intervention and disruption.

This undermining was possible because the fashion code is weak and communicates diverse messages. Such shifting 'low semantics,' as Edward Sapir noted, is because 'the unconscious symbolisms attaching to forms, colors, textures, postures, and other expressive elements of a given culture,' elements with 'quite different symbolic references in different areas,' construct a semiotics of symbolism that fashion cannot control or limit to its purposes.[88] Despite attempts to fix fashion in the nineteenth century, anyone could partake of any form of dress they chose (and could afford). Victorian servants were warned against dressing 'up' by wearing kid gloves rather than cotton ones. This warning anxiously acknowledged fashion's underside: its indefinability, ambiguity, uncontrolled surplus value, and threat to the social order.[89]

Rossetti insisted upon this indefinability and threat. His working-class models did not dress up so much as dress out, as in outlandish or outré. Victorians knew what it meant to wear jet – you were in mourning – or diamonds – you were a married woman. But a makara bracelet?

A Norwegian pendant or Chinese kingfisher feather brooch worn on the head are neither hat nor *ferronière*, proper Victorian headgear. Rossetti's virtual accessories and their free-form ways of being worn throw their wearers into an abyss of social meaninglessness paired uncannily with his aesthetic authority.

Even more incongruent touches enhance these subversions: for example, the tapered thin fingers of the overscaled, working-class Fanny Cornforth in *The Blue Bower*. For Victorians, hand size, tapered fingers, gloves or their absence were read for class, manual labour, and aristocratic lineage. This unexpected refinement compounds Rossetti's intended disarray and dis-ensembles and fragments Cornforth's body, at once working-class and refined. As Julie Carr argues, Rossetti's celebration of 'the material, the fragmentary, and the mediated' serves to investigate desire.[90] Fragmentation here separates her body, as well as her dress, from the system that gives them meaning, away from the hegemonic Victorian classification mania to open the painting to many conflicted readings.

While open to fantasy, dress, as Joanne Entwistle notes, remains 'an embodied practice, *a situated bodily practice* which is embedded within the social world and fundamental to micro social order.'[91] Rossetti's dress and accessories underscored a dialectics in which 'dress works on the body, imbuing it with social meaning while the body is a dynamic field which gives life and fullness to dress.'[92] His eccentric dress interrogated the naturalized claims of everything – dress, body, gender, and social class – refusing to reiterate normative Victorian femininities or acceptable digressions from it in art (classicist Aestheticism or wealthy trend-setters). Lise Sanders describes the shopgirl as a discursive, constructed figure (often middle-class, as well as working-class) who 'symbolizes the intersection between conservative ideologies of gender and class and new models of female identity, behaviour, and experiences that suggest an ongoing resistance to or discomfort with these ideologies.'[93] Such discursivity genders, de-genders, and re-genders the shopgirl, processes Rossetti also applies to his models.

It is worth noting that Rossetti's re-gendering also intervened in Victorian masculinity, beginning with his own unusual dress.[94] Jay Sloan suggests that 'Rossetti must be read intertextually and intermodally, as offering not one, but multiple masculinities which both inform and challenge one another within his work.' A revisionist reading of Rossetti's work will 'significantly blur the lines between the supposedly distinct masculine and feminine spheres of Victorian ideology, a move which, in the end, would deny Rossetti much of the cultural centrality and 'male' power and privilege which many have attributed to him.'[95] Parallel to my argument, Sloan suggests that Rossetti's rich, indeterminate content upends earlier reductive notions about his attitudes toward women. Sloan opposes the notion that Rossetti's female figures were mere signs and more broadly rejects the notion that all male artists shared a 'universalized imperialized 'male' gaze.'[96] He argues that men experienced a range of Victorian masculinities. In further support of this rethinking of Rossetti and gender, it is noteworthy that feminist activist Barbara Bodichon, a friend of Siddall and with whom Rossetti corresponded and about whom he and his brother both expressed admiration,[97] called Rossetti her favourite Pre-Raphaelite.[98] Bodichon's admiration raises suspicions that rather than impose a monolithic masculine gaze on his female figures, he may have projected their agency and authority.

DRESS *JOUISSANCE*: IN AND OUT OF THE MARKET

Rossetti's models not only made their own clothes, but self-fashioned new identities through modelling: the exotically renamed Alexa, née Alice, Wilding, or Fanny Cornforth, born Sarah Cox, or Siddall changed to Siddal. And they self-fashioned through art, too: Emma Lazarus described one of Jane Morris's dresses as 'an esthetic dress of dark dull red, with a garnet necklace & cross & looked like an old Italian portrait.'[99] Dress in life and in art inflected each other to generate new models of identity and new identities for these models. Through marriages that included education for Siddall and Morris, some of these models did rise in the social order, a partial function of their self-fashioning through modelling. But above all they found new ways of living between the social and the cultural spheres. For them art was where identity originated in the ludic, assertive virtuality that also inspired Rossetti's private patrons, themselves mostly self-made men of industry and finance.

Through paintings, the models' self-fashioning is represented in Stephen Greenblatt's sense of the term: an identity performed through a theatricality of things and *sprezzatura*, a cultivated nonchalance, perhaps inspired by Rossetti's new interest in Venetian painting.[100] If self-fashioning occurs, according to Greenblatt, 'at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien,'[101] for Rossetti, authority embraced fashion, social hierarchy, dress protocol, and portrait conventions, and the alien included second-hand goods, pre-industrial production, aesthetic valuation of peasant and colonial cultures, Oriental ways of wearing things, and idealized working-class women. And his models adopted a nonchalance in their own gaze.

As Rossetti's works were for the most part privately commissioned, not publicly exhibited, he had room for fantasy. If, as Entwistle argues, we dress to fit spatial situations, then Rossetti dressed his models for his patron's private spaces.[102] Such spaces permitted working-class figures displayed in leisurely, sensory pleasure associated with the 'high' art of wealthy sitters' portraits. Krista Lysack describes a shopper's sensory gaze as 'of proximity – the goods can be sampled, touched, fixed, tried on,'[103] deploying all the senses and the richness of textures. Rossetti invokes these pleasures for and through his depicted female subjects and, contiguously, for those female viewers (like Julia Rae) who probably also enjoyed shopping's tactility. His figures touch necklaces, fans, exotic musical instruments, and lean longingly against parapets awaiting lovers. Rossetti's heightened colour and tactility of vibrant textiles and cheap accessories exploited painting's virtuality and permitted spectators to enjoy what Bruno Latour calls 'the many indefinite material nuances between the feel, the touch, the color, the sparkling of silk' enjoyed by the models in his paintings.[104] Art historian Lynda Nead demonstrates that dress can 'express assertion and subversion, as much as docility or submission,' and depart from conventional respectable Victorian womanhood, so women can discover 'access to a bodily language that involved imaginative projection and fantasy,' enjoying the pleasures of dress, 'multiple and sensual, involving sight, sound and above all, touch.'[105] I would suggest that this bodily language was a dialect, or at least an offshoot, of the language of dress culture.

Touching, immediacy, contact, contiguity, shared, adjacent, nearby, pleasure are words that describe *jouissance*, pleasure in and of itself. Roland Barthes[106] distinguishes between *plaisir*, 'which is comfortable, ego-assuring, recognized, and legitimated as culture, and 'jouissance,' which is shocking, ego-disruptive, and in conflict with the canons of culture.'[107] Rossetti's figures' erotic appeal is not tied to sexual morality, as Stephens or Hunt viewed it, but exists beyond social parameters or the moral condemnation that exceeded the images themselves. Aestheticists Leighton and Moore offered *plaisir*; classicism made the nude visible but acceptable. Rossetti emphasized *jouissance* that was disruptive, as reflected in some of the receptions of his paintings.

MODERN ROSSETTI

Rossetti frequently attempted to alter the titles of some of these paintings, even after they were sold.[108] These attempts were the result of his increasing wish to identify these figures as modern women. He insisted that *Monna Vanna* and *Lady Lilith* were images of modern women.[109] Nineteenth-century critic and historian F. G. Stephens described women in *The Beloved* as 'modern,' 'Venetian,' and 'sumptuous,' all at once.[110]

Dress in Rossetti's work appears to have its own relationship to modernity, to enjoin what Parkins and Sheehan term the 'fragmented, processual nature of modern selfhood.'[111] In this modernity, meaning is self-reflexive, aware of its own ephemerality and instability. As McGann argues, the less that objects are related to narrative, history, or each other, the less sure we are of their meanings in the 'thickened visual world' of Rossetti's paintings, with their decommodified, ambiguous, ephemeral, unstable, and indecipherable things from different histories, places, and economic value.[112] Rossetti's models together and in collusion with him constructed an imaginary femininity, an alternative to bourgeois society. Their strange dress undergirded their outlandish bodily differences, such as thick necks, bee-stung lips, thick wavy hair; oversized clothes that hinted at masculinized body proportions nonetheless mesmerized Rossetti's patrons who, even in their relationship with him, maintained their bourgeois ambitions and discreet tastes: his paintings hung in their parlours and dining rooms (not hidden in smoking rooms or bedrooms), and they, like Rossetti, eschewed nudes in art.[113]

While these paintings invoke consumerism and the expanding world of goods, Rossetti problematizes the 'libidinal economy' that sutures modernity, femininity, and the commodity, as Abigail Solomon-Godeau describes this trinity.[114] He also anticipated the prominent use of the Aesthetic female in advertising from the 1890s on, ties between commerce and art but without Rossetti's interpretive thrust. Rossetti's ideal spectator was not only the gazing male. Rossetti engaged what has been described as a tactile-driven female gaze, recapitulating, and perhaps parodying, women's emerging opportunities for modern gazing in department stores or window-shopping or walking city streets unchaperoned and their increasing access to consumption in a Victorian 'ocular economy,' a likely obverse of a libidinal economy.[115]

At the historical moment of these paintings, Rossetti deployed dress to re-territorialize and centralize peasant artisanry, *deraciné* goods, and working-class women to generate alternative femininities. From his 'standing point,' Rossetti's own desiring engagement with his models was transformed through his queer collecting to turn those desires into interventions that made art an act of critical interpretation of Victorian commodity culture, pre-industrial production and classed femininities. Our recent re-thinking of the importance of dress as a site of accommodation, resistance, and appropriation opens up fresh ways of understanding dress in Rossetti's paintings to suggest new, modern, complex ambiguities, a probing interpretation of class and femininity, and far fewer phallocentric intentions than have been ascribed to his works.

Notes

1 Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 139, notes that Whistler, Leighton, and Moore, among others, studied the Elgin marbles.

2 Kimberly Wahl, 'A Domesticated Exoticism,' in *Cultures of Femininity in Modern Fashion*, ed. Ilya Parkins and Elizabeth Sheehan (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011), 51–2. On patrons' wives and daughters in 'aesthetic' dress, see Charlotte Gere, 'The Art of Dress, Victorian Artists and the Aesthetic Style,' in *Simply Stunning* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museums, 1996), 14, 17.

3 Rita Felski, 'Afterword,' in Parkins and Sheehan, 232, 233.

4 Linda Simon, 'Women and Fashion,' *Journal of Women's History* 26/4 (2014), 164.

5 The article was by Anne Mozeley. See Suzanne Daly, *The Empire Inside* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 40.

6 Linda Parry, 'Textile Background,' in *William Holman Hunt and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision*, ed. Katherine Lochnan and Carol Jacobi (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2008), 63–4.

7 Judith Bronkhurst, *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2006), I: 147.

8 Carol Jacobi, *William Holman Hunt: Painter, Painting, Paint* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 247.

9 Rossetti's letter to George Rae, 21 August 1869, in *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: The Chelsea Years, 1863–72*, v. 4, II: 1868–70, ed. William E. Fredeman (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), 241.

10 Shirley Bury, 'Rossetti and his Jewellery,' *Burlington Magazine* 118, 875 (1976), 101. This is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, given by May Morris.

11 Letter to Dunn, cited in Bury, *Burlington*, 101; Shirley Bury, *Jewellery, 1789–1910* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991), II: 476–7.

12 Kimberly Wahl, *Dressed as in a Painting* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2013), 4. See Rossetti's 1854 drawing of Siddall, Victoria and Albert Museum.

13 Bury, *Burlington*, 101.

14 Inspired by peasant jewellery Poynter designed expensive versions of it for paintings. See Julie Codell, 'Displaying Aestheticism's Bric-a-Brac,' in *Palaces of Art*, ed. Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2013), 124.

15 Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, 'Jewellery at the 1862 Exhibition,' *Almost Forgotten: The International Exhibition of 1862*, special issue *Decorative Art Society Journal* 38 (2014): 98–101.

16 For example, William Blake Richmond's portrait of *Mrs. Luke Ionides* (1882, Victoria and Albert Museum).

17 Catherine Waters, 'Fashion in Undress,' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 12, no.1 (2007): 29.

18 Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 26.

19 The painting (1854–5, Delaware Art Museum) shows a drover coming to the city where he finds his old love, now a prostitute, identified by her second-hand clothes.

20 Hunt uses shawls in *Portrait of Fanny Holman Hunt* (1866–7) and *The Children's Holiday* (1864–5), indicating cultured taste, and in *The Awakening Conscience* (1853) indicating aspirations to such taste.

21 Walkowitz, 26.
22 Ibid.
23 Jerome McGann, 'DG Rossetti and the Art of the Inner Standing-Point,' in *Outsiders Looking In: The Rossettis Then and Now*, ed. David Clifford and Laurence Rousillon (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 175.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., 176–7.
26 Jay D. Sloan, "How grew such presence from man's shameful swarm': Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Victorian Masculinity,' in *Victorian Masculinities*, ed. A. Yates and S. Trowbridge (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), 23. Rossetti hoped 'Jenny' would upend readers' hypocritical self-righteous views.
27 McGann, 'Standing-Point,' 177.
28 Ibid., 181, 182.
29 Ibid., 186.
30 Jonathon Culler, *Saussure* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1976), 100–101, cited in Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11.
31 A. de Barrera, *Gems and Jewels* (London: Bentley, 1860), 3.
32 Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (New York: Dutton, 1908), 145. This is a longer version of Stephens' 1894 study.
33 Ibid.
34 See Julie Codell, 'The Art Press and Its Parodies: Unraveling Networks in Swinburne's 1868 *Academy Notes*,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 165–83, on Swinburne's rapturous descriptions of unseeable Rossetti paintings.
35 Stephens, *Rossetti*, 128.
36 Hunt to Thomas Combe, 12 February 1860, cited in Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), I: 69.
37 Alastair Grieve, 'Rossetti and the Scandal of Art for Art's Sake in the Early 1860s,' in *After the Pre-Raphaelites*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 22–3.
38 George Rae to Rossetti, March 1866, in Julian Treuherz, 'Aesthetes in Business,' *The Burlington Magazine* 146, no. 1210 (January 2004): 17, n. 33.
39 Rae to Rossetti, 23 February 1866, in Treuherz, 17, n. 29.
40 Treuherz, 14.
41 Stephens, *Rossetti*, 160.
42 Ibid., 163.
43 Ibid., 165.
44 H. C. Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: George Bell, 1899), 137.
45 Geoffrey Squire, 'Clothed in Our Right Minds,' in Cheltenham catalogue, 42.
46 Henry Treffry Dunn compared Rossetti's drawing room to a shop, with 'Indian cabinets, old Nankin and miscellaneous odds and ends.' The bedroom had items from 'an old furnishing shop' in the slums of Lambeth, Hammersmith, or Leicester Square, and 'a medley of brass-*repoussé* dishes, candlesticks, Chinese monstrosities

in bronze.' *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and His Circle*, ed. Gale Pedrick (London: Elkins Matthews, 1904), 51, 35, 18. T. Hall Caine described 'outlandish and unheard-of books' in 'disorder' and 'Oriental oddities' in *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 228–9.

47 Peter Horne and Reina Lewis, eds. *Outlooks: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities and Visual Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1996), 2.

48 Victoria Mills, 'Dandyism, Visuality and the 'Camp Gem',' in *Illustrations, Optics and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Literary and Visual Cultures*, ed. Luisa Calè and Patrizia Di Bello (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 148–9.

49 F. G. Stephens, on *The Blue Bower*, in 'Mr. Rossetti's Pictures,' *The Athenaeum* no. 1982 (21 October 1865): 545–6.

50 The bracelet, which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, also appears in *Monna Vanna*.

51 Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria* (London: British Museum, 2010), 129.

52 McGann, 'Standing-Point,' 186.

53 Karl Marx, *Capital*, cited in Paula Rabinowitz, 'Introduction,' in *Exchanging Clothes: Habits of Being* 2, ed. Cristina Giorcelli and Paula Rabinowitz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 4–5.

54 Rabinowitz, 'Introduction,' 6.

55 Julie Carr, 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Remarketing Desire,' in *Victorian Transformations*, ed. Bianca Tredinnick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 134.

56 Mills, 'Dandyism,' 153–4.

57 Georg Simmel, 'Adornment,' cited in Mills, 160.

58 Paul Spencer-Longhurst calls the female in *Woman Combing Her Hair* a 'sleazy slut' and the figure in *The Blue Bower* 'the sultry siren.' *The Blue Bower* (London: Scala, 2000), 23.

59 See Mary Eliza Haweis, 'Jewels and Dress,' *Contemporary Review* 56 (July/December, 1889): 97, on Indian jewellery's 'spontaneous variety'; and *The Art of Beauty* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878), 107, against jewellery ensembles.

60 Julie Codell, 'Exotic, Fetish, Virtual,' in *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture*, ed. Julia Skelly (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 89–109.

61 Charles Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1969), 97.

62 Christine Bayles Kortsch, *Dress Culture in Late Victorian Women's Fiction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 8.

63 Ibid., 9.

64 Ibid., 10.

65 Ibid., 11.

66 Ibid., 19: Feminists Lydia Becker and Emmeline Pankhurst defended corsets to appeal to a conservative public.

67 Ibid., 14.

68 Parkins and Sheehan, 'Introduction,' 11.

69 Wahl, 'Exoticism,' 55–6 on Aestheticism's Orientalism.

70 David Kunzle, 'Dress Reform as Antifeminism,' *Signs* 2/3 (1977): 570–9.

71 Wilding modelled for many of Rossetti's works. Her face was substituted for Fanny Cornforth's face in *Lady Lilith* in 1872–3 at the owner's request.

72 Squire, Cheltenham catalogue, 38.

73 Sophia Wilson, 'Away With the Corsets, On With the Shifts,' in Cheltenham catalogue, 31.

74 See Wendy Parkins, *Jane Morris: The Burden of History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 128–34, on the complexities of her dress and its various meanings and indication of her agency in the creation of her image.

75 J. B. Bullen, *Rossetti: Painter and Poet* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2011), 137. See Bury, *Burlington*, 101, on her liking the jewellery she wore in such paintings.

76 Wahl, *Dressed*, 5.

77 Jan Marsh, 'Jane Morris,' in *Dictionary of Artists' Models*, ed. Jill Jimenez (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), 383.

78 Rossetti to Theodore Watts Dunton, 9 March 1874, in Fredeman, v. 6, no. 74.55, p. 419.

79 Frank Sharp and Jan Marsh, eds. *The Collected Letters of Jane Morris* (London: Boydell Press, 2012), letter 92, p. 113. Whistler's model and lover Jo Heffernan designed her own clothes, including the white dresses in *The White Girl*, 1861, and *The Little White Girl*, 1864 (Squire, Cheltenham catalogue, 40).

80 Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 133, 134.

81 Davis, 22.

82 Wahl, 'Exoticism,' 50.

83 Ibid.

84 Wahl, *Dressed*, xxxii.

85 Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 3.

86 Martin Danahay, 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Virtual Bodies,' *Victorian Poetry* 36, no. 4 (1998), 379–98.

87 Bullen, 9.

88 Sapir (1931, 141) cited in Davis, 5.

89 Ariel Beaujot, *Victorian Fashion Accessories* (New York: Berg, 2012), chapter 1 on gloves.

90 Carr, 'Desire,' 134.

91 Joanne Entwistle, 'The Dressed Body,' in *Body Dressing*, ed. Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 34.

92 Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 327.

93 Lise Shapiro Sanders, *Consuming Fantasies* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 2.

94 Gere in her Cheltenham essay, 15, describes Rossetti's 'flowing tie and shapeless jacket and trousers … deliberately unassuming.'

95 Sloan, 11.

96 Ibid., 12–13.

97 Letter from D. G. Rossetti to C. Rossetti, 8 November 1853, letter 53:57, in Fredeman, *Correspondence* (2002), I: 294, and William Michael Rossetti, *Some Reminiscences and Other Writings*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1906), I: 171–2.

98 Pam Hirsch, *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon* (London: Vintage Digital, 2010), 50.

99 Cited in Sharp and Marsh, 99.

100 Leonée Ormond, 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Old Masters,' *Yearbook of English Studies* 36, no. 2 (2006): 153–68.

101 Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9.

102 Entwistle, *Body*, 49–50.

103 Krista Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 151.

104 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40. See Felski, 'Afterword,' 233–4.

105 Lynda Nead, 'The Layering of Pleasure,' *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 35, no. 5 (2013): 492.

106 Roland Barthes, *The Pleasures of the Text*. Trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 14.

107 Jane Gallop, 'Beyond the Jouissance Principle,' *Representations* 7 (Summer 1984): 111.

108 Ibid., 184.

109 William Fredeman, v. 4: 1870, #110: Rossetti to Thomas Gordon Hake (21 April 1870): '*Lady Lilith* … represents a 'Modern Lilith'.' William Michael Rossetti wrote, '*Monna Vanna* had … a thirteenth-century sound about it … and he felt it to be inappropriate for so comparatively modern-looking a picture.' *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer* (London: Cassell, 1889), 69.

110 Stephens, *Rossetti*, 146–7.

111 Parkins and Sheehan, 'Introduction,' 3.

112 Jerome McGann, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Game That Must Be Lost* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 94–5.

113 For example, London solicitor Leonard Valpy, Merseyside banker George Rae and shipping magnate Frederick Leyland.

114 Abigail Solomon-Godeau, 'The Other Side of Venus,' in *The Sex of Things*, ed. V. de Grazia with E. Furlough (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 114.

115 Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 71.

5

MOURNING FOR PARIS

The Art and Politics of Dress after '*l'année terrible*' (1870–1)

Justine De Young

In 1871, after the siege of Paris, the loss of the Franco-Prussian War, and the violent suppression of the Paris Commune, Paris was in mourning. Beyond the considerable personal losses, the city itself was suffering from an existential crisis. With some blaming the extravagance of the Second Empire for the country's defeat, how could Paris continue to define itself as the capital of fashion and luxury? How could one think of being fashionable in a time of mourning? Many of the sites and spaces of sartorial display were damaged or destroyed. Most fashion journals had ceased publication for eight months during the siege and subsequent Commune and some would never return.[1] Fashion trendsetters like the Empress Eugénie and the Princess de Metternich had left France, leaving no clear models for emulation. The press called variously for the rejection of fashion and for the adoption of patriotic and 'true' dress, while the actual fashion that emerged was more extravagant and ornamented than ever before, over-run by ribbons and ruffles. This essay will chart the varied sartorial responses – both discursive and actual – to '*l'année terrible*' and examine how artists navigated the altered landscape, offering new understanding of their art and the responses it received in the press.

It interrogates the moment of rupture brought by the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune, when artists and authors tried to imagine a way forward that excluded fashion. While in the 1860s, fashion was frequently linked to morality, after '*l'année terrible*' fashion became pointedly political as well. Not just what one wore was potentially freighted with meaning, but following fashion and the modern fashion system itself was politicized as decadent and corrupt like the fallen Second Empire. Yet the unexpected prominence and participation of women in the Paris Commune had disturbed gender norms, which led to a push to reestablish traditional feminine roles under the new Third Republic government, complicating such a rejection.[2]

La Mode illustrée and several other fashion periodicals that continued to publish during the war were harshly criticized; for example, Louis-Edmond Duranty wrote in April 1872, a month before the Salon opened:

> In the midst of these concerns, of the overthrow of Parisian life, what is more surprising than the imperturbable appearance of fashion plates? Week after week, one sees these depictions of beautiful dresses appear. Who will wear them? Significantly though, illustrated newspapers, even satirical newspapers, ceased publication during the siege, even though they could have continued … but fashion journals continued to display their models, their pink and smiling ladies covered with ruffles, poufs, with skirts pleated, raised. Fervent supporters contemplated these splendours deep in retreat and pondered the future joys of costume after the victory and peace![3]

Fashionability, previously the hallmark of the Parisian woman, was now viewed as unpatriotic and routinely condemned – not just the journals, but the women who read them were suspect. Paris was in mourning for its people, its pride, and its idea of itself. Particularly in the wake of the Commune, rejecting fashion and embracing mourning – whether real or patriotic – avoided signalling one's political sympathies; what one wore did not differ if one was mourning a soldier killed in the Franco-Prussian War or a Communard killed afterward. Continuing to wear black avoided the potential political implications that adopting more brightly coloured dress might evince and, as Allison Levy articulates well, 'at the especially vulnerable and disruptive time of death, social order could be restored through the repetitive, gender-specific practice of mourning.'[4]

Yet Paris could not stay in mourning forever. This essay will concentrate on how women were represented and discussed in the first Paris Salon after '*l'année terrible*,' that of 1872. Much of the existing scholarship on the 1872 Salon focuses more on who and what was *not* in the Salon: works by Henri Regnault (who had died in the war), Gustave Courbet (who was excluded for his participation in the Commune), the works removed by the government (for their violent depiction of the past year's events), and the dramatically reduced number of works due to a new, more severe jury.[5] But less attention has been paid to what actually was on display and how critics reacted to it.

This reaction is perhaps most ably described by a caricature by Eugène Ladreyt, in which we see a top-hatted bourgeois in the throes of a massive yawn, alongside him a soldier in a kepi and another man, asleep.[6] This boredom reflects the predominant view that the overall character of the Salon had not changed despite the recent dramatic events. Yet, I will argue the artists' choices of subject matter and the critical reaction to the works were indelibly coloured by them. Looking past the bored foreground figures (notably all male), we see caricatures of Gustave Doré's *L'Alsace!*, Puvis de Chavanne's *Hope*, and Carolus-Duran's *Portrait of Mme Sainctelette* – some of the most discussed paintings of the Salon. This chapter will consider reactions to these sorts of female figures – Alsatian, allegorical, and fashionable – for what they reveal about contemporary discourses surrounding women, fashion, and French identity in the aftermath of the war.

HOW THE DISCOURSE ON FASHION AND THE FEMININE IDEAL HAD CHANGED

By the summer of 1871, the war was over and Paris was at peace, but reminders of the siege and the Commune were everywhere; buildings were in ruins, public parks were denuded of trees – even the zoo was empty as its animals had been eaten by starving Parisians during the siege. Gallingly, Prussian troops did not leave France until November of 1873.[7] Belief in the correspondence between fashion and morality had grown even stronger and writers like Gaston de Cambronne wrote fervently of their hopes for the emergence of a new sort of 'true costume, one whose decency is its most beautiful ornament.'[8] The new Third Republic government led by Adolphe Thiers did not encourage the fashion industry by example or by decree as Emperor Napoléon III and Empress Eugénie had and thus fashion journals could no longer report breathlessly from the court of fashion innovations and eccentricities. Madame Thiers' taste was extremely conservative, as Emmeline Raymond, editor of *La Mode illustrée*, reported:

> Madame Thiers and her inseparable sister, Mademoiselle Doane, are proverbial for the simplicity of their tastes; these ladies, who are good housekeepers, and at the same time remarkably intelligent and well educated, have always abhorred crinolines, tournures, and chignons, which are tournures for the head; and to avoid displeasing them, it has been endeavoured to lessen the exaggerations of dress, already modified with the consent of fashion.[9]

Housekeeping and education replaced fashionability and *coquetterie* as desired virtues in the discourse of fashion magazines. This emphasis aligned with the hoped-for return to traditional feminine roles of motherhood and domestic management that had been threatened by the Commune. The sisters' prominent rejection of fashion and the city-wide mourning meant that few innovations in dress were seen in 1871. Fashion plates regularly depicted mourning and half-mourning *toilettes* and even those women not in mourning adopted many of its trappings, like jet jewellery.[10] Black and other dark-coloured and monochromatic *dresses* predominated.

Yet, early on, the importance of fashion to Paris's identity and France's economy was also acknowledged. In a note dated '5 June 1871, Paris,' written in the immediate aftermath of 'bloody week' and the fall of the

Commune, which left tens of thousands of Parisians dead, Antoinette Valéry stressed this patriotic obligation in the *Journal des dames et demoiselles*:

> Paris has been through a terrible crisis, no doubt it will recover, but it will take at least a few weeks to regain something of its usual appearance … Right now we are in mourning, we walk on ruins. Give us a few days to shake off our stupor, to recover our strength and soon we will resume our task, and soon Paris will reclaim its rank and its indisputable supremacy in all matters of taste and luxury.[11]

Valéry's comment underlines the tension in the discourse surrounding fashion, which was seen as incompatible with mourning, but was bound up in the city's identity as capital of taste and luxury. Perhaps partly in consequence of this, in July 1871, fashion journals proposed shortening the mourning term set for widows to one year and six weeks. The traditional four stages of mourning were maintained, but their length considerably shortened: widows were to wear *grand deuil* for five months, followed by four months in black cotton, three months in black silk, and six weeks in the half-tones of *demi-deuil*.[12] Notably this contradicted earlier advice in August 1870, at the outset of the war, which had set mourning at two years, but with a simpler two-stage progression.[13] The conflicting mourning advice on offer underlines the difficulty of dress in the postwar period – one could even be perceived as *mourning* improperly.

By 1872, Raymond and other editors sought to end the stasis and controversy surrounding dress by stressing the individual, democratic character of contemporary fashion. Previously in the discourse of fashion magazines, fashion (*la mode*) had been characterized as an all-powerful autocrat, but Raymond stressed everything was different in 1872:

> I have already said, but I think it necessary to repeat that there is no longer today only one fashion, but a crowd of fashions, that in light of the impossibility of wearing all the fashions that are created daily, it is necessary to choose your own preferred style of dress … In a word, fashion (*la mode*) is no longer an absolute government driving change

> and making the law. Whether one laments or celebrates this development, it's a fact and it must be remarked.[14]

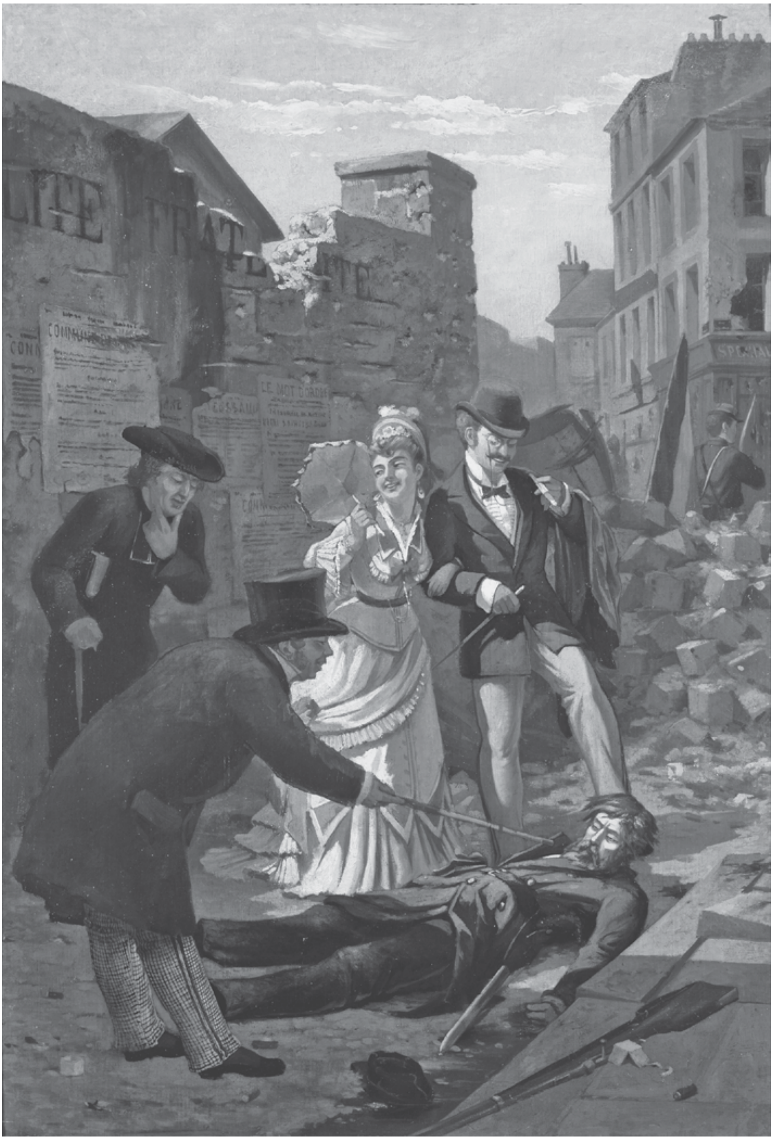
Fashion, like France, had been transformed from an absolutist state into a democratic republic. Stressing women's independence to style themselves in keeping with their own tastes was one of the ways the fashion industry dealt with the postwar ambivalence of fashion, freeing themselves from responsibility in case public opinion judged fashion to have gone too far again. Yet resuming fashion – however patriotic and democratic – was no easy task.

How freighted dress had become with political meaning is clear in the anonymous 1871 painting, *Exchanging Pleasantries before the Body of a Communard* (Figure 5.1), which depicts a fashionable bourgeois couple navigating the ruins of Paris, the body of a dead Communard at their feet. Beyond the insensitive prodding of the dead body by their companion, the couple's complete lack of grief or sympathy for the death and destruction around them is emphasized by their fashionable clothing, which is lit strongly by the sun. The light particularly highlights the simpering *bourgeoise*'s bright yellow bustled dress, trimmed in blue, which is pointedly not the actual or patriotic mourning for the city worn by other women. Rather than aiding the Commune's victims, she carries a useless parasol in a pose mimicking a fashion plate model.

This image underlines the complexity of the situation facing Parisian women in 1871–2, Paris was in mourning but also desirous to regain its status as capital of luxury and taste. Fashion, which was disdained during and after the war as frivolous, also became an essential signifier of civilization after the Commune. Women were forced to walk a tightrope of avoiding on the one side the luxury and decadence now associated with the Second Empire and, on the other, the extreme represented by the *communardes* who were represented as having rejected not only fashionability, but their femininity as well.[15]

THE 1872 SALON

In descriptions of visitors to the 1872 Salon, critics often emphasized that women were more interested in showing off their clothing than


LITE
FRATE
ITE
COMMUNE
LE MOT D'ORDRE

5.1 Anon., *Exchanging Pleasantries before the Body of a Communard*, *c.* 1871. Oil on canvas, 91.7 × 63.8 cm. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Saint-Denis, France / Bridgeman Images.

in looking at the paintings. Émile Zola does so in his very first paragraph: 'One woman comes in pearl-grey silk, having pressed her dressmaker – she would be in despair if she did not show herself, lorgnette in hand, in front of the pretty things by her beloved painters.'[16] Notably his imaginary visitor is wearing pearl grey silk – a colour suitable for half-mourning, which indeed much of the city was still wearing in May of 1872. The emphasis on women's preoccupation with dress by Zola and other critics is simultaneously dismissive – stressing how vain and frivolous most women are – and reassuring, repeating a familiar criticism from before the war and stressing that women are focused on the superficial (i.e., *not* advocating for social change or fighting in the streets of Paris).

Just as dress had become fraught terrain in the aftermath of '*l'année terrible*,' French authors and artists struggled to figure out what kind of *art* was appropriate and necessary in postwar Paris. In the press, artists were urged to embrace serious subjects:

> Art is a soldier; it, too, has its battles to fight like the armies. It must help to regenerate our spirits, to remake a vigorous and strong France. Art must produce virile and great works worthy of the task that we are all undertaking, worthy of the terrible times we have gone through and of the future that awaits us.[17]

It perhaps goes without saying that the desired 'virile' works did not include depictions of fashionable *Parisiennes*. Beaux-Arts Director Charles Blanc sought to fulfill this serious mandate through strict jurying of the Salon. The government made it clear that it disliked landscape and genre subjects and would only support grand, patriotic works it considered to be of interest to everyone. Significant changes in the rules of the Salon and the composition of the jury meant that there were far fewer works on display than in recent years; according to tallies by Jane Mayo Roos, 'in 1868, the jury had accepted 4,213 works; in 1869, 4,230; in 1870, 5,434; in 1872, 2,067.'[18] The 1872 jury accepted fewer than half of the works submitted, only 1,536 paintings, and even those artists previously deemed exempt – medal-winners like Puvis de Chavannes – were required to submit their artworks to the jury.[19] Indeed the impossibility of ever exhibiting in the newly conservative Salon is partially what prompted the Impressionists to form their own independent exhibition society in 1874.[20]

Claude Monet, Edgar Degas, Camille Pissarro, and Paul Cézanne submitted no works to the 1872 Salon. Édouard Manet submitted only his 1864 American Civil War painting of the *Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama* – which Roos argues was in fact a sly and timely choice, but which represented nonetheless a dramatic departure from his more typical figural works depicting modern life and particularly modern women.[21] Mary Cassatt exhibited – under her middle name, Stevenson – a scene from Carnival, painted while she was in Seville, which similarly skirted the depiction of contemporary Parisian life. Berthe Morisot submitted two works and had one, a pastel portrait of her sister Edma Pontillon, accepted, as will be discussed below (see Figure 5.5). Pierre-Auguste Renoir sent his *Parisian Women in Algerian Dress*, which was, not surprisingly, rejected – if Parisian women in contemporary dress were controversial, it was certainly not the time for them to masquerade.

Yet despite calls in the press for heroic and patriotic art, the overall character of the Salon was judged to have changed little and, to the surprise of critics, very few artists made reference to the Commune or the Franco-Prussian War.[22] Admittedly eight paintings depicting the recent violence had been removed by the government, but less than 5 percent of the remaining 2,067 works made any allusion to the events of the previous year (fewer than 100 total).[23] Like Ladreyt's caricatural yawning *bourgeois*, one critic noted:

> Except for a few works that remind us of various episodes of the war, or which direct our thoughts to Alsace where so many brave hearts remain persistently loyal, the physiognomy of the Salon differs little from that of exhibitions preceding the crisis.[24]

Notably, what goes unmentioned is that one entire category of work popular before the war – modern-life genre paintings of fashionable *Parisiennes* – was largely absent. Nonetheless several critics blamed such pictures for the perceived failure of the 1872 Salon: 'Today our most accomplished painters, perverted by anecdotal genre painting … are absolutely incapable of elevating themselves, even in the midst of a great moral crisis, to conceive of a truly heroic figure.'[25]

This bias against genre works, codified in the 1872 Salon regulations, is hardly surprising in light of Blanc's strong condemnation of the Second Empire and distaste for contemporary dress, which he expressed in a Fall 1872 lecture.[26] He lamented that during the Second Empire, 'family ties were relaxed, and a growing luxury so corrupted manners that an honest woman could no longer be recognised by her style of dress.'[27] If dress was no longer a legible index of character, then genre works depicting women in contemporary dress were inevitably open to moral suspicion. Yet Third Republic women (and fashions) were clearly no better in Blanc's view; his 1875 book *Art in Ornament and Dress* ends with a – to him frightening – vision of contemporary women in public, constantly on the move, dresses marred by masculine-inspired elements:

> The toilet became an image of the rapid movement which bears the world onwards, and which threatens to carry away even the guardians of our homes. They are to be seen at this day sometimes clothed and closely-buttoned like boys, sometimes adorned with braid like soldiers, walking on high heels which throw them forwards, hastening their steps, cleaving the air, and hurrying their life as though to swallow up space, which in turn swallows up them.[28]

Blanc's almost palpable fear of the independent modern woman and her seemingly transgressive dress – tailored and military-inspired looks had indeed become popular – ends with the women freely circulating and disappearing in the city (having forgotten their roles as guardians of the home).[29] Similar fears inform 1872 Salon criticism, but, in the absence of genre scenes of women in contemporary dress, their targets were displaced onto seemingly innocuous works depicting war widows, Alsatian girls, allegorical figures, peasant women, and fashionable portrait sitters.

Indeed, even Léon Perrault's *Le mobilisé* (1870), which depicts a young French soldier shot through the head, fallen on a snow-covered battlefield, his widow crumpled next to him, holding her head with one hand and clasping their young child to her side with the other, was not immune from criticism.[30] Georges Lafenestre criticized Perrault, the widow, and the women at the Salon who liked the painting for their vanity, objecting that:

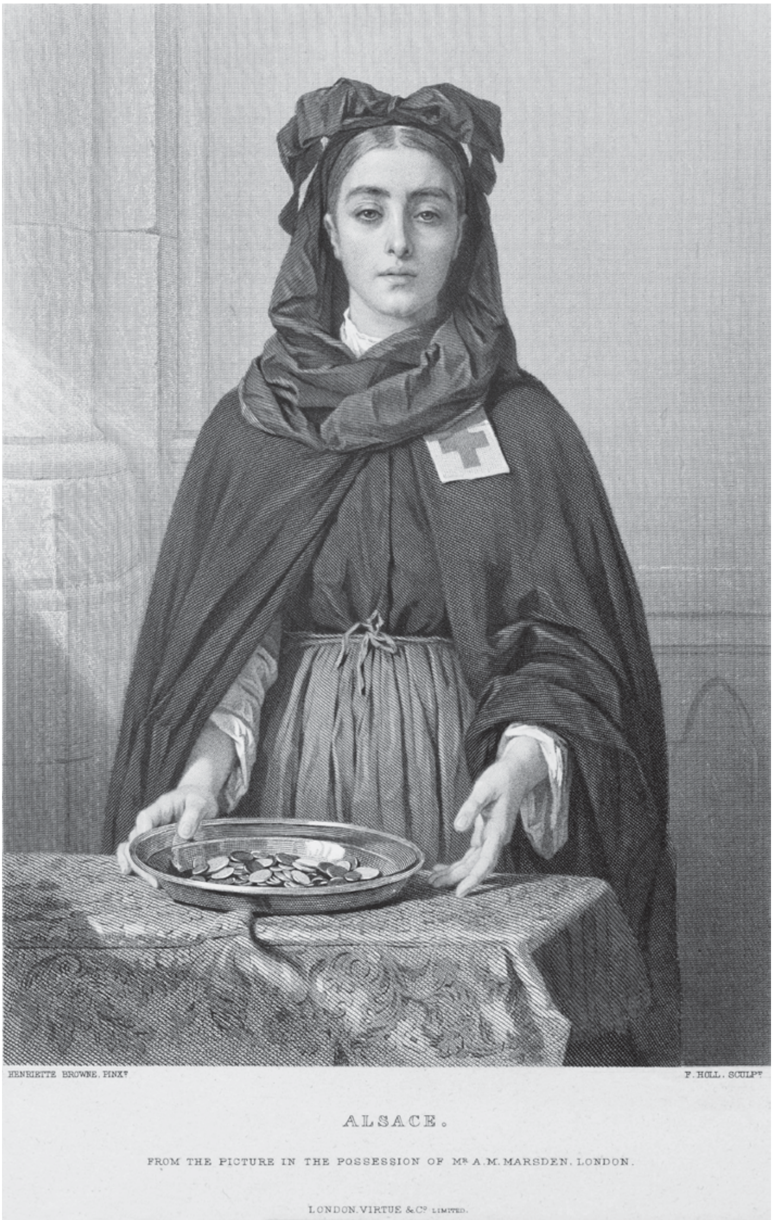
> The snow is well-trained, taking care to only dust the cashmere of the widow, to redden her perfumed hands, to make tremble the baby who smiles at the public in a fresh bonnet. Several times I heard women stop before this tragic episode and cry upon seeing such clean fabrics, such gleaming skin, such an appealing brat: My God! it's so pretty![31]

Even a sentimental and patriotic work depicting irrefutably legitimate mourning did not inoculate the represented woman from critique; she is said to wear cashmere, to perfume her hands, in short to be overly worried about her (and her child's) appearance. Lafenestre's comments reveal the intense scrutiny such works were subjected to and the smug condescension of critics who thought themselves entirely capable of judging the sincerity of women's mourning based solely on their appearance.

PROVINCES AND PEASANTS (NOT PARISIANS)

Similar doubts coloured the reaction to several similarly patriotic works depicting Alsatian girls in mourning. As remarked above, allegories of Alsace represented one of the few changes to the otherwise typical subjects on display at the 1872 Salon; there were at least five life-size works that allegorized the province as a young woman, all sharing the exhortatory title, *Alsace!*[32] France had ceded Alsace-Lorraine to the Prussians in the Frankfurt treaty of 10 May 1871, and after its loss, artists and illustrators idealized the young *Alsacienne*, who had previously featured in quaint genre scenes of village life, transforming her into an allegorical rallying cry for France. Charles Marchal, who had become famous in 1868 for his updating the classical figures of *Pénélope* and *Phryné* as fashionable *Parisiennes*, in the 1872 Salon instead showed a plain Alsatian girl in mourning dress leaving her house.[33] This diversion from Parisian genre painting would prove profitable as the state would buy his life-sized *Alsace!* for 6,000 francs – one of the highest prices paid for any work at the Salon – signalling their desire to celebrate provincial virtue over Parisian fortitude.[34] Gustave Doré also depicted a young Alsatian woman, similarly dressed in mourning, hugging the French *tricolore* to her chest.[35] Yet the reception of such seemingly safely patriotic works remained decidedly mixed; the critic Bachaumont, for example, condemned them both as displaying false or merely fashionable mourning: 'The patriotism on the canvases of Messieurs Doré and Marchal is not a feeling, it is a pose. Their women all dressed in black do not symbolize a grieving province.'[36] Their attention to dress, even mourning dress, marked them as perhaps insincere in their grief.

Those artists (and women) who rejected fashion entirely would fare better with critics. Henriette Browne, a woman herself and doubtless alert to the vexed status of fashion and even mourning dress, chose to depict her allegory of Alsace in the form of a young Alsatian *ambulancière* soliciting charity in a humble black cloak, the red Swiss cross of a nurse on her breast (Figure 5.2). She is not in mourning dress (her apron is blue), indeed, her simple peasant dress is notable for its complete lack of reference to fashion, contemporary dress styles, or even Alsatian costume, other than the bow in her hair. Browne's young nurse does not merely grieve, but acts (in an appropriately feminine way) by soliciting donations as a *quêteuse*; this was a familiar scene in genre paintings before the war and even one repeated at the exit of the 1872 Salon itself as, due to the terms of the armistice, France owed Prussia five billion francs.[37] Faced with this idealized image of feminine service both during the war and after it – by a female artist, no less – some critics found the opportunity to discuss the virtues of women more generally irresistible. One rhapsodized: 'All the virtues, – I would say all of woman's glories are summarized in this work,' going on to praise the painting's celebration of charity, tenderness, religion, motherhood, and nursing – which, in his mind, represented the true feminine ideals.[38] She embodied the rejection of fashion and restoration of traditional gender roles that so many critics were looking for. Browne's depiction of such a young, virtuous figure acting in service of her country helped erase the radicalized images of


HENRIETTE BROWNE. PINXT
F. HOLL. SCULPT
ALSACE.
FROM THE PICTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF MR A.M.MARSDEN, LONDON.
LONDON. VIRTUE & Co LIMITED.

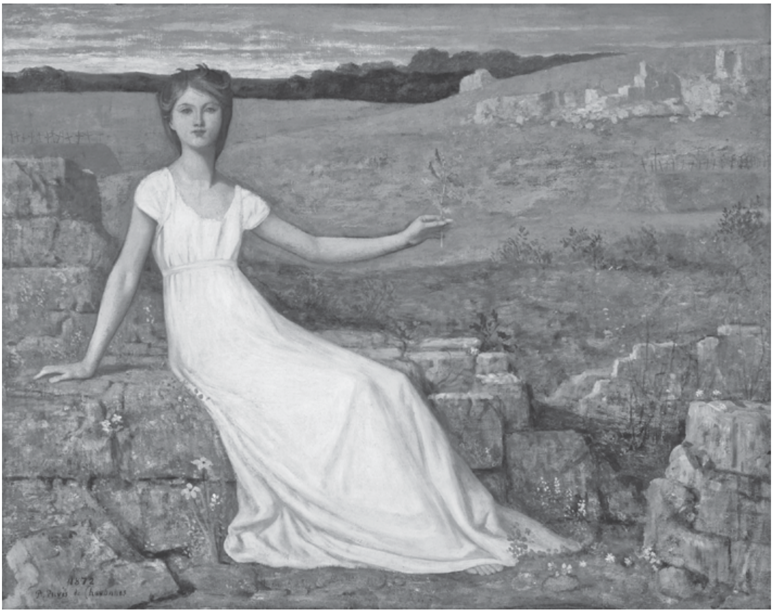
5.2 Engraving by Frank Holl after Henriette Browne's *Alsace! 1870* (N. 221, 1872 Salon). Author's collection.

femininity – from the old, hag-like *pétroleuse* said to have burned down Paris to the martial *communarde* fighting in the streets – that had recently dominated the illustrated press.[39]

One might imagine that an artist like Puvis de Chavannes, who had created the siege's most prominent and beloved artworks allegorizing Paris as a modern woman in black, rifle in hand, and thus seemed particularly attuned to the cultural moment and the public's needs, would have been able to navigate the postwar landscape similarly adeptly.[40] Yet his 1872 Salon offering, an allegorical figure of *Hope*, would prove a disappointment to critics and the public (Figure 5.3).[41] Puvis's *Hope* is as carefully coded, innovative, and contemporary as his earlier siege allegories, but its symbol of hope is no longer a brave modern Parisian woman in the capital as it had been during the siege, but instead a young girl in the countryside dressed in an ill-fitting white shift.[42] The earlier martial, defensive Paris of Puvis's imagination was too radical in the wake of the Commune, which had seen women actually take up arms.[43] His *Hope* instead extends an oak twig, symbol of hope, while siting upon a collapsed wall; small wildflowers sprout at her feet, and a new dawn is breaking at the horizon, but the rough wooden crosses of a hastily erected battlefield cemetery in the background remind us of France's recent losses. It was prominent at the Salon not only because of Puvis's stature and the popularity of his earlier siege allegories, but also because it directly touched on contemporary anxieties about the future of France.

Reaction to the painting was harsh and nearly uniformly negative; for example, Duvergier de Hauranne described her as 'a mannequin made of sticks and clothed in a few rags.'[44] One could go too far in one's rejection of fashion and Puvis's figure of *Hope* seems to have done so; he has clothed her not in the traditional drapery of allegory or the humble dress of a peasant, but instead presented her almost in a state of undress, in what many saw as simply a white chemise. After praising the siege works for their elegant figures and charming sentiment, Jules Claretie explained his discontent with Puvis's more recent allegory:

> But his *Hope* has nothing poetic or even understandable about it. It is a little blonde girl, hair tangled, stiff as a sculpture, dressed in a



5.3 Puvis de Chavannes, *L'Espérance* (N. 1282, 1872 Salon). Oil on canvas, 102.5 × 129.5 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

> white dress similar to a chemise, and sitting on a section of collapsed wall, looking ahead, an oak twig in hand. This strange figure, angular, unpleasant, sits in profile against a landscape where mounds and crosses mark the placement of graves … Why name this sinister spectacle *Hope*?[45]

Pontmartin in *L'Univers illustrée* wondered, if Hope was so thin, what did despair look like?[46]

In contrast to Puvis's frail *Hope*, Jules Breton, perhaps the nineteenth-century's most celebrated painter of peasant life, offered a 'real' French peasant girl that most critics accepted as representative of France and of French hopes for the future. His *Jeune fille gardant des vaches* (N. 205) showed a young girl seated under a tree lost in thought, with two cows ostensibly under her care far in the background.[47] The age of the girl, her pose, and the countryside setting with blooming flowers in the foreground are similar to that of Puvis's *Hope*. But Breton's stocky peasant holds a sturdy stick rather than a twig and supervises not a graveyard, but two healthy cows. She wears not a vaguely allegorical white chemise, but the tattered clothing of a peasant: a dark blue skirt with a ragged hem, a dusty white chemise covered by a loose brown bodice knotted in the front with the sleeves rolled up to the elbows. Bathild Bouniol writing for the *Revue du monde catholique* singled her clothing out for special praise, writing: 'her clothes, completely modest and of a coarse fabric, have a singular grace and suit the innocent child better than the most elegant dress.'[48] As Bouniol had just previously railed against Parisian genre artists and their 'graceful and tedious dolls,' this judgement is unsurprising, but approval of Breton's vision of idyllic peasant life was widespread enough that he would be awarded the Grand Medal of Honour of the 1872 Salon for his *La fontaine* (N. 204), which depicted two humbly attired young peasant women collecting water in large ceramic jars.[49] Both works enjoyed wide praise from critics, but the active and productive service of the water carriers seems to have made them more award-winning (or perhaps it was their more shapely figures).

Other solidly built peasant girls by William-Adolphe Bouguereau and Auguste Feyen-Perrin also received general critical approval as having well represented French village girls and their virtuous pastoral labour.[50] Indeed, some hoped that this rustic ideal of femininity and pastoral genre of painting would replace the fashionable *Parisienne* at the Salon; Octave Lacroix, writing in the *Journal officiel de la République Française*, predicted: 'it is likely that the Parisian school of genre painting will long remain exhausted and sterile, while the rustic school will produce the ripest and tastiest fruit.'[51] The choice of metaphor emphasizing fertility seems particularly evocative at a time when fears about low French birth rates were rising.[52] Parisian women were often said to be 'thin' and 'fatigued' and referred to as dolls in contrast to their 'solidly built' provincial sisters.[53] In keeping with this celebration of the peasant and search for an inspiring symbol of France and French womanhood, the most popular sculpture at the 1872 Salon was Henri Chapu's *Joan of Arc*, of which one critic wrote:

> Joan is a French woman, a Lorraine … a peasant's daughter … who leads the animals to the fields: M. Chapu has imbued her whole body with that solidity of structure and of complexion that women who develop freely in the open air, in contact with nature have.[54]

That city women are weak and pale due to their insalubrious air and urban origin hangs implicit behind this declaration and other similar sentiments praising peasant women.

Yet even such celebrated works were not immune to questions concerning the morality of their female subjects – *Le Voleur* accused Breton of 'showing us, under the pretext of peasant women, two village *cocottes* watching the horizon to see if the stockbroker who will take them to Paris by the first train will soon appear.'[55] Bouguereau's women were criticized as merely playing the part of the peasant, as the cleanliness of their clothes and their pale skin revealed their status as models rather than laudable village girls.[56] Notably not everyone saw the provincial women as superior to Parisian ones. Arthur Bonnin in *Paris-artiste* lamented: 'Why this exaggerated predilection for peasants? … we frankly admit that we're a little tired of the rustic interiors, naive attitudes, cleverly patched clothes of all the country folk.'[57] Bonnin's protest emphasizes the rapidness and completeness of this shift in the feminine ideal. While the scenes of elegant women in modern interiors that Bonnin yearned to see were lacking at the 1872 Salon, fashionable women were still to be found in portraiture.

PORTRAITURE AND FASHION

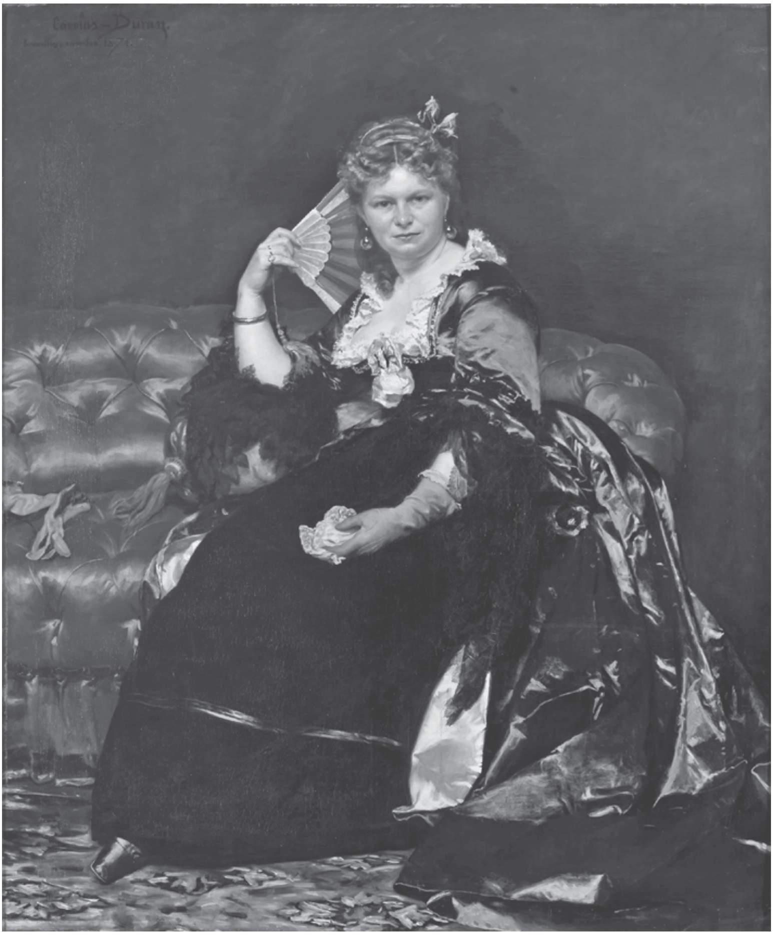
In describing the opening of the Salon, critic Pierre Véron repeated the trope that women went more to be seen than to see, but also credited them with paying attention to depicted dress – conveniently allowing him to share some of his own views on the matter. In front of a portrait of a friend, Véron tells us, one woman exclaimed: 'She had seemed so profoundly afflicted by the disasters of France!' expressing surprise at thus seeing her friend depicted in a dazzling rose-coloured dress decorated with all kinds of lace.[58] Véron himself then interjects the remark: 'Oh women, unfathomable abyss …' before sardonically arguing that her friend's embrace of fashion must not be proof against her patriotism because it is so common: 'Because (and this is what is bizarre) she might be sincere in her sadness, while remaining true to her vanity. The proof is that she is not alone in this, as one sees on the Champs-Elysees.'[59] Véron thus uses this imagined conversation to convey his dismay at the renewed fashionability of Parisian women, cloaking his criticism in the words of other women and in a false defence of them. Noting that, given their dates, many of the exhibited portraits were painted during and immediately after the siege and Commune, he concludes with bitter irony that there is something quite grand about going to have your portrait painted while shells are raining down on the city.[60]

One such portrait of a woman in elaborate fashionable dress that some contemporary critics singled out for scorn was Edouard Dubufe's *Portrait de Mme H. S…* (N. 543), which depicted its subject in a pale grey dress and yellow jacket (and is unfortunately lost today). Duvergier de Hauranne saw the work as reflecting a vain desire for attention: 'Woman or doll, I cannot really say – what is certain, is that she had a great desire to be remarked; she would not have worn such a beautiful outfit to pass unnoticed.'[61] Passing unnoticed was, of course, what Parisian women were now supposed to be aspiring to, rather than the fashionability that had previously defined them. Véron made his disdain for such fashionable portraits explicit, deeming the Dubufe portrait 'an irony against the Republic,' and arguing Dubufe: 'clearly painted the portrait of Madame *** so that it would be said: One spoke of the luxury of women under the Empire; well, look, today, it is even more rampant.'[62] Jules Claretie described her derisively as 'dressed like a fashion plate.'[63] Embracing fashion or any sign of luxury (remember the war widow's cashmere above), immediately led some critics to question the woman's taste and even morality, as the reception of two portraits of fashionably dressed women by Carolus-Duran makes even clearer.

The two large full-length portraits attracted crowds, controversy, and passionate debate, as they sat at the intersection of anxieties and discourses of the time about women, fashionability, feminine ideals, and the state of portraiture. While often mentioned together, it was his striking portrait of a voluptuous redheaded Belgian woman, unnamed in the catalogue (now known as *Madame Sainctelette*), which generated by far the most interest and commentary (Figure 5.4). Notably it is likely her identity as a Belgian rather than Parisian woman – Bruxelles appears alongside Carolus-Duran's signature – that enabled such free-ranging debate around the picture. As a Belgian, she was not after all meant to be in mourning. Her divergence from the svelte *Parisienne* ideal was often remarked in both Salon reviews and caricatures. A caricature by Bertall emphasized her weight and the consequent need for a great deal of fabric; Castagnary perhaps least generously called her a 'fat cow' dressed in her Sunday best.[64] Yet this was not always seen as a bad thing: Arthur Duparc praised Carolus-Duran for not painting 'one of those pale, fatigued Parisiennes' favoured by artists like Cabanel (though Cabanel, likely anticipating such reproach, had that year only submitted a picture of a woman in fifteenth-century Florentine dress).[65]

Sainctelette, who gazes directly out at the viewer, universally provoked strong reactions. One critic wrote that you could not look away despite yourself, while another alleged the work 'killed' the 60 works surrounding it.[66] E. Pignel perceived in her a surprising capacity for violence, calling her an experienced fighter, willing 'to seize a dagger, a revolver or a sword should the need arise.'[67] Indeed, an undercurrent of threat runs through much of the criticism of the work. One critic remarked that if she took him in her large hands, even his best friend would not bet six sous on his chances – declaring the sight of her made him want to beat her, but then also to 'eat her up.'[68] This violent thread in the discourse surrounding the work is an especially strange echo of earlier worries about women during the Commune, though now it is safely disarmed by her elaborate *toilette*.

While Dubufe's sitter was often credited with designing her own outfit (a dubious honour, of course, given period sentiments), more than one critic stressed that it was not Madame Sainctelette that had composed



5.4 Emile-Auguste Carolus Duran, *Portrait de Mme* *** (N. 574, 1872 Salon). Now known as *Portrait de Madame Sainctelette*. Oil on canvas, 188 × 156 cm. Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 3789. © Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels / photo: J. Geleyns – Ro scan.

her *toilette*, but a *couturier* – 'she is dressed with an elegance that brings the highest honour to the *couturier* who created her dress' – reserving mastery of fashion to French designers and French women.[69] Zola called her 'a fishwife turned countess'; her coarseness only partially masked by her finery.[70] The association with high fashion was insistent: Castagnary declared Carolus-Duran's portrait subjects might as well be talking signs for couturiers like Charles Frederick Worth.[71] Bathild Bouniol similarly suggested they could serve as signs for well-known shops and noted they attracted large crowds of dressmakers and milliners, but deemed their outfits 'hair-raising and vivid' and of 'bad and doubtful taste,' however fashionable.[72] Yet the *toilettes* on view in the two portraits were in fact particularly restrained versions of contemporary styles: black velvet, violet and grey satin were on the most conservative end of colour choices in 1872 and the dresses lack the stripes, tiers of ribbons, and flounces that were by then so much in vogue. This did not inhibit Jacques Rozier from implying that the fashionability of Carolus-Duran's sitters nonetheless created a negative impression of their morality that a true *comme il faut* woman would not wish.[73] Yet, for every critic that complained the women were overwhelmed by their accessories or lack of taste, there were those who declared the perfect balance achieved – underlining the impossible position women found themselves in when making sartorial choices.[74] In this new democratic era of fashion, more than ever women could be judged for overstepping the bounds of good taste; of course, some judged following fashion at all as a failure to be truly *comme il faut*.

This point is underlined by the repeated decision by critics to contrast Carolus-Duran's fashionable subjects with Léon Bonnat's depiction of an old village widow dressed in the deepest of black wool mourning with a veil and no ornament of any kind (N. 163, *Femme d'Ustaritz (pays basques)*). Bonnat, who was known more for his portraits of fashionable sitters than of poor ones, was undoubtedly strategic in his choice of such a conservative subject, which was not explicitly a portrait at all, but discussed by critics as one. His celebration of the pure anti-fashion mourning of the aged woman in the provinces stood in implicit contrast to the ultra-fashionability of the city woman. Just as critics extrapolated a morally dubious character behind Carolus-Duran's sitters' fashionability, Bonnat's portrait led critics to imagine a whole virtuous life story for the anonymous village woman, praising her life spent in quiet obscurity, her time split between her home and the church, with no distraction other than the work of the countryside and the domestic hearth.[75]

Doubtless alert to this contention around fashion, morality, and feminine ideals, Berthe Morisot chose to submit a pastel portrait of her sister Edma Pontillon, dressed all in black, while visibly pregnant (Figure 5.5). This was her second Salon work to feature her sister while pregnant; her 1870 Salon submission had depicted her mother and sister, then dressed in a white peignoir, during her first pregnancy.[76] This emphasis on maternity doubtless pleased those on the jury looking for a reassertion of proper feminine roles; here also notably within the context of marriage – Pontillon appears safely at home and her only ornament is her wedding ring. Her dress could easily be taken for mourning and thus appears to be the sort of somber rejection of fashion that some critics had hoped for. The smaller-than-life pastel was hung high and largely escaped critical attention, though Camille Pelletan writing in *Le Rappel* lavished it with praise, calling it 'one of the most masterly works of the Salon,' and further rhapsodizing:

> One does not forget, having seen it, this head so expressive, so grandly treated, and her piercing gaze … the jury has placed it so high that few people have seen it, otherwise certainly this very beautiful pastel would count among the most striking works of the Salon.[77]

Morisot created a work perfectly suited to the discourses of the time and the gendered expectations of her as a woman artist. Her pastel handling of the deep black of the dress made discerning details of what Pontillon is wearing near impossible, preventing criticism of her toilette's fashionability or lack thereof. Her pregnancy and alertness forestalled any criticism of her as 'thin,' 'fatigued,' or 'sterile.' The work's seriousness and sincerity made it consummately matched to the moment, though few may have realized at the time (or since).[78]

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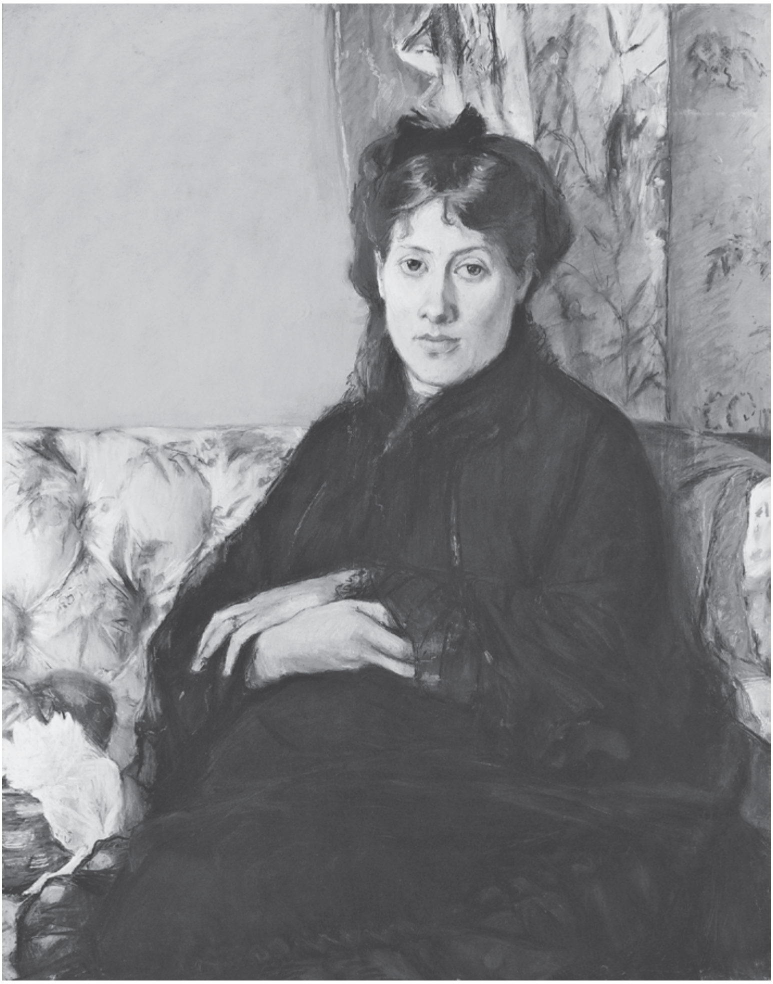


5.5 Berthe Morisot, *Portrait de Mme E. P…* (N. 1142, 1872 Salon). Now known as *Portrait of Madame Edma Pontillon, née Edma Morisot, sister of the artist in 1871*. Pastel, 81.5 × 65.8 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France / Bridgeman Images.

Thus, women at the 1872 Salon, whether represented or in attendance, were subject to close scrutiny for their sartorial choices. Fashionable *Parisiennes* were judged inappropriate subjects for art (and of dubious taste in life) in the demoralized France of 1872. Works depicting women in contemporary fashion became litmus tests for critics' feelings on fashion and feminine roles. Fashion writers, critics, and moralists had decried the frivolousness and fashionability of the Second Empire and set forth new ideals for feminine behaviour, which left artists, editors, and women struggling to adapt. The war and Commune had brought the meaning and signification of fashion into crisis, but the threat had been overcome by stressing the current democratic nature of fashion and making it each woman's and each artist's personal responsibility.

From the *coquette* of the Second Empire, to the elegant martial figure of Paris from the siege, to the widows, *Alsaciennes*, and peasants after the war, the French feminine ideal was constantly shifting. Attitudes towards the modern fashionable woman at the 1872 Salon are perhaps most ably summed up by a critic describing Carolus-Duran's *Sainctelette*: 'She attracts you and repels you. She fascinates you, and you hate her.'[79] It is in this context that one must place the efforts of avant-garde artists like Morisot, Manet, and Renoir and their efforts to negotiate and attempt to define the face and figure of modern femininity in the Third Republic. Indeed while Paris did soon 'reclaim its rank and its indisputable supremacy in all matters of taste and luxury,' the representation and reality of that nineteenth-century French icon, *la Parisienne*, would continue to be contested for years to come.[80]

Notes

1 Of the 80 journals devoted to fashion in 1870, at least a dozen never recovered and were forced to end their runs. Raymond Gaudriault, *La gravure de mode féminine en France* (Paris: Éditions de l'Amateur, 1983), 78. See also Michèle Martin, *Images at War: Illustrated Periodicals and Constructed Nations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 73.

2 Hollis Clayson, 'Gender and Allegory in Flux,' in *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870–1)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

3 Louis-Edmond Duranty, ‘La caricature et l’imagerie en Europe pendant la guerre de 1870–1871,’ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5, no. 4 (April 1872): 335. ‘Au milieu de ces préoccupations, du renversement de la vie parisienne, quoi de plus étonnant que l’imperturbable apparition des gravures de modes? De semaine en semaine, on voit apparaître ces types de belles toilettes. Qui les portera? Chose bien significative, des journaux illustrés, des journaux satiriques même, cessent de paraître pendant le siège, quoiqu’ils eussent pu en vivre, trouvant au contraire une raison d’être et un aliment dans les événements; mais des journaux de modes étalent leurs modèles, leurs dames roses et souriantes recouvertes de volants, de poufs, de jupes plissées, relevées. Des adeptes fervents contemplaient ces splendeurs au fond de la retraite et méditaient les joies futures du costume après la victoire et la paix!’ All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

4 Allison Levy, ‘Framing Widows: Mourning, Gender and Portraiture in Early Modern Florence,’ in *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison Levy (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 216.

5 Dominique Lobstein, ‘1872: un Salon désarmé?,’ 48/14 10 (Spring 2000): 84–93; Bertrand Tillier, *La Commune de Paris, révolution sans images?: politique et représentations dans la France républicaine (1871–1914)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2004); Robert Allen Jay, ‘Art and Nationalism in France, 1870–1914’ (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1979).

6 Eugène Ladreyt, ‘Au Salon de cette année,’ *Le Sifflet*, no. 20 (2 June 1872): 1.

7 Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870–1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

8 Gaston de Cambronne, ‘Le Costume et les mœurs,’ *La Semaine des familles*, no. 9 (27 May 1871): 144. ‘Le costume est donc vraiment l’expression fidèle des idées, des tendances et en général des mœurs d’un peuple … vrai costume, celui dont la décence est le plus bel ornement.’

9 Emmeline Raymond, ‘Paris Fashions [From our own correspondent],’ *Harper’s Bazar* (20 April 1872): 5, 16.

10 Emmeline Raymond, ‘Modes,’ *La Mode illustrée*, no. 37 (September 1871): 293.

11 Antoinette Valéry, ‘Un mot sur les modes,’ *Journal des dames et demoiselles* (15 June 1871): 241. ‘Paris vient de traverser une crise terrible, sans doute il se relèvera; mais il lui faut quelques semaines au moins pour reprendre quelque chose de sa physionomie accoutumée. … En ce moment nous sommes en deuil, nous marchons sur des ruines; donnez-nous quelques jours pour secouer notre stupeur, recouvrer nos forces et bientôt nous aurons repris notre tâche, et bientôt Paris reprendra son rang et cette initiative dans toutes choses de goût et de luxe que nul ne saurait lui disputer.’

12 ‘Nouvelle règle très-exacte des deuils,’ *Journal des dames et demoiselles* (15 July 1871): 277–8. This was not an entirely disinterested shift as the journals needed women to return to following fashion as quickly as possible.

13 Louise de Taillac, ‘Modes,’ *Moniteur de la mode* (N.3 August 1870): 277.

14 Emmeline Raymond, ‘Modes,’ *La Mode illustrée*, no. 46 (November 1872): 366. ‘J’ai déjà dit, mais je crois nécessaire de répéter qu’il n’y a plus aujourd’hui *une mode*,

mais une foule de modes; que, dans l'impossibilité où l'on se trouve de porter *toutes* les modes qui se coudoient quotidiennement, il fallait bien se résoudre à choisir *sa* mode … En un mot, la mode n'est plus un gouvernement absolu donnant l'impulsion et faisant la loi. Que l'on s'en plaigne ou que l'on s'en félicite, le fait est là, et il faut bien le signaler.'

15 Gay L. Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Clayson, 'Gender and Allegory in Flux.'

16 Émile Zola, 'Lettres parisiennes [12 May 1872, publ. in *La Cloche*],' in *Ecrits sur l'art*, ed. Jean-Pierre Leduc-Adine (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 255. 'On vient en soie gris perle, on a pressé sa couturière, on serait au désespoir, si l'on ne se montrait pas le binocle à la main, en face des jolies choses des peintres aimés.'

17 A. Delzant, 'Salon de 1872,' *Le Courrier de France*, no. 188 (9 July 1872). 'L'art est un soldat; lui aussi, il a ses batailles à livrer comme les armées. Il doit concourir à régénérer les esprits, à refaire une France vigoureuse et forte. L'art doit produire des œuvres viriles et grandes, dignes de la tâche que nous poursuivons tous, dignes des temps terribles que nous avons traversés et de l'avenir qui nous attend.'

18 Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 171.

19 Ibid., 170.

20 Paul Tucker, 'The First Impressionist Exhibition in Context,' in *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874–86*, ed. Charles S. Moffett (San Francisco: The Museums, 1986).

21 Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State*, 178–80.

22 Bertrand Tillier, 'La Commune de Paris: une révolution sans peinture?,' 48/14 10 (Summer 2000). Tillier, *La Commune de Paris, révolution sans images?*

23 One contemporary critic estimated there were 90 artworks that referenced the events of the past year. Van O. Stade, 'Salon de 1872,' *Moniteur de la mode*, no. 20 (N.3 May 1872): 236. Lobstein confirms this, counting 74 works whose titles directly reference the Franco-Prussian War and Commune and 12 more that had the war as their subject under more innocuous sounding titles. Lobstein, '1872: un Salon désarmé?.'

24 Paul Mantz, 'Salon de 1872,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5, no. 6 (1 June 1872): 450. 'Sauf quelques œuvres qui nous rappellent divers épisodes de la guerre, ou qui reportent notre pensée vers cette terre d'Alsace où tant de braves cœurs nous restent obstinément fidèles, la physionomie du Salon diffère peu de celle des expositions qui ont précédé la crise.'

25 Georges Lafenestre, 'L'Art au Salon de 1872,' in *L'Art vivant: la peinture et la sculpture aux salons de 1868 à 1877* (Paris: G. Fischbacher, 1881), 248.

26 Charles Blanc, *Considérations sur le vêtement des femmes: fragments d'un ouvrage sur les arts décoratifs publié dans la 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts': lu dans la séance publique annuelle des cinq académies, le vendredi 25 octobre 1872* (Paris: Didot, 1872).

27 Charles Blanc, *Art in Ornament and Dress* (New York: Scribner Welford and Armstrong, 1877), 273.

28 Ibid., 274.

29 I discuss the increasing autonomy of women and their representation in public in Justine De Young, 'Representing the Modern Woman: The Fashion Plate Reconsidered (1865–75),' in *Bourgeois Femininity and Public Space in Nineteenth-century European Visual Culture*, ed. Heather Belnap Jensen and Temma Balducci (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

30 This work, like many from the 1872 Salon, is lost, but a photograph of it can be seen in the records of the state acquisitions from the Salon held by the Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), now also available online. F/21/7642.

31 Lafenestre, 'L'Art au Salon de 1872,' 282–3. '[C]ette neige est déjà de la neige bien apprise, qui se garde avec soin de salir le cachemire de la veuve, de rougir ses mains parfumées, de faire trembler le bébé qui sourit au public dans un bonnet frais. J'ai entendu à plusieurs reprises des dames s'arrêter devant cet épisode tragique et s'écrier en voyant ces étoffes si propres, ces chairs si luisantes, ce marmot si appétissant: 'Mon Dieu! que c'est joli!' '

32 For a more in-depth consideration of these allegories and the representation of Alsace in the press, see Justine De Young, 'Women in Black: Fashion, Modernity and Modernism in Paris, 1860–1890' (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2009).

33 Justine De Young, ''Housewife or Harlot': Art, Fashion and Morality in the Paris Salon of 1868,' in *Cultures of Femininity in Modern Fashion*, ed. Ilya Parkins and Elizabeth M. Sheehan (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011).

34 Jay, 'Art and Nationalism in France, 1870–1914,' 52.

35 *L'Alsace!* (N. 521). Conseil Général du Haut-Rhin, Colmar.

36 Bachaumont, 'Le Salon de 1872,' *Le Voleur* 24, no. 777 (24 May 1872). 'Le patriotisme sur toile de MM. Doré et Marchal n'est pas un sentiment, c'est une pose. Leurs femmes tout de noir vêtues ne symbolisent pas une province en deuil.'

37 Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War*, 305. For discussions of scenes of *quêteuses* before the war, see De Young, 'Women in Black.'

38 A. de Pontmartin, 'Salon de 1872,' *L'Univers illustré*, no. 898 (8 June 1872): 359. 'Toutes les vertus, – j'allais dire toutes les gloires de la femme, se résumait dans cet ouvrage. Le peintre, la religieuse, le tableau, le bienfait, l'enfant malade, recueilli et consolé, la maternité mystique suppléant auprès de ce pauvre orphelin la maternité véritable, tout cela se confondit pour nous dans un même attendrissement.'

39 Clayson, 'Gender and Allegory in Flux'; Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*.

40 *La Ville de Paris investie confie à l'air son appel à la France*, or *Le ballon*, 1870. *Échappé à la serre ennemie, le message attendu exalte le cœur de la fière cité*, or *Le Pigeon*, 1871. Both oil on canvas; 136.7 × 86.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

41 It was caricatured at least eight times. For more on its reception, see De Young, 'Women in Black.'

42 For more on Puvis de Chavannes's later allegorical works, see Jennifer Laurie Shaw, *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Shaw does not, however, address *L'Espérance*.

43 His letters indicate that he had no sympathy with the Commune. Conrad de Mandach, 'Lettres de Puvis de Chavannes, 1871–6,' *Revue de Paris* 6 (15 December 1910): 684–5.

44 Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne, 'La peinture française au Salon de 1872,' *Revue des deux mondes* 99 (15 June 1872): 843.

45 Jules Claretie, 'L'Art français en 1872. Revue du Salon,' in *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains* (Paris: Charpentier et cie, 1874), 190–1. 'Mais son *Espérance* n'a rien de poétique, ni même de compréhensible. C'est une petite fillette blonde, aux cheveux emmêlés, raide comme une figure hiératique, vêtue d'une robe blanche semblable à une chemise, et qui, assise sur un pan de mur écroulé, regarde devant elle, une branchette de chêne à la main. Cette figure étrange, anguleuse, déplaisante, se profile sur un terrain où des tertres et des croix marquent l'emplacement de fosses mortuaires … Pourquoi nommer ce sinistre spectacle *l'Espérance?*'

46 A. de Pontmartin, 'Salon de 1872. II.,' *L'Univers illustré* (May 1872): 311. 'Si l'espérance est tellement maigre, que serait donc le désespoir?'

47 *Jeune fille gardant des vaches* is in a private collection, and reproduced in Hollister Sturges, *Jules Breton and the French Rural Tradition* (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 1982), 88.

48 Bathild Bouniol, 'L'Amateur au Salon,' *Revue du monde catholique* 76 (15 June 1872): 365–6: 'les vêtements, tout modestes et d'une étoffe grossière, ont une grâce singulière et parent mieux l'innocente enfant que la plus élégante toilette.'

49 Ibid., 365: 'gracieuses et ennuyeuses poupées.' Olivier Merson, 'Le Salon de 1872. VI.,' *Le Monde illustré* 30, no. 793 (22 June 1872): 382. *La fontaine* is lost, but reproduced in 'Salon de 1872 – La Fontaine,' *L'Univers illustré* 15, no. 901 (29 June 1872).

50 Octave Lacroix, 'Salon de 1872. I,' *Journal officiel de la République Française*, no. 114 (27 May 1872): 3637.

51 Lafenestre, 'L'Art au Salon de 1872,' 286–7: 'il est probable que l'école parisienne sera depuis longtemps épuisée et stérile, lorsque l'école rustique produira ses fruits les plus mûrs et les plus savoureux.'

52 Richard Tomlinson, ''France in Peril': The French Fear of Denatalité,' *History Today* 35, no. 4 (4 April 1985).

53 Lafenestre, 'L'Art au Salon de 1872,' 286–7: 'solidement construite comme une fille des champs.'

54 Ibid., 208. 'Jeanne est une Française, une Lorraine … Jeanne est une paysanne, la fille de Romée le laboureur, qui conduit les bêtes aux champs: M. Chapu a imprimé à tout son corps cette solidité de structure et de carnation que conservent les femmes qui se développent librement, au grand air, en contact avec la nature.'

55 Bachaumont, 'Le Salon de 1872': 'nous montre, sous prétexte de paysannes, deux cocottes de village interrogeant l'horizon pour voir si le boursier qui doit les emmener à Paris par le premier train va bientôt paraître.'

56 Bouniol, 'L'Amateur au Salon,' 366.

57 Arthur Bonnin, 'Salon de 1872. VIII. Peinture de Genre,' *Paris-artiste* 1, no. 27 (4 July 1872): 1. 'Pourquoi cette prédilection exagérée pour les paysans? Le rural a

du bon assurément, mais il ne faut pas être exclusive; et nous avouons franchement que nous sommes un peu las des intérieurs rustiques, des attitudes naïves, des vêtements savamment rapiécés de tous les campagnards.'

58 Pierre Véron, 'Courrier de Paris,' *Le Monde illustré* 30, no. 788 (18 May 1872): 298. 'Elle m'avait paru si profondément affligée des désastres de la France!'

59 Ibid. 'O femmes, abîme insondable …' [ellipsis in original] 'Car (et c'est précisément là ce qu'il y a de bizarre) elle était peut-être sincère dans sa tristesse, tout en restant fidèle à sa coquetterie. La preuve, c'est qu'elle n'est pas seule dans le même cas aux Champs-Elysées.'

60 Ibid.

61 Duvergier de Hauranne, 'La peinture française au Salon de 1872,' 829–30. 'Femme ou poupée, je ne saurais trop dire; – ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'elle a la plus grande envie qu'on la remarque; elle n'aurait pas fait si belle toilette pour passer inaperçue.'

62 Pierre Véron, 'Voyage en Zigzag a Travers le Salon. III,' *Journal amusant* 25, no. 822 (1 June 1872): 7. 'A peint évidemment le portrait de madame *** pour qu'on se dise: – On parlait du luxe des femmes sous l'Empire; eh bien, regardez: aujourd'hui, c'est plus effréné encore.'

63 Claretie, 'L'Art français en 1872,' 169: 'vêtue comme une gravure de modes.'

64 Bertall, 'Le Salon de 1872,' *Le Grelot au Salon*, no. 1 (1872). Jules-Antoine Castagnary, 'Salon de 1872,' in *Salons* (1872–9) (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1892), 25. 'La femme semble un bœuf gras qu'on aurait endimanché et couvert de tous ses ornements … quelle vulgarité dans le gout.'

65 Arthur Duparc, 'Le Salon de 1872,' *Le Correspondant*, no. 5 (10 June 1872): 944: 'une de ces Parisiennes pales et fatigues.'

66 Duvergier de Hauranne, 'La peinture française au Salon de 1872.' Victor Cherbuliez, 'Lettres sur le Salon. II,' *Le Temps*, no. 4058 (22 May 1872).

67 E. Pignel, 'Le Salon de 1872,' *L'Europe Artiste* 20 (26 May 1872): 'une œuvre à part, véritablement saisissante, tapageuse, si l'on veut, violente même … cette main a fait des armes; elle saisirait, au besoin, un poignard, un revolver; peut-être, une épée.'

68 Ernest Feydeau, 'Causerie,' *Revue de France* 1 (January/February/March 1872): 486.

69 Ibid.: 'elle est vêtue avec une élégance qui fait le plus grand honneur au *couturier* qui a composé son costume.'

70 Zola, 'Lettres parisiennes,' 258: 'une dame de la halle devenue comtesse.'

71 Castagnary, 'Salon de 1872,' 24: 'des enseignes parlantes qui pourraient être affichées à la porte d'un Worth ou de toute autre tailleur pour femmes.'

72 Bouniol, 'L'Amateur au Salon,' 554. 'Les deux corpulentes personnes peintes par M. Carolus-Duran, et empanachées de ces ébouriffantes et éclatantes toilettes d'un mauvais goût douteux … ces deux toiles, qui pourraient servir de réclames à tels magasins en renom, font queue incessamment les amateurs que nous supposons commis en nouveautés, couturières et modistes.'

73 Jacques Rozier, 'Salon de 1872. III. Les Portraits,' *La Fantaisie parisienne* 4, no. 11 (1 July 1872): 11. 'Voilà des portraits qui doivent avoir la même durée que la mode d'une robe, mais dont l'impression morale est de celles qu'une femme *comme il faut* ne doit pas désirer laisser après elle.'

74 Cherbuliez, 'Lettres sur le Salon. II.' See other very positive reviews: Albert Wolff, 'Le Salon de 1872,' *Le Figaro*, no. 136 (15 May 1872); Olivier Merson, 'Le Salon de 1872. VII,' *Le Monde illustré* 30, no. 794 (29 June 1872).

75 A. de Pontmartin, 'Salon de 1872. III. Les Portraits,' *L'Univers illustré* 15, no. 896 (25 May 1872): 327.

76 Morisot, *The Mother and Sister of the Artist*, 1869/70. Oil on canvas; 101 × 81.8 cm. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1963.10.186.

77 Camille Pelletan, 'Le Salon,' *Le Rappel*, no. 858 (2 July 1872): 2: 'une des œuvres les plus magistrales du Salon … On n'oublie plus, quand on l'a vue, cette tête si expressive, si grandement traitée, et son regard vous reste dans les yeux … Seulement, le jury a placé cela si haut que peu de personnes ont vu, certainement, ce très beau pastel, qui compte parmi les œuvres les plus saisissantes du Salon.'

78 Roos notes: 'once again Morisot appears to have responded to the gendered discourse of the Salon, setting down a specifically feminine subject,' but I'd argue the alignment to period discourse goes further. Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State*, 180.

79 Feydeau, 'Causerie,' 487. 'Elle vous attire et vous repousse. Elle vous fascine, et on la déteste.'

80 Valéry, 'Un mot sur les modes.'

6

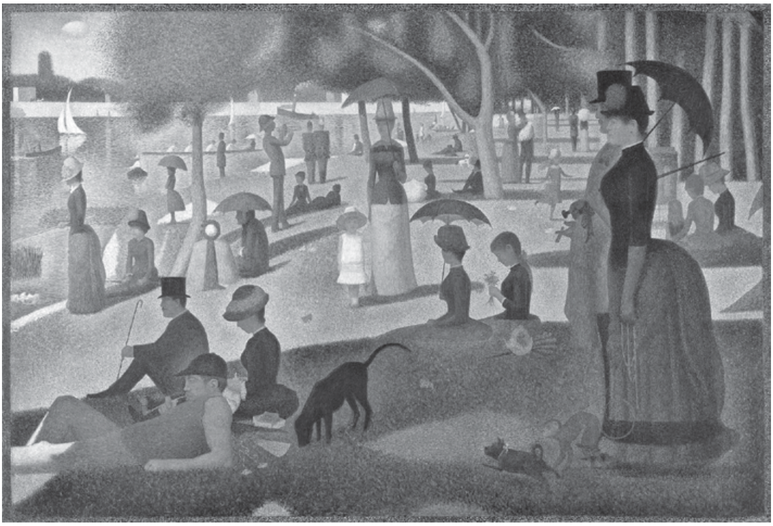
MANNEQUIN AND MONKEY IN SEURAT'S *GRANDE JATTE*

Emmelyn Butterfield-Rosen

In 1926, Félix Fénéon, the chief critical spokesman for Neo-Impressionism, looked back with bemusement on the decidedly hostile reception of Georges Seurat's *Un Dimanche à la Grande Jatte* – 1884 (Figure 6.1), the so-called 'manifesto-painting' of the group:[1]

> One must believe there was something very aggressively insolent in that canvas, because from the moment the visitor entered the gallery reserved for Seurat and Signac and saw it occupying almost the entire back wall of the room, it irritated him to paroxysms. The interloper's rage, at first scattered among the painting's forty characters, quickly localized itself, for inexplicable reasons, on the monkey held on a leash by the woman on the frontal plane, and especially on its spiral tail. It seemed that this little animal nostalgia [*nostalgie bestiole*] and this tail were placed there especially to insult whoever crossed the threshold.[2]

Indeed, when the *Grande Jatte* debuted in May 1886 at the final Impressionist exhibition, and again when it was re-exhibited at the August 1886 Salon



6.1 Georges Seurat, *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte – 1884*, 1884–6. Oil on canvas, 207.5 × 308.1 cm. Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection, 1926. 224, The Art Institute of Chicago.

des Indépendants and 1887 Salon des XX in Brussels, the canvas seriously affronted the sensibilities of its first viewers. According to the accounts of contemporary critics, far more than Seurat's novel technique of pointillist facture, it was his peculiar presentation of figures that provoked hostility towards this 'manifesto-painting,' so much so that, after viewing this work, a majority of critics recommended the artist abandon figure painting and restrict himself to landscape pictures.[3]

As Fénéon's recollection makes clear, this generalized aversion to the *Grande Jatte*'s figures, depicted *en masse*, in a crowd of some 48 characters, ranging in scale from life-size to the height of a single centimetre, concentrated around the woman–monkey pair. They monopolized public attention, 'exciting most especially the verve of the *boulevardiers*,' as Paul Signac remembered.[4] Although Fénéon summarily dismissed this dimension of the *Grande Jatte*'s reception as a *phénomène mal explicable*, I believe the 'enraged' reaction is in fact explicable – and demands further explanation.

Focusing on the pair who played starring roles in the painting's initial *succès de scandale*, this essay proposes some concrete motivations for their especially volatile reception. Certain crude visual and verbal associations, implicit in Fénéon's coy allusion to *nostalgie bestiole*, have gone largely unremarked by historians. For Seurat's nineteenth-century audiences, however, the imposing female at the forefront of the *Grande Jatte*'s population, outfitted in a modish *toilette de promenade*, and her leashed pet monkey – a capuchin, most likely, or a macaque – would have activated highly charged allusions to a new retail industry for ready-to-wear fashion, as well as a new theory of human evolution. With their overdetermined symbolism and calculated formal parallelism, this pair crystallized a broader rupture from inherited conventions of figural presentation that took place in the *Grande Jatte*. One programmatic aspect of this 'manifesto-painting,' I want to suggest, was to give explicit formal articulation to broader historical changes, both intellectual and economic, that had already reconfigured the idea and image of 'humanity' in turn-of-the-century France. The woman–monkey pair simply represented the painting's most outrageous, ostentatious, or even obscene materialization of that transformation.

* * *

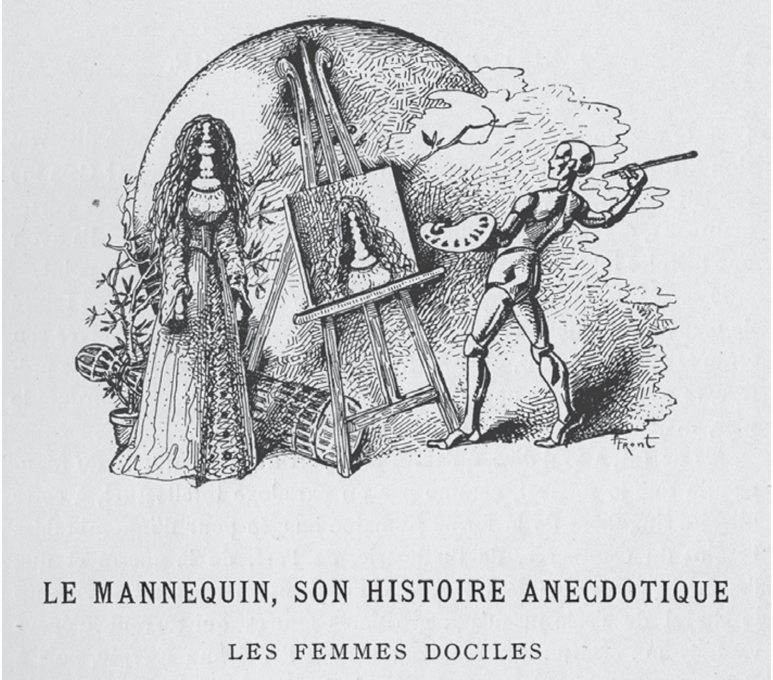
As Fénéon wrote in 1887, critics hostile to the *Grande Jatte* had a common tendency to 'whine' of Seurat's figure painting: 'you are showing us mannequins, not humans.'[5] A century's worth of scholarship continued to apply this term, without acknowledging its historically contingent status.[6]

The *Grande Jatte* pictures a crowd of *endimanchés*, that is, Parisians outfitted in Sunday best to partake of the bourgeois day of rest in a performance of what Thorstein Veblen would soon term 'conspicuous leisure.'[7] Seurat's portrayal of the dominical promenading ritual, as Leila Kinney has established, is perceptibly marked by fashion, and the commercial, social transformation referred to in this period as the 'democratization of luxury' or the 'cheapness revolution.'[8] By the 1880s the emergence of large department stores made relatively inexpensive mass-produced products, and in particular ready-to-wear fashion [*confection*], available to the expanding lower middle classes; these stores, one period journalist reported, 'cultivated the public's taste and permitted the great democratic mass to procure the kinds of objects that previously remained within the restricted domain of a privileged class.'[9]

More than simply rendering the new 'uniformity of clothing' associated with *confection*'s proliferation in Third Republic France, the *Grande Jatte* registers the visual consequences of this 'economic evolution' at the level of corporeal language.[10] In the early 1880s, Seurat produced several sketches of urban strollers approaching luminous window displays.[11] The *Grande Jatte* betrays the artist's attention to the scenic tableaus through which the stores cultivated a public 'taste' for fashion through a presentation of bodies that pointedly evoked *confection*'s mercantile mise-en-scène.

Since the Salons of Diderot the word mannequin had been a standard term of censure in French art criticism, applied to figures deemed 'stiff and unnatural,' lacking the vivacity that was supposed to derive from study of the live model.[12] A crucial semantic shift occurred in the application of this term to Seurat's figures in 1886. In Seurat's reception, the original, specifically *artistic* meaning invoked by Diderot and subsequent critics, the articulated dummy, or *mannequin d'atelier*, used since the Renaissance as a studio tool by figural artists, was displaced by the secondary definition, given in the 1873 Larousse as 'a human form … decked out in clothing and serving as a showpiece at tailors and clothing shops.'[13]

This secondary type of mannequin, the *mannequin d'étalage* or *mannequin de mode*, proliferated in tandem with the rise of the department store and the market for ready-to-wear clothing [*confection*], exploding into what Léon Riotor described as *Une Industrie Parisienne*.[14] Annual sales for one Parisian manufacturer grew from 50 to 30,000 between 1860 and 1900.[15] The sumptuous 1900 publication Riotor devoted to 'these department store busts, these summary portmanteaux icons' opened with an illustration of an articulated *mannequin d'atelier* painting the portrait of female dressmaker's doll (Figure 6.2).[16] The image perfectly condenses the 'exchange of functions between art and fashion' Kinney associates with the 'crisis of


Front
LE MANNEQUIN, SON HISTOIRE ANECDOTIQUE
LES FEMMES DOCILES

6.2 Illustration by Frédéric Front in Léon Riotor, *Le Mannequin* (Paris: Bibliothéque Artistique et Littéraire, 1900), n.p. Image courtesy of Fashion Institute of Technology | SUNY, Gladys Marcus Library Department of Special Collections.

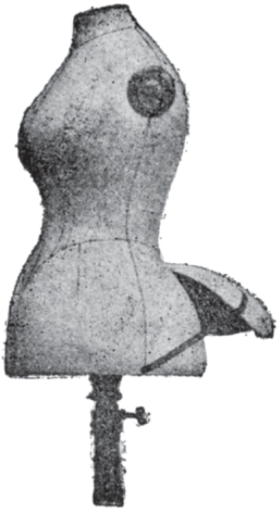
figuration in turn-of-the-century painting.'[17] The artist's dummy, an often genderless creature, prized for its 'absolute immobility and exemplary docility,' gives way to the fashion industry's *femme docile*, an effigy with a more emphatic gender identity, and less anatomical articulation and potential for expressive movement.[18]

By the 1880s, this new type of commercial statue populated the urban environment to a degree that commanded attention from numerous

Parisians. Joris-Karl Huysmans, for instance, devoted an 1886 prose sketch ('L'Étiage') to the boutique of Frédéric Stockman, a failed sculptor who became France's preeminent purveyor of fashion mannequins.[19] He compared the store's 'series of busts of women, without heads or legs' to the Louvre's galleries of antique sculpture, 'where the same torso is eternally repeated.'[20] These 'very vivacious mannequins of couturiers,' he observed, appeared more animate and 'insinuating' than the Louvre's 'inhuman marbles.'[21] Concluding with the proclamation 'the Greek chest … is from now on dead,' Huysmans proposed that the image of the human enshrined within the Western artistic canon, 'tailored according to a formula stipulated by the taste of centuries,' had been superseded by a new archetype provided by fashion.[22]

Huysmans's epiphany at the storefront of *Stockman Frères, bustes et mannequins* is also evident in the *Grande Jatte*, where it was instrumentalized with a literalism that went far beyond what the author of 'Étiage' could countenance. Huysmans in fact became one of the *Grande Jatte*'s fiercest detractors, chiding Seurat for evacuating 'thought' and 'soul' from his human figures, reducing them to 'hard' 'rigid' 'human armatures.'[23] While still maintaining a grandly academic scale, the *Grande Jatte* marked Seurat's definitive departure from the classical techniques of figural mimesis he perfected over four years at the École des Beaux Arts.[24] The painting implemented a stiff, repetitive, formally abbreviated figural language, disregarding the articulations of bodily extremities, minimizing manoeuvring and flexion of limbs, eliminating all oblique, foreshortened postural torsions, and orientating all bodies at right angles to the picture surface. This technique of figuration, at the very the core of the *Grande Jatte*'s radical intervention in modern painting, was a complex development with diverse motivations and iconographic influences. But one crucial influence appears to have been, to borrow Huysmans's formulation, those 'very vivacious mannequins of couturiers.'

More preparatory studies exist for female busts than any other form in the *Grande Jatte*.[25] Distilling the body into a compactly voluptuous truncation, ignoring or dramatically de-emphasizing arms, abruptly easing pressure of the conté rubbing at the neck, so that heads appear as pale, disembodied ovals floating over torsos, Seurat's drawings emphatically



6.3 *Buste-mannequin* produced in 1885, photograph illustration in Léon Riotor, *Le Mannequin* (Paris: Bibliothéque Artistique et Littéraire, 1900), n.p. Image courtesy of Fashion Institute of Technology | SUNY, Gladys Marcus Library Department of Special Collections.

echo the period's most common variety of fashion mannequin, the *buste-mannequin* (Figure 6.3).[26] The most astonishing specimen from this series deploys its *mise-en-page* to sever one of three identical busts just below the waist and above the neck.[27] This formal isolation of the bust carries over strongly in the final painted composition. Delineated most starkly in the graphic black bodice of the monkey's owner, shown in perfect profile and one-to-one human scale, the silhouette of the female torso repeats rhythmically (with variations of colour) across and into the background of the canvas, beginning with the two pairs of seated, virtually legless women on either side of her, and then reverberating out- and backwards, for instance to the figure of the woman fishing at the water's edge, repeated again in miniscule near the vanishing point of the picture.

Seurat's contemporaries, certainly, were struck by such a resemblance. In 1886, Jean le Fustec described the *Grande Jatte*'s figures as a 'band of petrified beings, immobile, mannequins who have the audacity to captivate the public's attention and provoke them to laughter.'[28] Émile Hennequin derided them for being 'drawn up to date, like poorly manufactured mannequins.'[29] The following year, a satirical dialogue in the *Brussels Gazette* spelled out the commercial association. In the course of a discussion between a conservative notary and a progressive art critic, the critic attempts to persuade the notary of the *Grande Jatte*'s aesthetic merits by concealing its most offensive figures from his field of vision, moving him to a position in the gallery such that 'the right corner of [Seurat's] *tableau*, with its mannequins sauced in violet,' was 'hidden from his eyes behind … sculptures.'[30] Even with this camouflage in place, the notary cannot move beyond the initial impression left by the canvas, retorting back to the critic, 'But those figures, my dear, those two large devils of figures resembling dolls from some display of a *confectionneur*?'[31]

This hitherto unacknowledged piece of criticism makes two points clear. First, the life-size figures in the *Grande Jatte*'s right corner, the monkey's owner and the male escort almost entirely overshadowed behind her, were the figures to most concretely conjure *quelque étalage de confectionneur*. Second, contemporary critics recognized the mannequin-like presence of these figures as central to the offensiveness of Seurat's picture, so much so that this satire devised measures to physically redact them from the picture.

* * *

Why was Seurat's simulation of figures taken 'from some display of a *confectionneur*' experienced as such an unconscionable formal gesture? Most obviously, because in presenting living Parisians as inanimate commercial effigies, Seurat appeared to neglect all those particularly *human* endowments – vitality, expression, consciousness – that centuries of Western art had prized in representations of the figure, those intangible but fundamental elements of *soul* or *thoughtfulness* Huysmans found so egregiously lacking in the *Grande Jatte*'s 'human armatures.' Like Huysmans, many nineteenth-century viewers remained committed to the principle that the success of a figure painting as a whole was contingent upon an artist's success in convincingly simulating a living, and therefore moving, feeling, thinking human being. For such critics, to identify Seurat's *endimanchés* with mass-produced mannequins was to state, *ipso facto*, that the *Grande Jatte* was a failed figure painting, a profoundly inept, ridiculous, or viciously satirical representation of contemporary citizens taking their leisure (or all of the above). But the intense antipathy that met the *Grande Jatte* attests to the fact that its deviations from inherited conventions of figural mimesis could not be easily dismissed as mere technical incompetence. The incendiary aspect of the *Grande Jatte* inhered in its capacity to suggest, as certain of Seurat's contemporaries would insist, that its novel figural manner was mimetic of something – a look, an affect, or a mental disposition – intrinsic in the Parisian populace it sought to picture.

In his meticulous research notes for *Bonheur des dames*, an 1883 novel named for a fictional department store, Émile Zola (whom Seurat read with keen interest) referred to the female fashion mannequin as a 'ferociously obscene' object.[32] The resulting book was hardly subtle in privileging the mannequin as a perfect metaphor for the universal prostitution of capitalism, particularly in the extended, almost ekphrastic passage that introduces the department store to both reader and protagonists:

> Denise was struck again by one of the vitrines, which contained a display of ladies clothes [*confections*] … She was rooted to the pavement in admiration … To the right and left, rolls of cloth formed dark columns, which made the distant tabernacle seem even further away. And the confections were there, in this chapel dedicated to the cult of the graces of woman … The mannequins' round bosoms swelled out the material, their wide hips exaggerated their narrow waists, and their missing heads were replaced by large price tags … Mirrors on either side of the vitrine had been placed, in a calculated trick, to reflect and multiply the mannequins without end, peopling the street with these beautiful women for sale, who wore prices in large letters where their heads should have been.
>
> They are amazing! murmured Jean, who could find nothing else to express his emotion. Suddenly, he was again rendered motionless, his mouth open. All this luxurious femininity was making him pink with pleasure.[33]

Zola's simultaneously delirious and sardonic description of this display vitrine, which virtually immobilizes 'Denise' and 'Jean' in stupefied veneration, resonates deeply with the *Grande Jatte* – not merely with the specific morphology of its female figures, but its entire pictorial structure.[34] With its architectural dimensions, its conspicuous *repoussoir* elements, its construction of spatial recession through staggered repetitions of seemingly identical figures shrinking back into the island's fictive depths, the *Grande Jatte*'s composition might be seen to adapt the picture-window paradigm of perspectival painting to encompass the kinds of display conventions Zola conjured in *Bonheur des dames*, replicating the shop window's emphatically life-size presence and its creation of illusory space through an infinite regress of mirrored reflections.[35] More pointedly, this passage bears directly upon the *Grande Jatte*'s sexual insinuations; Zola's emphatic stress on the mannequin's headlessness, the substitution of the corporeal seat of communication and consciousness for the purely numerical identifier of the price tag, implies that female mannequins, those *belles femmes à vendre*, invited a subliminal confusion between the purchasability of merchandise and sexual favours, at least in the eyes of a male beholder.

The monkey's mistress, the single figure in the *Grand Jatte* most visibly identified with the mannequin, was also the figure singled out as a prostitute by numerous viewers: George Moore called her a 'superb *cocotte*';[36] Paul Signac, a 'nasty … lady you don't leave without paying.'[37] Whether or not Seurat intended this figure to represent a prostitute, a question art historians have debated, her visual association with the fashion mannequin certainly marks her as a figuration of *commerce*.[38] More, perhaps, than any overtly sexual signifiers attached to her, it is her excessively proper and static demeanour, the rigour with which she assumes a mannequin's posture, displaying fashion rather than live flesh, that marks her off, potentially, as a 'beautiful woman for sale.' If not a *cocotte* (her status, as I see it, is crucially ambiguous) she might allude to another kind of commercial character, a *demoiselle de magasin*, member of the nascent *classe à part* of department store shopgirls who became a topic of fascination during the late Second Empire and early Third Republic, and who, as Zola also noted, could be instantly identified on their (Sunday) expeditions outside the store by their perfect attire, and by 'always carrying a bit of the grace of the mannequin.'[39]

Zola's suggestion that contemporary shopgirls, in bearing or carriage, actually internalized the mannequin as a model for their comportment in the world provides an important framework for understanding the offensive presence of the monkey's mistress. For this figure 'carries the grace of the mannequin' at the level of replicating its restricted movement and insensate, impassive presence. In that dimension, Seurat's presentation of her demands to be seen in relation to concepts of psychic automatism that pervaded 1880s French intellectual culture, in tandem and sometimes in connection with the study of mass consumer behaviours.

* * *

The year 1884 – memorialized in the *Grande Jatte*'s title – was the year Gabriel Tarde published 'What is a society?' This paper launched the thesis that became the crux of the sociologist's famous 1890 book *Les lois d'imitation*: 'society is imitation, and imitation is a form of somnambulism.'[40] A three-tiered system of 'Universal Repetitions' was at the foundation of Tarde's new social theory; just as inorganic life was propagated through the vibration of matter, and biological life through sexual reproduction, he argued, human society existed through imitation.[41]

Tarde asserted that physiology had proven the 'innate tendency to mimicry in the nervous system,' that the human brain was an *organe répétiteur* functioning predominantly through 'a kind of habit, unconscious imitation of self by self.'[42] The imitative function of individual cerebration was replicated in the tendency for human beings both deliberately and unconsciously to imitate other persons. He argued that the individual's dependence on habitual repetition for the most basic activities such as 'looking, listening, walking, standing upright, writing, playing the flute,' was replicated in the social body's dependence upon a 'treasury of routine, of unfathomable mimicry [*singerie*] and obedience, incessantly accrued by successive generations.'[43] To describe the psychological mechanism of this mimicry, Tarde drew heavily on recent research on hypnosis, giving absolute centrality to the human susceptibility to suggestion.[44] He viewed the hypnotized subject's tendency to imitate the hypnotist as the purest form of the 'imitativity' which structured all social relationships.

If Tarde defined society in general as a group of individuals who imitate one another, crucially, he believed that societies grew increasingly imitative 'as they become civilized.'[45] Although modern democratic civilizations tended to believe they had 'become less credulous and docile, less imitative' than more primitive cultures, in fact, Tarde argued, in the nineteenth century mechanisms of suggestion had only become more diffuse and accelerated, through the greater proximity and concentration of populations, the emergence of new media for instantaneous and mass communication, a scientific, industrial culture of inventions, and, not least, the increasing importance of fashion.[46]

The *Grande Jatte*, it would seem, effected a kind of rude awakening from the social 'dream,' as Tarde understood it – for the painting's form brought modern imitativity forcefully to consciousness for contemporary viewers, militating against the tendency of 'civilized peoples to flatter themselves with thinking they have escaped this *dogmatic slumber*.'[47] Seurat's handling of the *Grande Jatte* figures *en masse* – his monotonous repetition of their anatomical forms and postures – formalized imitative processes at work in the Parisian public sphere, vividly articulating the modern Parisian's propensity for mindless, mechanical, almost somnambulistic compliance to social and sartorial convention. 'The artist wanted to show the monotony of the banal promenade of *endimanchés* who promenade listlessly in the places where it is conventional one must promenade on Sundays,' one critic ventured.[48] The painting captured what critic Paul Adam described as the 'feeling of the modern' through its formal insistence on the stiffness and uniformity of ready-to-wear clothing and the new homogeneity of expressive affect, 'the reserve of our gestures, the British cant we all imitate.'[49]

Jonathan Crary's analysis of *Parade de cirque* (1887–8), Seurat's first circus picture, convincingly argued for the relevance of Tarde's concept of imitation for understanding Seurat's presentations of modern social experience.[50] Adam's review bears out Crary's assertion, and demonstrates the degree to which the artist and his first viewers were already alert to this Tardean concept. 'Imitation' was explicitly at stake in the contemporary reception of Seurat's 'manifesto-painting' and implicitly referenced in the form and iconography of the *Grande Jatte*.

The monkey stands as a traditional emblem of imitation; in French, as in many European languages, the word itself (*singe*) came to connote various forms of mimicry. The verb *singer* meant 'to imitate, to counterfeit,' while the noun *singerie* designated mimicry – whether in the form of clumsy affectation or deliberate parody – of actions, styles, gestures, or manners.[51] This simian vocabulary was deployed by Tarde strategically, notably to convey the human proclivity to imitate models of prestige, a tendency he saw as 'the foundation and origin of society.'[52] 'The movement of imitation [is] from above to below,' Tarde believed; 'all passions and needs for luxury are more contagious than simple appetites and primitive needs.'[53] Thus, in 1883, he described the tendency for small town inhabitants to ape [*singer*] metropolitans, or the lower to ape [*singer*] the upper classes as the 'ensemble of simian avidities [*convoitises simiennes*] that constitutes the potential energy of a society.'[54]

That this 'simian avidity' had become a particularly potent engine within the cultural context of the French Third Republic was acknowledged in the *Grande Jatte* quite explicitly. As T. J. Clark and other commentators have stressed, the picture attempted to capture a specifically *petit bourgeois* population, or else a 'working class who aspires to become *petit bourgeois*,' what certain naturalist-leaning critics identified as a 'Sunday festival of store clerks, apprentice butchers, and women in search of adventures,' the *nouvelles couches sociales* taking possession of the bourgeois privilege of 'leisure.'[55] More pointedly, the monkey's mistress, through her visible identification with the fashion-mannequin, and physical association with her leashed pet, stand as the unambiguous emblem for these collective *convoitises simiennes*.[56]

'The displays of shop windows,' Tarde asserted, were an important component of a modern urban environment in which commercial attractions acted upon subjects almost magnetically, exerting a profound suggestive impact.[57] The monkey's mistress might be read as a *femme docile* who has succumbed to the shop window's magnetism, or more precisely, the magnetism of the *mannequin*, surely one of the retail industry's most powerful instruments of suggestion, as an object that models ensembles the potential customer might replicate on their person. Faithfully conforming to the silhouette of the *toilette de promenade* in fashion for the year 1884, the attire of the monkey's mistress marks her as an enthusiastic participant in the widespread aping of the higher classes enabled by the 'democratization of luxury' in Third Republic France, demonstrating that she has acquired the full inventory of articles required for 'conspicuous leisure,' including an umbrella, 'indispensable complement to any promenading outfit,' and the most ubiquitous new pseudo-luxury rendered widely affordable by the 'cheapness revolution.'[58] But crucially, her imitativity appears to exceed mere consumption habits. Her palpable stiffness (*raideur*), the way in which she seems to do nothing but hold still and face forward, as if to flaunt her bustled silhouette at an ideal angle for the viewer of the canvas, suggests an aping of an inanimate display object. The preposterousness recognized in this 'mannequin sauced in violet' inhered in the way Seurat implied she had internalized the mannequin somatically, not only as a model for assembling the external *toilette*, but also for inhabiting and comporting the physical body in public.

The artist's decision to accessorize this mannequinized female with a domesticated, leashed pet capuchin, an utterly eccentric complement to an otherwise quite conventional *toilette*, underlines her status as a personification of imitation.[59] Far more than mere whimsy or symbol of licentiousness, as often interpreted, the capuchin actualizes the linguistic metaphor of *singerie*, while simultaneously forging an unmistakable visual linkage between the modern tendency Tarde defined as *mode-imitation* and what the sociologist identified as 'fashionable theories on evolution.'[60] Indeed, the monkey's presence in the *Grande Jatte* indexes Seurat's ambition to take on the question of human nature in the broadest possible sense. Through the monkey, the artist framed the imitative behaviours specific to Parisian metropolitan life in a specific temporality – ad 1884 – from within a far more macroscopic historical lens, encompassing the evolution of humanity as *species*.

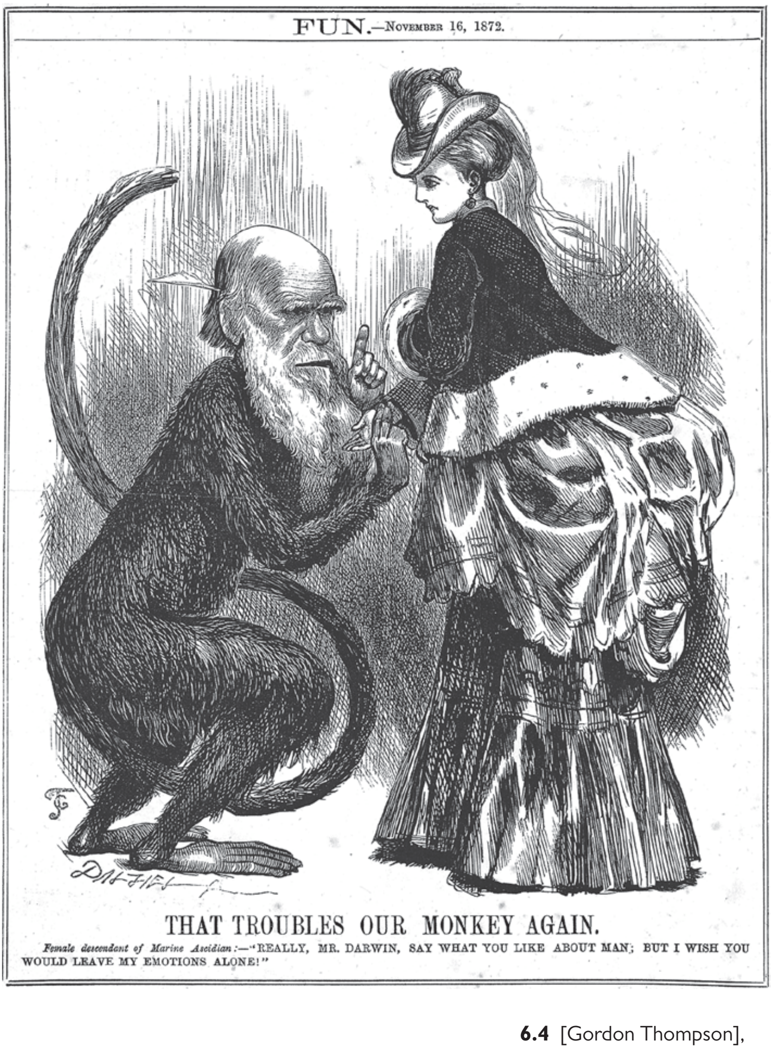
While the monkey's facility for mimicry had long been associated with art and its mimetic function (epitomized in the classical aphorism *ars simia naturae*), the popular dissemination of evolutionary theory irrevocably altered the monkey's iconographic connotations.[61] While the monkey had been, for centuries, a standard alter ego of the artist, by the 1880s, the animal also served as a visual synonym for Charles Darwin.[62]

This identification grew so entrenched that, to borrow a striking formulation from one vocal anti-evolutionist of the era, it became impossible to ‘pronounce [the name Darwin] without immediately seeing it sparkle forth like the silhouette of a monkey.’[63] After Darwin’s election to the Académie des Sciences in 1878, French caricaturists began to follow the English in delineating him as an *homme-singe* with a lavish prehensile tail (Figure 6.4), not at all dissimilar to the spiralling appendage in the foreground of the *Grande Jatte*, ‘the length of [which],’ as George Moore noted, ‘raised a clamour in the *petite presse*.’[64]

While critics never acknowledged this association in print, it seems certain that evolutionary theory inflected the vehement reactions to the simian presence in the *Grande Jatte*. And it seems virtually impossible that Seurat, whose anatomy course at the École des Beaux-Arts incorporated Darwin’s 1872 *Expression of the Emotions in Animals and Man*, was oblivious to current debates concerning the proposition that ‘man is descended from a hairy, tailed quadruped’ when he introduced a monkey’s silhouette into the foreground of his canvas.[65]

Most likely, Seurat executed his methodical campaign of monkey studies at the *Jardin zoologique d’acclimatation*, a zoo affiliated with a specifically evolutionary or adaptive perspective, which by the 1880s had begun incorporating displays of ‘savage’ humans among their animal exhibitions.[66] Seurat’s compositional process, which transplanted the monkey from its zoological milieu to that of Parisian *endimanchés* in their suburban habitat, collapsed the gap between zoo cage and shop window, visibly linking these two spectacular modern ‘attractions.’ That collapse materializes in a formal parallelism between the monkey and its mannequinized handler, the way in which, through anatomy, posture, and fashionable attire, these two figures are made to appear as if they reciprocally mimic one another.

While the monkey was integral to Seurat’s earliest conception of the *Grande Jatte*, he painted in this animal last, as a kind of final flourish.[67] The extant studies show that in progressing from conté drawings of serial monkey silhouettes to eventually coupling and leashing an individual monkey to the standing woman in the final canvas, Seurat gradually adapted the animal’s stance and anatomy to complement its mistress’s

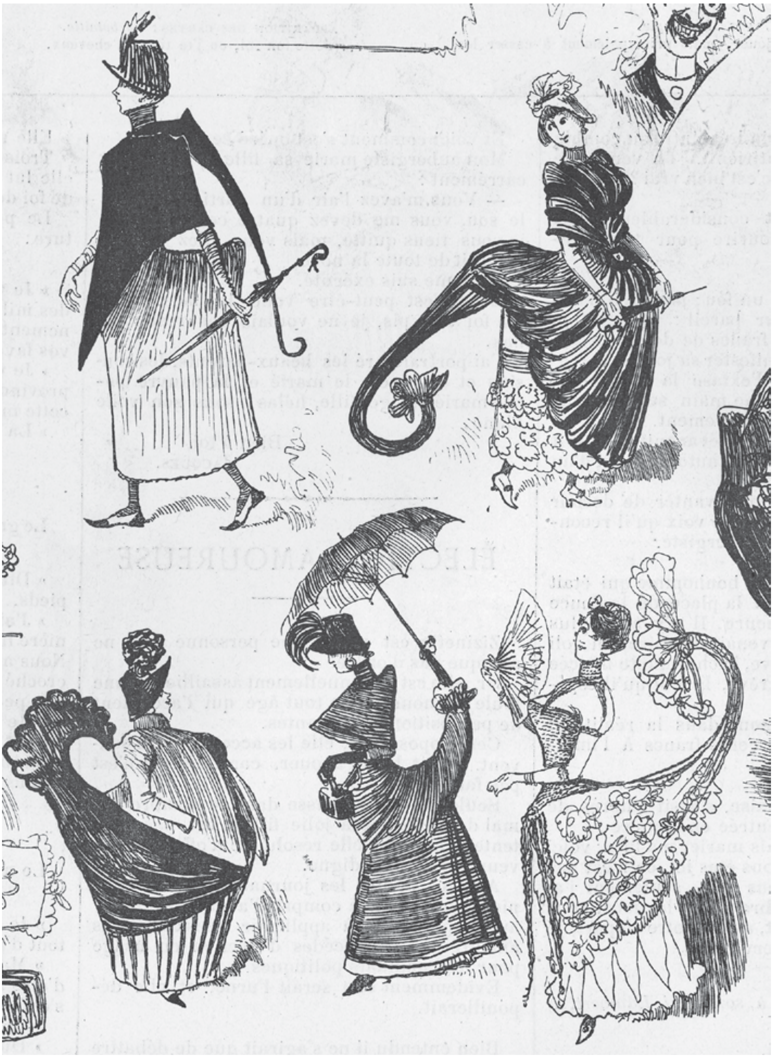

FUN.—November 16, 1872.
THAT TROUBLES OUR MONKEY AGAIN.
Female descendant of Marine Ascidian:—"REALLY, MR. DARWIN, SAY WHAT YOU LIKE ABOUT MAN; BUT I WISH YOU WOULD LEAVE MY EMOTIONS ALONE!"

6.4 [Gordon Thompson], 'That Troubles Our Monkey Again: female descendant of Marine Ascidian: "Really, Mr. Darwin, say what you like about man, but I wish you would leave my emotions alone!" ' in *Fun*, 16 November 1872.

posture and dress. As various critics noted, the monkey is an unlikely *bluish* tone, a hue closely matched to her skirt's deep navy-violet.[68] Seurat adjusted the composition to emphasize this chromatic symmetry between cloth and fur, moving the monkey back towards its handler so that skirt and tail would slightly overlap.[69] In marked contrast to the frenetic little pug who leaps out in front of it, with a bow around its collar, the monkey wears its harness cinched around its waist, much like a corset. Seurat also extended the length of its lead from the original sketch so that the monkey 'no longer seems to strain against it,' heightening, as Robert Herbert noted, the echo between its deliberate, unanimal-like stillness and the inertness of its mistress's stance.[70]

Most significantly, it was not until Seurat coupled the silhouettes of monkey and mistress that the lavish 'ring-tail … said to be three-yards long' was added.[71] The 'accentuation … of the posterior parts' was for a brief moment in 1880s France so exaggerated, John Carl Flügel observed in his 1930 *Psychology of Clothes*, that 'women were wearing a creditable imitation of a tail.'[72] Seurat plainly perceived this 'imitative' dimension of the period fashion, as did contemporary caricaturists. In 1885, Albert Robida published a series of images extrapolating from the precept that 'the tournure appears as the attachment of an atrophied caudal appendage, proving right the Darwinists' (Figure 6.5).[73] Seurat used the monkey's tail to bring that 'appendage' into focus. One can hypothesize that his initial idea for the monkey's inclusion came from a desire to highlight the distinctive contour of the *tournure*. Certainly, as Gustav Coquiot noted in 1924, the *Grande Jatte* conveys Seurat's 'respect' for the so-called *faux-cul*, or 'false-arse,' treating the exaggerated bustle as a 'sacred object,' suggesting even a certain 'pleasure in delineating it.'[74]

Seurat's rigorous imposition of the profile posture is one vital sign of his respect for the 'false arse,' a fashion that became known as the '*cul de Paris*' or 'Paris arse' when eventually imitated in some of the less fashion-forward capitals of Europe.[75] He recognized, as Charles Blanc did in his 1872 'Consideration of Ladies Fashion,' that the fad for the 'accentuated rump' was an instance of women 'dressing as if to be viewed in profile.'[76] Seurat 'frankly tackled' the *faux-cul*'s 'disgracious profile,' as the symbolist poet Gustave Kahn asserted, presenting the monkey's mistress



6.5 Albert Robida, 'Le phare de la mode,' *La Caricature* no. 302 (10 October 1885). Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
]

'from the side, accentuating the arch of the backside the couturier strove to achieve and translating all the bizarre fantasy of this ornamentation.'[77] He deployed accessories to embellish and enhance the *faux-cul*'s graphic profile. The monkey's mistress tilts her umbrella behind her at a precise angle such that its open canopy re-articulates the silhouetted arch of her bustle. And her pet monkey, who likewise poses 'as if to be seen in profile,' reiterates and amplifies this 'disgracious profile' though its lateral posture, which showcases the contour of its elongated, spiralled tail as it precisely delineates the posterior swooping curve of its mistress's *faux-cul*.

The striking formal mimicries Seurat created between these figures lend their pairing an overtly comic, almost music-hall flavour. It is as if – as in the popular performances featuring trained monkeys that proliferated in Paris in the 1880s, including at the Cirque Corvi, which Seurat frequented and painted one year later in *Parade de cirque* – the *Grande Jatte* presented its audience with a performing monkey, trained to imitate human behaviour.[78] While this 'cabaret sign of the Parisian suburbs,' as one critic described the *Grande Jatte*, surely exuded a whiff of popular theatre, it presented a far more complex, challenging spectacle of mimicry than what might have been encountered there.[79] For Seurat's treatment of this woman–monkey pair creates a relay of mutual mimicries that confounds any clear sense of the directionality of imitation – any sense of who is imitating whom, in other words.

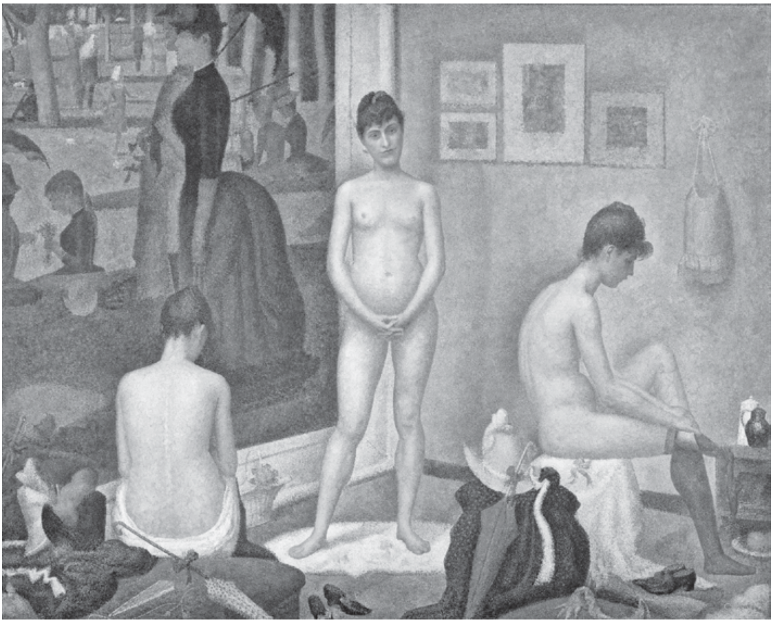
If Tarde was confident that 'the movement of imitation [is] from above to below,' the *Grande Jatte* seems deliberately ambiguous as to whether the flow of imitation is 'from above to below' or vice versa. We are given here a preening, eminently *Parisian*, even fashion-conscious monkey, who appears to have learned to imitate 'the grace of the mannequin' approximated by its mistress, and to coil its copious tail to match the *faux-cul* she displays in perfect profile towards the viewer. At the same time, the presence of this monkey demands that we perceive its mistress's fashionability in animalistic terms, as a human wearing a 'creditable imitation of a tail,' whose 'extraordinary costume,' Osbert Sitwell noted in 1926, appears as an 'eloquent simian shape … evolved for [herself] as decoration.'[80] Indeed, Seurat's presentation of the monkey presses the concept of 'imitation' towards its lewdest possible horizons. Replicating the outline of the *cul de Paris* with its tail or *queue*, common slang for penis, the monkey calls out the analogy, recognized in Darwin's controversial theory of 'sexual selection,' between the attractive functions of modern fashion and bodily ornament within the animal kingdom.[81] The appearance of the monkey's mistress on the arm of a nearly invisible escorting gentleman is a detail that seems designed to register how the dynamics of *mode-imitation* were implicated in modern mating rituals, or sexual transactions.

While the 'little animal nostalgia' of the monkey does analogize its mistress to some 'lower form of life,' perhaps to a form of life in which *instinct* as opposed to intelligence was predominant, the woman–monkey pair serves simultaneously as an icon of refinement and civilized culture. They are the comic knot and conceptual navel of Seurat's canvas, enlisted to enact, and make graphic, the symbiotic reciprocity between a 'civilizing' process of consumer capitalism, which saw the niceties of fashion adopted on a mass scale, and the automatistic, even atavistic dimension of the human subject's simian avidities (*convoitises simiennes*) which served for that process as an economic engine.

* * *

That the scandal of the *Grande Jatte* stemmed from the way it had formalized imitative processes at work within the social spaces of the modern metropolis is tacitly acknowledged in the reversion to a more traditional arena of imitation in Seurat's subsequent figural canvas. *Poseuses* (1886–8) (Figure 6.6) retreats into the artist's studio as a site for the production of figural mimesis. And it appears, on its surface, chaste and academic by comparison with the *Grande Jatte*.

In *Poseuses* Seurat ostensibly atoned for those features of the prior painting that had 'scandalized the bourgeois,' through a displacement, partial effacement, and deliberate contrast with its two most controversial figures.[82] In the atelier, in front of the *Grande Jatte*, or more specifically, in front of its bottom right quadrant, containing the monkey that 'raised a clamour' and the 'mannequin sauced in violet,' Seurat presented a trio of living, naked, professional studio models. These nudes counter the rigid 'grace of the mannequin' affected by the *Grande Jatte*'s protagonist with



6.6 Georges Seurat, *Poseuses*, 1886–8. Oil on canvas, 200 × 249.9 cm. Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia.

three comparatively elastic postures, each of which mimics an attitude from a canonical classical or academic artwork. And the leftmost seated nude is ingeniously positioned to expunge the simian flourish from the reproduction of the *Grande Jatte* behind her.

And yet, if *Poseuses* pretends to retract the offences of the previous canvas, restoring the mimetic traditions of figural art the *Grande Jatte* abandoned, the painting simultaneously reiterates and pushes those offences further. It is not incidental that, as Paul Dollfuss observed in his 1888 study of artists' models, an aesthetic appetite for Parisian, modern-life subjects was dictating demand for what he called the *modèle moderne*, creating 'daily vacancies in the ranks of … the *demoiselles de magasin de la capitale*.'[83] Or that Zola chose the word *poseuse* [posturing] to describe the airs put on by such *demoiselles*.[84] Seurat displayed his own studio strewn with the kind of fashionable articles worn by the *Grande Jatte*'s protagonist (parasols, plumed hats, polka dot skirts…). On the right, just opposite the reproduction of the monkey's mistress, the posterior padding for a bustle or an 'imitation tail' hangs on a peg on the wall – a grass-green 'false arse' turned around to face and moon the viewer.[85] *Poseuses* is set up to suggest that the woman enlisted to ape classical postures in the artist's studio is the same woman, or same type of woman, who would ape the *mannequin de mode* when out strolling on her Sunday promenades. In that sense, *Poseuses* not only collated and equated two adjacent regimes of *singerie* – that of classical artistic tradition, on the one hand, and contemporary fashion, on the other – it insisted that the latter had superseded the former.

* * *

I thank Justine De Young, Hollis Clayson, Brigid Doherty, Joseph Rishel, and Kristina Haugland for comments, questions, and research suggestions that contributed to this essay. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the French are my own.

Notes

1 Maurice Hermel, 'L'Exposition de peinture de la rue Lafitte,' *La France libre* (28 May 1886), in *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874–86: Documentation*, ed. Ruth Berson, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 1: 457: 'le tableau-manifeste de M. Seurat.'

2 Félix Fénéon, 'Sur Georges Seurat' (1926) in *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, ed. Joan Halperin, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 1: 487–8: 'il faut croire qu'il y avait dans cette toile quelque chose de bien agressivement insolite, car l'emblée elle irritait au paroxysme le visiteur qui, entrant dans la salle réservée à Seurat, et à Signac, l'apercevait sur le panneau de fond qu'elle occupait presque en entier. Bientôt la colère de l'intrus, d'abord éparse sur les quarante personnages, se localisait, phénomène mal explicable, sur le singe tenu en laisse par la dame du premier plan et spécialement sur sa queue en spirale. Il semblait que cette nostalgie bestiole et cette queue fussent là pour insulter nommément personne qui franchissait le seuil.'

3 For a concise statement of this recurring trope, see Louis-Pilate de Brinn Gaubast, 'Exposition des artistes indépendants,' *Le Décadent* 1, no. 24 (18 September 1886): 2.

4 Paul Signac, 'Le Néo-impressionisme. Documents,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* XI, no. 852 (January 1934): 49–59, 55: 'Le singe tenu en laisse par la dame en bleu excitait tout spécialement la verve de ces boulevardiers.'

5 Fénéon, 'Le Néo-Impressionnisme' (1887) in *Oeuvres*, 1: 76: 'critiques épris d'anecdotes geignent: on nous montre des mannequins, non des hommes.'

6 See for instance Claude-Roger Marx, *Seurat* (Paris: G. Crès et cie, 1931), 9; Meyer Schapiro, 'Seurat' (1958) in *Modern Art–19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 108; Robert Herbert, *Seurat and the Making of La Grande Jatte* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2004), 98.

7 Thorstein Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 35.

8 Leila Kinney, 'Fashion and Figuration in Modern Life Painting,' in *Architecture: In Fashion*, ed. Deborah Fausch (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994): 270–313.

9 Georges Michel, 'Une évolution économique: le commerce en grands magasins,' *Revue des deux mondes* 112 (January 1892): 133–56, 145: 'les grands magasins ont pu développer le goût public et permettre à la grande masse démocratique de se procurer des objets qui jusqu'alors étaient restés dans le domaine d'une classe restreinte de privilégiés.'

10 For the perceived uniformity of *confection*, see Ignotus, 'Les grands bazars,' *Le Figaro* 27, no. 82 (23 March 1881): 1.

11 See the two drawings reproduced in César de Hauke, *Seurat et son oeuvre*, 2 vols. (Paris: Grund, 1961), 2: 84, cat. no. 476, *Un magasin et deux personnages*, *c*. 1882, no. 477, *Rencontre*, *c*. 1882.

12 Diderot coined the adjective *mannequiné* to designate insufficiently lively, false-seeming figures and the verb *mannequiner* to describe overly fussy, unspontaneous dispositions of drapery and figural gestures. These words later came into more general French usage. Diderot also conflated the academic model and the mannequin to critique the inauthentic body language inculcated by the academic system, see '*Salon* de 1765' and 'Mes pensées bizarres sur le dessin' in *Œuvres de Denis Diderot: Salons* (Paris: J.L.J. Brière, 1821), 282, 209, 412. For a general history of the artist's mannequin, see Jane Munro's magisterial exhibition catalogue *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), unfortunately published after the completion of this essay.

13 'Mannequin' in Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, 17 vols. (Paris: Administration du grand dictionnaire universel, 1866–73) 10: 1086: '2. forme humaine en bois, affublés de vêtements et servent de montre aux tailleurs et aux marchands de vêtements.' For theoretical and practical concepts of the *mannequin d'atelier* in France see Aubin-Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, 3 vols. (Paris: Desray, 1806), 2: 389–90; 'Mannequin' in Jules Adeline, *Lexique des termes d'art* (Paris: Quantin, 1884), 276–7.

14 Léon Riotor, *Le Mannequin* (Paris: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1900), 85.

15 Ibid., 94.

16 Octave Uzanne, 'Le Mannequin, son histoire anecdotique: les femmes dociles,' in Riotor, *Mannequin*, x: 'Ces bustes des magasins, ces sommaires icones porte-manteaux.'

17 Kinney, 'Fashion,' 272, 277.

18 Encyclopédie des Beaux-Arts, quoted in Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire*, 10: 1086; 'Le mannequin peut, en effet, suppléer pour le modèle vivant … avec avantage pour son immobilité absolue et sa docilité exemplaire.' Uzanne, 'Le Mannequin,' x.

19 Joris-Karl Huysmans, 'L'Étiage' in *Croquis parisiens* (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1994). The sketch appeared in the second, 1886 edition. Rioter first identified the unnamed boutique, see *Mannequin*, 34, 89–94.

20 Huysmans, 'L'Étiage,' 166: 'une série de bustes de femmes, sans têtes et sans jambes. … À regarder cet étiage des gorges … l'on songe vaguement à ces caves où reposent les sculptures antiques du Louvre, où le même torse éternellement répété.'

21 Ibid., 169: 'ces marbres inhumains … ces mannequins si vivants des couturiers, combiens plus insinuants.'

22 Ibid., 169: 'Les poitrines grecques, taillées suivant une formule stipulée par le goût des siècles, sont désormais mortes.'

23 Joris-Karl Huysmans, 'Chronique d'art: Les Indépendants,' *La Revue Indépendante* 3, no. 6 (April 1887): 52–7, 53–4: 'aucune âme, aucune pensée … l'armature humaine devient rigide et dure.'

24 For Seurat at the *École des beaux-arts* for approximately four rather than two years, see Nancy Ireson, 'Seurat and the 'Cours de M. Yvon',' *Burlington Magazine* 153, no. 1296 (March 2011): 174–80.

25 See the table of related works in de Hauke, *Seurat*, 1: 200–01.

26 See Riotor, *Mannequin*, 94–6.

27 See de Hauke, *Seurat*, cat. no. 633.

28 Jean le Fustec, 'Exposition de la societé des artistes indépendants,' *Journal des Artistes* 5, no. 35 (22 August 1886): 290–1: 'une bande d'êtres pétrifiés, immobiles, de mannequins qui ont le tort de fixer l'attention du public et de le pousser au rire.'

29 Émile Hennequin, 'Notes d'art: les impressionnistes,' *La Vie Moderne* (19 June 1886) in Berson, ed., *Documentation*, 1: 454: 'dessinés à jour comme des mannequins mal fabriqués.'

30 A. J. Wauters, 'Aux XX, III, M. Seurat, *La Grande Jatte*,' *La Gazette* (1 March 1887), Fonds Octave Maus, Les Archives de l'Art contemporain en Belgique (AACB), unpaginated clipping: 'Conduisant le notaire au fond de la salle, je le plaçai près de l'entrée, cachant à ses yeux, derrière les sculptures du milieu de la salle, la partie droite du tableau, avec ses mannequins saucés de violet.'

31 Ibid.: 'Mais ces personnages, mon chère, ces deux grands diables de personnages qui ressemblent à des poupées descendues de quelque étalage de confectionneur?'

32 Gustave Kahn recalls that Seurat was an avid reader of Zola's novels, see *Dessins de Georges Seurat, 1859–91*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 1928) 1: n.p. Henri Mitterand, *Émile Zola: Carnets d'enquêtes, une ethnographie inédite de la France* (Paris: Terre Humaine/Plon, 1986), 186: 'férocement obscènes.'

33 Émile Zola, *Les Rougon-Macquart, Au Bonheur des dames* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1883), 5–6. I slightly modified the translation from *The Ladies' Paradise*, trans. Brian Nelson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6.

34 While *Bonheur des dames*, set in 1864–9, ostensibly traces the birth of the *grand magasin* during the Second Empire, Zola based his descriptions on current department store practices.

35 For these figural repetitions see Daniel Catton Rich, *Seurat and the Evolution of* La Grande Jatte (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), 38.

36 George Moore, 'Half-a-Dozen Enthusiasts,' *The Bat* (May 1886) in Berson, ed., *Documentation*, 1: 436.

37 John Rewald, 'Extraits du journal inédit de Paul Signac: I, 1894–5,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 36 (July–September 1949): 107: 'son 'air rosse de femme à laquelle on ne pose pas des lapins!' '

38 Among the authors who follow Moore in presuming the sexual overtones of this figure are T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, revised ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 265; Richard Thompson, *Seurat* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), 122–4; Hollis Clayson, 'The Family and the Father: *The Grande Jatte* and its Absences,' *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989, special issue, *The Grande Jatte* at 100): 154–64, 242–4, 163. Herbert counters that 'she does not resemble contemporary representations of 'loose women,' either in gesture or in dress; her outfit is like those widely advertised and bought by respectable middle class-women,' *Making of La Grande Jatte*, 138.

39 Mitterand, *Carnets*, 225: 'Toujours un peu des grâces du mannequin.' For the visibility of *demoiselles de magasin* promenading on their Sundays off, see Pierre Giffard, *Paris sous la Troisieme République, les grands bazars* (Paris: Havard, 1882), 13, 116. For the *demoiselle de magasin* as a figure of obsession for nineteenth-century bourgeois culture, see Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store 1869–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 195. Shopgirls were known for their distinctive attire in uniform black silk. The black bodice of the monkey's mistress might therefore be read as a marker of her professional relationship to a store.

40 Gabriel Tarde, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une société?' *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* 18 (July–December 1884): 489–510, reprinted in Gabriel Tarde, *Les lois de l'imitation* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1890). Throughout, I quote from *The Laws of Imitation*, trans. Elsie Clews Parsons (New York: Henry Holt, 1903), 87.

41 Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 11.

42 Tarde, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une société?' 499; *Laws of Imitation*, 86, 74, 75.

43 Tarde, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une société?' 500; *Laws of Imitation*, 75.

44 Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 74.

45 Ibid., 68, 82.

46 Ibid., 77. On fashion, as opposed to custom, as the hallmark of modern imitation see 'Extra-Logical Influences,' *Laws of Imitation*, 244–55, 192.

47 Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 82. Emphasis in original.

48 Alfred Paulet, 'Les impressionnistes,' *Paris* (5 June 1886) in Berson, ed., *Documentation*, 1: 469: 'Le peintre a voulu montrer le train-train de la promenade banale des endimanchés qui se promènent sans volupté aux endroits où il est convenu qu'on doit se promener le dimanche.'

49 Paul Adam, 'Peintres impressionnistes,' *La Revue contemporaine* (April–May 1886) in Berson, ed., *Documentation*, 1: 429–30: ' le sens du moderne … la réserve des gestes, le cant britannique par tous imité.'

50 Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 240–4. Georges Seurat, *Parade de Cirque*, 1887–8. Oil on canvas, 99.7 × 149.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

51 Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Hachette, 1873), s.v. 'singer': 'imiter, contrefaire' (4: 1949); *Petit dictionnaire universal: ou, Abrégé du dictionnaire français de É. Littré* (Paris: Hachette, 1876), s.v. 'singerie': 'Grimaces, gestes, tours de malice. Minauderies. Imitation gauche ou ridicule. Manières hypocrites. Ménagerie de singes. Tableau représentant des singes en costume d'homme' (791).

52 Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 79.

53 Ibid., 229, 79.

54 Ibid., 108–09; I have modified the translation in reference to Gabriel Tarde, 'L'archéologie et la statistique,' *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* 16 (July–December 1883): 363–84, 492–511, 378.

55 Meyer Schapiro, 'Seurat and 'La Grande Jatte',' *The Columbia Review* 17 (November 1935): 9–16, 14; Clark, *Modern Life*, 261–7; Kinney, 'Fashion,' 284; Paul Signac, 'Les besoins individuels et la peinture,' in *Encyclopédie française*, ed. Anatole de Monzie, 21 vols. (Paris: Comité de l'encyclopédie française, 1935), 16: 84–7: 'une riboulдingue dominicale des calicots, d'apprentis charcutiers, de femmes à la recherche d'aventures.'

56 Giffard also used the word *convoitise* to describe the experience of women in department stores, *Grands bazars*, 6.

57 Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 84.

58 Octave Uzanne, *L'ombrelle, le Gant, le Machon* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1883), 61: 'le complément indispensable d'une toilette de promenade.'

59 Scholars have tended to interpret the monkey as a coded allusion to prostitution, for example, Thompson, *Seurat*, 123. A possible link to Darwin was noted briefly in Albert Boime, 'Studies of the Monkey by Seurat and Pisanello,' *Burlington Magazine* 111, no. 791 (February 1969): 79–81, 80, n. 18; Joan Halperin, 'The Ironic Eye/I in Jules Laforgue and Georges Seurat,' in *Seurat Re-Viewed*, ed. Paul Smith (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2009), 113–46, 124. Seurat's monkey may be an eclectic combination of features of various species observable in Parisian zoos, but the special emphasis given to the long prehensile tail and contrasting facial fur coloration suggests Seurat depicted a capuchin. Considered the most intelligent New World species, capuchins in human clothing were the ubiquitous companions of organ grinders in nineteenth-century cities.

60 Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 244. Tarde refers to the 'almost instantaneous' spread of Darwinian theory to exemplify the accelerated pace of imitation in modernity, 370.

61 For Darwin's French reception, see Yvette Conry, *L'introduction du Darwinisme en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1974).

62 For the monkey as emblem of the arts in the early modern period, see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1952), 287–325. In eighteenth-century France there was a widespread vogue for so-called *Singeries*, portrayals of dressed monkeys engaging in cultured, very often artistic, activities.

63 Constantin James, *Du Darwinisme, ou l'homme-singe* (Paris: Plon, 1877), 67: 'on ne puisse le prononcer sans voir miroiter aussitôt comme la silhouette d'un singe.' Here James is referring to both Darwin and Émile Littré, who he describes as 'l'*alter ego* de Darwin.'

64 Moore, 'Half-a-Dozen Enthusiasts,' 1: 436; see also Janet Browne, 'Darwin in Caricature: A Study in the Popularisation and Dissemination of Evolution,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (December 2001): 496–09, 506–09. See in particular André Gill, 'L'arbre de la science,' *La Petite Lune*, no. 10 (1878), 'Darwin !' *La Lune Rousse*, no. 89 (18 August 1878).

65 *The Works of Charles Darwin*, eds. Paul H. Barrett and R. B. Freeman, 29 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1987–9), 22: *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex, Part II* (1871), 634. The compulsory anatomy course was taught by Mathias Duval, who published a five-hundred page summary of Darwin's achievements, *Le Darwinisme, Leçons professées a l'école d'anthropologie* (Paris: Andrien Delahaye et Émile Lecrosnier, 1886).

66 The presence of cage bars in several studies supports Herbert's claim that Seurat drew at a zoo, see *Georges Seurat, 1859–91*, ex. cat (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 199. This was likely the *Jardin Zoologique d'acclimatation*; highly publicized in the 1880s, its singerie contained *sajous*, or brown capuchins, see *Guide du promeneur au Jardin Zoologique d'acclimatation au Bois de Boulogne* (Paris: Librairie spéciale du Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation, 1877), 27. By 1877 the zoo was mounting highly commercial ethnographic exhibitions, see William H. Schneider, 'Jardin d'acclimatation, zoos et naturalisation,' in *Exhibitions. L'invention du sauvage*, ex. cat., ed. Gilles Boëtsch et al. (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2012), 130–44.

67 Frank Zuccari and Allison Langley, 'Seurat's Working Process: The Compositional Evolution of *La Grande Jatte*,' in Herbert, *Making of La Grande Jatte*, 178–95, 187.

68 Wauters, 'Aux XX,' n.p.: 'et ce singe bleu?'

69 Herbert, *Making of La Grande Jatte*, 77. For preliminary painted sketches of the woman–animal pairing see de Hauke, *Seurat*, cat. nos. 137, 142.

70 Ibid., *Making of La Grande Jatte*, 77.

71 George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (1886) (New York: Capricorn, 1959), 43–4.

72 J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, ed. Ernst Jones (London: Hogarth Press, The International Psycho-Analytical Library: 1950), 161.

73 Albert Robida, 'Le phare de la mode,' *La Caricature* no. 302 (10 October 1885), 2: 'la tournure, donnant raison aux darwinistes, semblait être l'attache d'un appendice caudal atrophié.'

74 Gustave Coquiot, *Seurat* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1924), 112: 'Faux-cul … est encore, pour Seurat, un objet sacré … il se plaît à préciser.'

75 Adolf Loos, 'Ladies Fashion' (1902) in *Spoken into the Void: Collected Essays, 1897–1900*, trans. Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 99–103, 100.

76 Reprinted in Charles Blanc, *L'art dans la parure est dans le vêtement* (Paris: Librarie Renouard, 1875), 373–5: 'Elles se coiffèrent et s'habillèrent comme pour être vues de profil.'

77 Kahn, *Dessins de George Seurat*, 1: n.p.: 'il abord franchement le profil disgracieux. … Il prend le modèle de profil, fait ressortir le cambrure des reins que le couturier a cherché à obtenir et traduit toute la fantaisie bizarre de l'attifement.'

78 For the Cirque Corvi as the subject of *Parade de cirque*, see Kahn 'Peinture: exposition des indépendants,' *La Revue indépendante*, no. 6 (April 1888): 160–4, 161. For monkeys performing at Corvi, see Hugues Le Roux, *Les jeux du cirque et la vie foraine*, illus. Jules Garnier (Paris: Plon, 1889), 70, 86–9; for the wider proliferation of trained monkeys, see Rae Beth Gordon, *Dances with Darwin, 1875–1910: Vernacular Modernity in France* (London: Ashgate, 2009), 93–9.

79 Wauters, 'Aux XX,' n.p.: 'la Grande Jatte est l'enseigne d'un cabaret des environs de Paris.'

80 Osbert Sitwell, '*Les Poseuses*,' *Apollo* 6 (June 1926): 345.

81 For Darwin's concept of 'cultural fashions as an extension of and substitute for the sexually selected caprices … on the natural bodies of sexual organisms,' see Winfried Menninghaus, 'Biology à La Mode: Charles Darwin's Aesthetics of 'Ornament',' *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 31, no. 2 (Darwin in Culture, 2009): 263–78, 271–2.

82 Octave Maus, 'Le Salon des XX à Bruxelles,' *La Cravache* (16 February 1889), Fonds Octave Maus, AACB, unpaginated clipping: 'cette *Grande-Jatte* qui scandalisa les bourgeois.'

83 Paul Dollfuss, *Modèles d'artistes* (Paris: Marpon et Flammarion, 1888), 300: 'cet état de choses produit chaque jour des vides dans les rangs … de demoiselles de magasin de la capitale.'

84 Mitterand, *Carnets*, 212–13.

85 Previous scholars have misidentified the *tournure* as a bag. My gratitude to Joseph Rishel for introducing me to Kristina Haugland, who generously shared her knowledge of the undergarments in *Poseuses*.

7

‘BUT THE COAT IS THE PICTURE’

Issues of Masculine Fashioning, Politics, and Sexual Identity in Portraiture in England *c.* 1890–1900

Andrew Stephenson

In the summer of 1894, the American artist John Singer Sargent, then resident in London, explained to the handsome young painter, poet, art collector, and aesthete (Walford) Graham Robertson, who was sitting for his portrait in the artist’s Chelsea studio, why the wearing of a Chesterfield overcoat in black cashmere with a velvet collar was required for his portrait and why it was necessary to have the heavy coat tightly wrapped around the sitter’s tall lean body. Precariously posing Robertson in the full-length coat with pocket handkerchief and pinned cravat, and with a jade-topped cane in hand ‘turning as if to walk away, with a general twist of the whole body and all the weight on one foot,’ Sargent remonstrated: ‘But the coat is the picture … You must wear it.’[1] In the middle of an English summer, as the sitter was keenly aware, not only was the coat hot and uncomfortable, but it resulted in his extreme tiredness and physical exhaustion. As Robertson later recorded in his autobiography, due to the requirements of the precarious pose and the wearing of the heavy overcoat, he began losing weight and as he became thinner and thinner, much to the satisfaction of the artist, the thick coat was pulled and dragged 'more and more closely around me until it might have been draping a lamp-post.'[2]

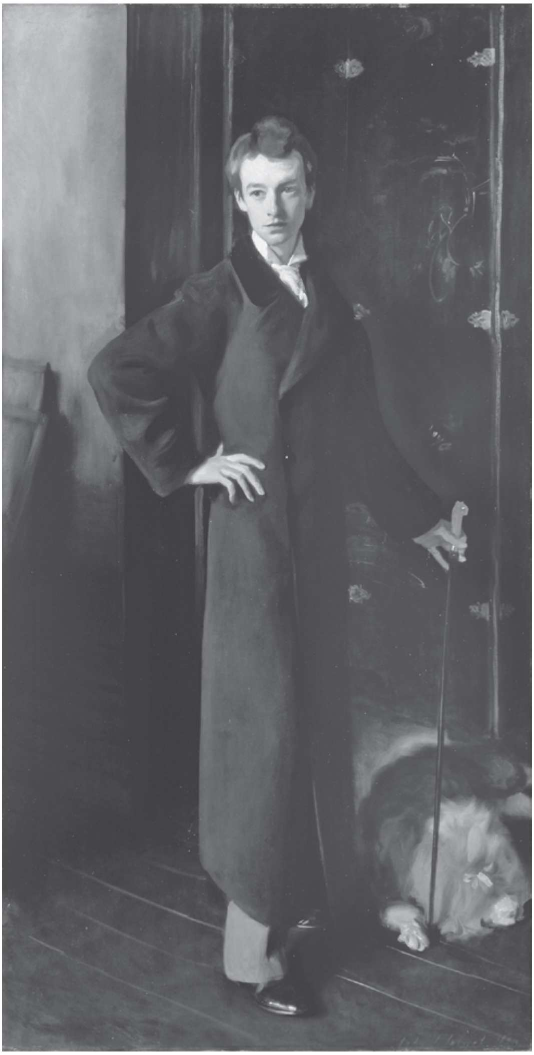
When Sargent's portrait of *W. Graham Robertson* (1894) (Figure 7.1) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in May the following year, critics highlighted how the momentarily caught pose of the fashionably attired young man and his attenuated body enclosed in the tightly wrapped Chesterfield overcoat were central to the portrait's tremendous success and its keen sense of modernity. Writing in the *Academy* on 11 May 1895, the critic Claude Phillips applauded that:

> There is an alertness, a momentariness in the arrested action of the slender figure, an expression of nerve force, as distinguished from muscularity, which makes the portrait, apart from its purely pictorial qualities, a perfect expression of the thoroughly modern individuality placed before us.[3]

Later, in 1927, Sargent's biographer Evan Charteris – openly contradicting Robertson's own opinion – would see these qualities in Sargent's painting as exemplifying the admirable characteristics of an era, marking the portrait out as 'a symbol of the nineties' and exemplifying the 'Oscar [Wilde] period.' Charteris wrote that:

> the picture speaks of the 'Beardsley period,' of the 'Yellow Book,' of the aspiration to startle and the cultivation of civilised detachment … [Sargent] has painted an individual, but he has defined a period, a type, an attitude of mind; he has put on record a date.[4]

As Sargent must have been aware when he told his sitter that 'the coat is the picture,' the painting relied for its dramatic effect not only upon the masculine beauty of his sitter, but upon the careful use of fashion and sartorial accoutrements to offer up certain qualities that were subsequently seen to define the elegance of an age. Using the varied language of clothing and style, Sargent, it seems, recognized the impact that such momentary interaction with bodily pose and posture had to signal



7.1 John Singer Sargent, *W. Graham Robertson*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 230.5 × 118.7 cm. Tate Gallery, London.

fine gradations of status and sexuality and to suggest 'nerve force, as distinguished from muscularity' to produce a modern sense of manly self. This indexing of masculine identity to fashion styling paid particular attention to male accessories and grooming, and to the nuances signalled by the wearer's choices in hats, silk ties and cravats, silk and satin waistcoats, handkerchiefs, gloves, shoes, canes, and watches.[5] It also acknowledged how self-conscious posing acted as a means to reference a new and updated relationship between masculinity and fashion. It was one that was crucial to the semiotics of the male body and dress management at this fin-de-siècle moment.

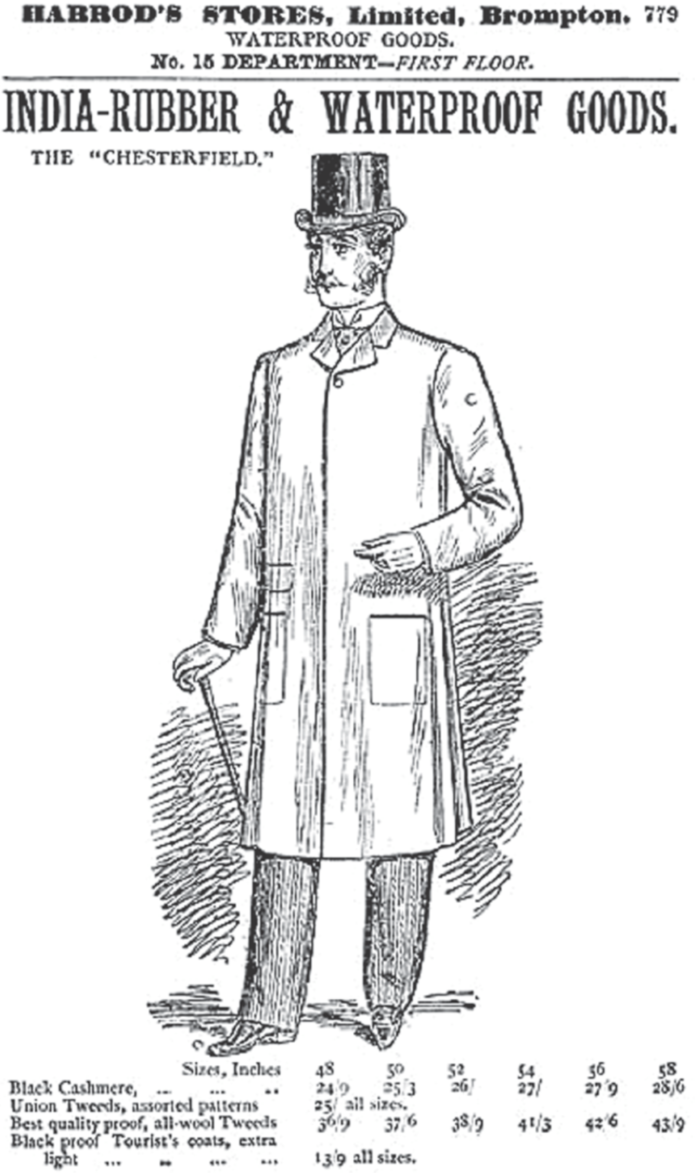
Moreover, the painting also registered the ways in which the new sexual context of Aestheticism had revised the meanings of the male body caught in mid-action and how it allied the modernizing grammars of fashion to the perceived moral and sexual characteristics of the man. For Phillips, the portrait's effect was achieved by the way the narrow silhouette of Robertson's slender physique enwrapped tightly in the three-buttoned Chesterfield overcoat and its increased length worn to the calf seemed to attenuate and over-stretch the young sitter's body.[6] In addition, this elongated quality was interpreted as a bodily exaggeration that epitomized the stylized manner of the fashionable young aesthete; a feature that a *Punch* cartoon in May 1895 lambasted in its title ''How long! How long!' Portrait of a blasé youth. Even his cane is jade-d.'[7] This impression of the fastidiousness of portrait painters and sitters alike concerning sartorial impact was confirmed by Robertson's self-conscious pose with right hand on hip and left hand holding cane, and further enhanced by the dramatic illumination by Sargent of the sitter's face, hands, lower trouser leg, shoes, and the poodle sitting at his feet. As Robertson's mother, the actress Ada Rehan, had tried to explain to her son when hoping to get his initial agreement to Sargent's request that he sit for a portrait, the overcoat was indeed crucial as a means of communicating the sitter's sartorial flare and the artist's visual modernity. And despite failing to recall exactly what Sargent had said about her son, Rehan, nevertheless, remembered how important the overcoat was to Sargent's conception of the portrait: 'He says you are so paintable: that the lines of your long overcoat – and the dog – and – I can't quite remember what he said, but he was tremendously enthusiastic.'[8]

Overcoats featured prominently in portraits by British and American artists working in England in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. As an essential ingredient of the male wardrobe allowing active participation in the public sphere in the variable British climate, they were perceived to signal the masculine fashionableness of the wearer, attracting attention and sometimes eliciting compliments. Accompanied by an appropriate hat, gloves, sometimes scarf or cravat, cane or walking stick, and footwear, the overcoat formed part of that fashionable wardrobe of gentlemanly elegance that was in keeping with English ideals of dress conformity and Protestant bodily reserve. Moreover, different types of overcoat reflected divergent wealth and class backgrounds and their corresponding manly ideals.[9] Within any discussion of the meanings of the overcoat in male portraiture at this period, it is important to stress the survival of previous typologies and pre-cursory connotations circulating in visual culture. As Farid Chenoune has demonstrated in his *A History of Men's Fashion*, the modern man's overcoat emerged in Western European wardrobes around 1835, when it replaced the cloak. Being neither a frock coat nor tunic, it was a loosely fitting waist-less outer garment in coarse broadcloth or wool with deep pockets that could be tailored in many different ways.[10] From 1850 to 1870 the rise of shorter overcoats with sloping shoulders, Raglan capes, and sleeved cloaks existed alongside earlier coat designs such as the three-seam coat with its loose contours. These garments became available in inexpensive cotton–wool cloth mixes as part of the expansion in ready-made clothing aimed at a growing number of middle class consumers that provided lucrative markets for British drapers and clothing manufacturers.[11]

Due to Paris's isolation during the 1870s as a result of the fall of the Second Empire and the impact of the Franco-Prussian War, London asserted its status as the leading fashion centre for menswear. Its tailors and manufacturers promoted male stylishness by exploiting and marketing the self-controlled sartorial style and restrained taste of the English gentleman abroad and throughout its colonies.[12] By the 1880s, the fashion for more fitted frock coats, morning coats, jackets and trousers with tighter waists demanded more streamlined and structured overcoats. By 1895, as the Harrods Stores illustrated catalogue for that year attests (Figure 7.2), one of the most popular forms of smart overcoat was the Chesterfield in black cashmere, Union Tweed, or an all-wool tweed fabric.[13] Named after the Sixth Earl of Chesterfield, it was popular from the 1840s and available as single- or double-breasted. Slightly waisted with a short back vent and high button seen at the velvet collar with other buttons hidden below, the Chesterfield had flapped side pockets with an inner ticket pocket. It was fly-fronted and usually semi-long, extending to just below the knee. There was also a 'Long Chesterfield' known as the 'sac bac' that went to the calf and was often worn caped.

As British tailors updated earlier tailoring legacies, a range of outerwear was marketed. There was the heavier and longer Ulster coat, often in Harris Tweed and double buttoned with hood or cape, or the Burberry raglan-sleeve overcoat.[14] Also popular was the Burberry trench coat in military style made of gabardine wool fabric or the rubberized Macintosh which had first appeared in the 1840s and which by the end of the nineteenth century was worn by city swells to dramatic visual effect. In addition, there were the less structured cape styles such as the Macfarlane in all wool checks, the Lonsdale with detachable cape, and the Inverness complete with coloured lining.[15]

As Christopher Breward has shown, London fashion was tied to certain rules of stylistic variation dictated by the expectations of English polite society and court etiquette, and not least by the middle class's concern with dress as a signifier of social aspiration, class differentiation, and respectability.[16] Precise specifications governed the shape, materials, and proportions of men's dress, including lapels, collars, and trouser length and width.[17] Indeed, the variety of recent styles of overcoats, many of which were ready-made and aimed at fashionable younger men about town, co-existed with earlier bespoke and more conservative gentlemanly styles.[18] Under pressure from an expansive and global modern consumerism, the ways in which male self-fashioning fused earlier aristocratic and manly professional models changed, not least affected by the impact of the growing mass media and the powerful models disseminated by the new reproductive technologies of photography and later film. By the



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Black Cashmere, ...	24/9	25/3	26/	27/	27/9	28/6
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Best quality proof, all-wool Tweeds	36/9	37/6	38/9	41/3	42/6	43/9
Black proof Tourist's coats, extra light	13/9 all sizes.					

7.2 The 'Chesterfield' overcoat, Harrods Stores illustrated catalogue, London 1895.

1890s, these changes produced a range of performative masculine models that confused earlier understandings of the differences between the dandy and the gentleman.[19] Moreover, in their desire for fashionability and visual impact, young men sported more dramatic and increasingly diverse forms of outerwear.[20] As newly fashionable styles of outer garments for men were produced and marketed both by established city tailors and by a second wave of retailers and department stores emerging in the 1890s, overcoats registered the transformative effects of a modernizing global economy both in terms of their innovative methods of production and in the increasing range of different materials and patterns used.

As this chapter will demonstrate through the consideration of three important portraits from the period between *c.* 1890 and 1900, these years witnessed many variations in attitude not only towards the tailoring styles of the overcoat, but in the wider signification of wealth and social status that it engendered.[21] As a sartorial marker of national and class identity, social lifestyle, and masculine sexuality, men's consumption of fashion became adapted to the changing social needs of its wearer, reflecting their perceived or imagined political and sexual persuasions.[22] Consequently, men's outerwear as a constituent part of the lexical vocabulary of men's dress management reflected the broader changes taking place in approaches to fashion, identity, and sexuality. As Breward has shown, men's clothing, like their public manners, grooming, and pose, mirrored the wearer's social, sexual, and cultural identity as:

> the relationship between masculinity and clothing at this fin-de-siècle moment … reveals how the acquisition of fashionable goods by men entailed negotiations with a variety of cultural images, many of which were deeply implicated in competing constructions of class.[23]

This dramatic shift in prevailing tastes as a marker of the acceleration of men's fashion cycles held repercussions for portraitists. As the seemly conventions of male portraiture required that artists in London keep abreast of such localized changes in sartorial styling, the art market rapidly expanded into a modern international art economy.[24] By the mid-1890s London-based artists, like the city's tailors and retailers, carefully manoeuvred the demands of the traditional British aristocratic patrons with the updated requirements and shifting expectations of an emerging plutocracy from abroad subscribing to different standards of taste.[25]

Consequently, outerwear worn in London's thoroughfares or depicted in formal portraiture became carefully observed because of the overcoat's capacity to register an appropriate understanding of English formal dress decorum and social convention. Alternatively, through insufficient attention to sartorial restraint or by showing an excess of fashionable decoration, a man might suggest a dandified and suspiciously cosmopolitan sense of taste.[26] This awareness of the need for careful interrogation of the details of male outer garments as well as aspects of pose and grooming was especially acute in Britain after 1894; a year which marked the greater visibility of younger men of an Aesthetic persuasion on London's streets and a moment that Brian Reade has identified as 'a golden year for homosexuality in England.'[27] The passing of the Labouchère Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Act earlier in August 1885 had criminalized all sexual acts between men in the United Kingdom and made homosexual men prosecuted for acts of gross indecency liable to imprisonment. Details such as the herringbone material's rich texture, or the adoption of the tightly cut fly front, the over-styling of frock coat lapels or the incorporation of luxurious velvet, astrakhan, or seal collars were seen when sported by cosmopolitan playboys or younger men about town as key signifiers of a lack of masculine conformity and as dubious signs of deviation from acknowledged heterosexual norms in dress management. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has argued, given the enormous publicity surrounding the Oscar Wilde trials from April 1895, 'for the first time in England, homosexual style – and homophobic style – instead of being stratified and specified and kept secret along lines of class, became … a household word – the word 'Oscar Wilde.' '[28]

Another reason for this increased attention paid to less constrained male dress management by artists when producing portraits was the way in which artists, alongside writers and intellectuals, were believed to actively participate in and contribute to the thriving bohemian cultures emerging in the metropolis. The accusation that artistic decadents and aesthetes were responsible for national decline and degeneration was repeated in Max Nordau's influential book *Degeneration*, published in German in 1892 and in an English translation in 1895.[29] Following a number of high-profile law cases prosecuting homosexuals including the Cleveland Street Scandal of 1890 involving male rent boys working for the General Post Office and the Wilde trials in 1895, it was shown that homosexuality was not merely tolerated in such liberal circles, but thriving.[30] As Laurel Brake has demonstrated, as a result, artistic communities in London attracted renewed attention and suspicion in the period from around 1888 until after the Wilde trials since the art journal *The Artist* was openly associated with Aestheticism, as were other periodicals such as *The Yellow Book* (1894–5) and later *The Savoy* (1896), *The Pageant* (1895–6) and *The Dome* (1897–1900). As Brake has argued, these publications sought not only to 'interpret and establish a visible gay discourse and tradition' and to address 'a gay interpretive community of readers,' but to educate their readers in fine art news, art and musical events, and matters of 'home culture' and interior design, and inform them about those locations such as art galleries, print dealers, art material sellers, and book shops in which sympathetic fellow travellers could be encountered and friendships cultivated.[31]

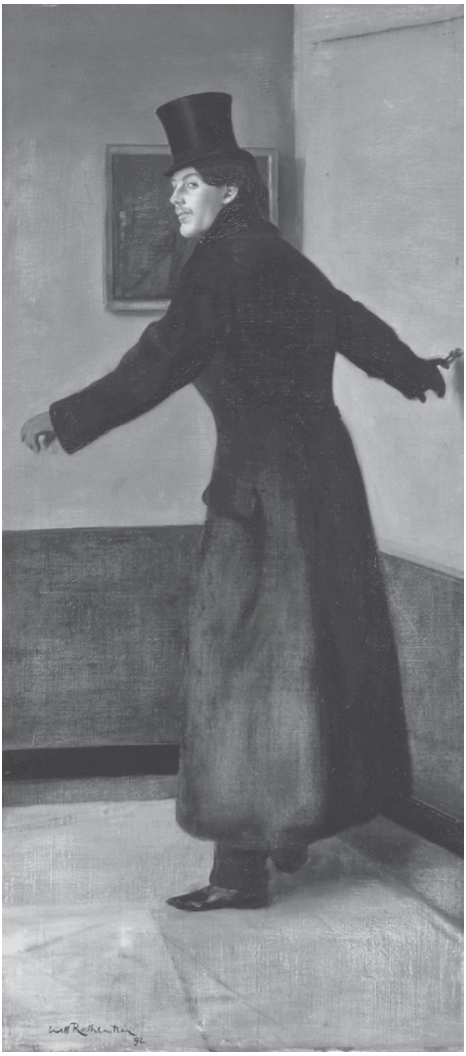
Alongside articles on art, fashion also featured regularly in their columns and writers cautiously drew attention to the conspicuous ways in which the male body in Aestheticism and in contemporary artworks was self-consciously presented as a sight to be seen and a spectacle to be enjoyed by both women *and* men. Such proposals challenged conventional social and sexual norms positioning masculinity as part of an emerging public culture associated with Aestheticism.[32] Moreover, such arguments also underscored how the male body had fully embraced the modern possibilities that posing and grooming allowed for in the 'complex landscape of politics, art and gender' of these years.[33] As Michael Hatt has proposed, 'while Aestheticism began as the place where homosexuality was fostered, by the 1890s, a reversal had taken place and homosexuality was seen as the basis of Aestheticism.'[34] The studied and very visible pose of the elegant dandy or aesthete was by the mid-1890s the primary site for the construction of a suspiciously flamboyant male identity. Between March and November 1894, this correlation was confirmed as dandified manly style became engulfed in 'the New Hedonism controversy' and embroiled in public debates about sexual degeneration and decadence in England,[35] and then after the Wilde trials in 1895 it coalesced into a conspicuous and very public homosexual stereotype.[36]

Given this enhanced public awareness of the interconnection between Aestheticism, dandyism, fashion, and homosexuality, portraiture was especially closely examined since portraitists were trained to interrogate the male anatomy and skilled at capturing their sitter's physique, personality, and inner temperament. As a corollary, they were also better able to visually communicate the features of normality and respectability, or to detect signs of deviancy, within British manhood's regimes of grooming and posing.[37] Actively participating in London's bohemian circles, the male portraitist was especially responsive to the wider social and sexual changes taking place in the metropolis and so able to comprehend the competing and experimental ways in which dress management and desire were being explored by men in these years. As the artist's studio, the art gallery, and exhibition spaces were favoured sites where male dandies could be frequently encountered, such locations were central to an emerging urban geography of Aestheticism. Consequently, fashionable portraits were keenly interrogated by viewers, male and female, for signs of the updated sexual manners born of Aestheticism although any coded or latent references to homoerotic investment did not rest upon fashion alone but were confirmed by homosocial affiliation and through location.[38] At the same time, the portrait's ability to subtly signal the sitter's or artist's radical beliefs or non-conformity was not openly advertised or easily detected since such nuanced meanings remained only available to their informed supporters, patrons, and a select coterie of friends.

To return to *W. Graham Robertson* (1894), Sargent's portrait became embroiled in such arguments about the Aesthetic movement and with these new and alternative ways of reading the male body, its fashioning and animation. As the critic George Moore recorded upon seeing it at the 1895 Royal Academy show, 'Mr Sargent has realised once and for ever the type of fashionable young man of artistic tendencies of this end of the century.'[39] This sense of a concerted engagement by leading portrait artists in Britain with the sartorial codes of dandyism was reinforced by the fact that two other impressive full-length male portraits had been exhibited earlier in 1894 at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris: Whistler's *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac* (1891–2) and John Lavery's *Portrait of R.B. Cunninghame Graham* (1893).[40] Both Whistler's and Lavery's paintings had originally sought to exploit the pictorial effect of the long overcoat in portraiture, even though Whistler's portrait of Montesquiou in a long grey overcoat was later changed to the conventional black evening garb. Equally both portraits registered the impact of the work of the Spanish painter, Diego Velázquez, upon British and American portraitists working in England in this period. Indeed, when Whistler's portrait of the well-known French aristocrat, poet, and dandy Montesquiou was exhibited in Paris, the artist Camille Pissarro acknowledged how Whistler's work had learnt from the Spanish painter and praised it 'for gesture, refined elegance' and 'great unity, obtained, it is true by tricks in the manner of Velázquez.'[41]

What all three works shared was the way in which the contemporary 'man of fashion' was represented by these artists as 'a man of action'[42] forging his way in contemporary life with dress signalling his confident participation in the rapidly changing public sphere.[43] In Sargent's case, his sitter's perceived sympathy with Aestheticism was also confirmed by the location: the artist's Chelsea studio with some unfinished paintings stacked against the wall to his right and its interior decoration showing an elaborate Japanese lacquered screen that was a conspicuous feature of an Aesthetic taste. The affiliation suggested by such revealing details might, in part, explain Graham Robertson's vehement rejection of the claim that the painting constituted 'a symbol of the Nineties' typifying the 'Oscar Wilde period.'

William Rothenstein's portrait of the Australian painter, Charles Condor, entitled *L'homme qui sort (the painter Charles Condor)* was completed in 1892 (Figure 7.3). It was first exhibited at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1893 and shown in the following year at the New English Art Club (NEAC) in London.[44] Outfitted in a long frock coat with silk top hat, wearing yellow kid gloves, black trousers, and highly polished calf-laced boots, dress is once again a key indicator of the sitter's bohemian stylishness.[45] The French title – *l'homme qui sort* – also


Will Rothenstein
92

7.3 William Rothenstein, *L'homme qui sort (the painter Charles Condor)*, 1892. Oil on canvas, 120.3 × 55.2 cm. Toledo Museum of Art.

accentuates Condor's cosmopolitanism and it highlights the moment when, with one hand opening the latch of the door and the other swinging in mid-action, Condor exits the room. The sense of vigorous bodily locomotion is communicated by the sinuous curve of the male body as it swings around and, as in the Sargent portrait, is crucial to conveying a sense of its dynamism – what Phillips declared as that 'momentariness in the arrested action.' Richard Thomson has interpreted such a concentration on mid-action pose as indebted to the portraits of Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, seeing it as a concern with animated body language that recurs in other works such as Walter Sickert's *Portrait of Aubrey Beardsley* completed in 1894.[46]

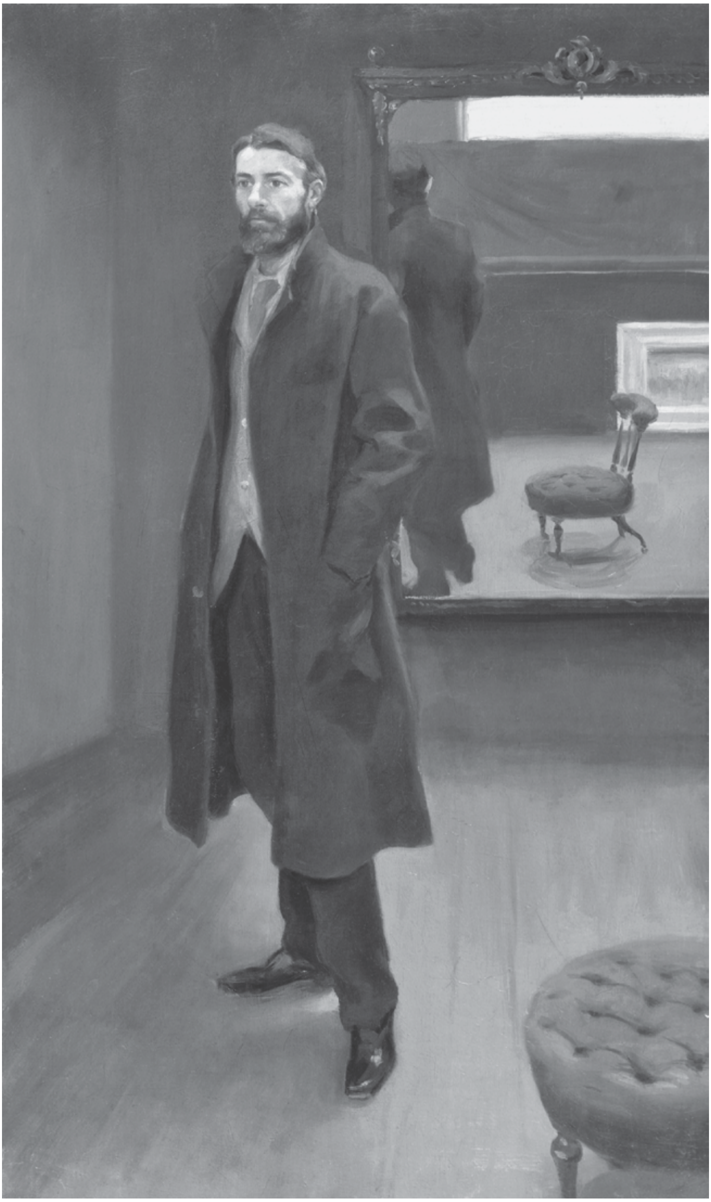
In the overlapping artistic friendship networks emerging between Paris and London in 1890s, Rothenstein, like Condor, was close to Toulouse-Lautrec as well as to Wilde, Beardsley, and Sickert. After studying at the Slade School of Art in London under Alphonse Legros, Rothenstein at 19 had gone to Paris in 1889 to study at the Académie Julian.[47] He first met the 23-year-old Condor in Paris around 1890 and they shared a studio together in Montmartre at the Bateau-Lavoir.[48] They also held a joint exhibition at Père Thomas's gallery in Paris in 1892 facilitated by Toulouse-Lautrec's introduction to the Parisian dealer.[49] Rothenstein exhibited almost annually with the NEAC from spring 1893, and it was at the Club's spring exhibition in London in 1894 that *L'homme qui sort (the painter Charles Condor)* was first shown.[50] Many members of the NEAC, founded in 1886, had trained at the Slade School of Art, like Rothenstein, and by the 1890s there was a powerful alliance between staff and ex-students from the Slade and the NEAC, including three sympathetic and Francophile art critics: R. A. M. Stevenson, George Moore, and D. S. MacColl.[51]

In the 1890s, according to Ann Galbally, the relationship between Rothenstein and Condor was 'deep and complex on both sides.'[52] According to Rothenstein, Condor had 'a strong feminine strain in his nature, soft and feline.'[53] Perhaps as a consequence, Condor 'would have liked to have cut a figure; to be a sort of Lucien de Rubempré' and asked Rothenstein to present him in the portrait as '*a homme fatale*' in the manner of the French writer Honoré de Balzac, whose novels Condor admired.[54] Rothenstein also remembered that Condor wished to be more raffish and 'masculine' and he 'asked me to make him look more *Daumieresque*, to stylize his coat and give him a *fatale* and romantic appearance,' and the long overcoat contributes to this theatrical effect.[55] Around 1893, Rothenstein had seen an exhibition of work by Honoré Daumier and he recalled that: 'I had not been long in Chelsea when I made friends with a cultured picture-dealer named van Wisselingh. At his gallery in Brook Street [the Dutch Gallery] I found paintings and drawings by Daumier, then little known in London.'[56] Augustus John also remembered Rothenstein's fascination with Daumier's work when he had first met him: 'The walls of his house and studio were adorned with original drawings by Rembrandt, Gainsborough, Daumier, Millet, Puvis de Chavannes and other masters.'[57] Moreover, Samuel Shaw has argued convincingly for the particular importance of Daumier's influence upon many younger British artists at this period.[58]

Rothenstein's portrait was bought by the wealthy barrister William Llewellyn Hacon, who was an influential patron of Condor's and also a financial supporter of the Vale Press, which Charles Ricketts had founded in 1894 and which continued until 1903.[59] The Vale Press's office was located in Warwick Street, Piccadilly, London, where it accommodated a small exhibition space that showed and sold prints by Condor and Rothenstein, amongst others.[60] Earlier in 1893, Wilde had introduced Rothenstein to Ricketts and Charles Shannon who lived at the Vale in Chelsea and Rothenstein recalled that 'I immediately fell under their charm.'[61] At the Vale, Rothenstein mixed in homosexual social circles, or at least in a coterie in which close emotional attachments between men were openly accepted. This well-connected group incorporated the artist and writer Roger Fry, and Fry similarly fell under the powerful influence of Ricketts and Shannon.[62] This coterie also included Wilde's loyal friend Robert Ross, who from 1901 to 1909 managed the Carfax Gallery in London.[63] Importantly, Rothenstein maintained his friendship with Wilde even after the latter's release from jail in 1897 and up until his death on 30 November 1900.[64]

What this intimate circle of artists, aesthetes, and art writers demonstrated was that the interconnection between artistic bohemianism, homosocial conviviality, and homosexual lifestyle thrived in London. In this respect, the setting for Rothenstein's portrait of Condor is significant as it suggests an aesthetically decorated art gallery or drawing room with black skirting, a high grey dado, and plain grey blue walls with matching doors; a carefully designed and colour-coordinated interior that follows the refined lessons of the Whistlerian installation.[65] Such modish interior design was found in the beautiful homes of London's Aesthetic cliques, in many Francophile artists' studios and in the modern art galleries and print rooms of London's West End. Such spaces were part of the social scene of like-minded, art-interested coteries and were the sites where fashionable attire, posing, and bohemian manliness could be encountered and admired.[66] In the portrait, Rothenstein accentuates Condor's memorable ensemble of long frock coat, silk top hat, kid gloves, black trousers, and highly polished laced boots, as it is seen in passing as he leaves the room. Rothenstein's Condor stands as an emblem of masculine elegance with the artwork articulating a complex relationship between portraiture, subjectivity, and Aestheticism. It also registers how in such carefully orchestrated interiors, dissident cultures and unconventional (homo) sexual lifestyles could be sustained, and offers visual evidence that such communities were thriving in London in 1892: even after the Wilde trials in 1895 they would be 'perhaps more discreet … [but] nevertheless determinedly present.'[67]

Fry's portrait of *Edward Carpenter* (1894) (Figure 7.4) was painted in the same year as Sargent's portrait of *W. Graham Robertson* and it was exhibited at the 1894 NEAC spring show and featured by special invitation in Liverpool's autumn exhibition later that year.[68] The portrait represents the English radical socialist, writer, and pioneering homosexual campaigner Carpenter, dressed in a heavy overcoat with its collar turned up, depicted in the corner of a sparsely decorated attic-room with a low chair. Given the large skylight window with rolled up blackout curtain and the painting stacked against the wall reflected in the large mirror, the location could be Fry's Chelsea studio, which in 1894 was in Beaumont Street, where Ricketts and Shannon were his neighbours and where Sickert had visited.[69] Frances Spalding sees the portrait as indebted to Sickert's portraits of the period, and the increased spatial tilting of the floor in relation to the picture plane, dramatizing Carpenter's presence, as a sign of Fry's



7.4 Roger Fry, *Edward Carpenter*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 73 × 43 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

debt to the work of Edgar Degas.[70] Revealingly Fry told his mother that he had painted Carpenter with 'a very anarchist coat on.'[71]

In order to understand the deep significance of Fry's remark, it is necessary to understand Carpenter's and Fry's history and beliefs. Fry first met Carpenter in the summer of 1886 when Carpenter visited King's College, Cambridge at the invitation of Fry's friends Charles Robert Ashbee and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, who had met the writer earlier in May 1885.[72] A science undergraduate at this time, Fry was impressed by Carpenter, who had made the students 'read Walt Whitman and turned Fry's thoughts to democracy and the future of England.'[73] Both Fry and Ashbee also admired Carpenter's challenging of middle class social values and his reformist politics which, according to Ashbee, suggested that all three men 'were knit together by a presence I don't understand. I only feel the influence.'[74] This freedom was manifest in the way Carpenter had abandoned conventional male attire and 'had burnt his boats (i.e. his dress suit etc.)' as a marker of his belief that 'we must help each other fight the many headed, many tailed … monster social convention.'[75]

Fry's and Carpenter's ideals had been affected by social radicalism and drew upon the work of Thomas Carlyle and, in Carpenter's case, Walt Whitman, whom Carpenter visited in 1877. Their beliefs were also directly informed by the writings of earlier social and political theorists such as John Ruskin, William Morris, and Prince Peter Kropotkin, who visited Sheffield in March 1887.[76] From the 1880s onwards, the rise of socialist activism in England had attracted considerable support from artists such as Morris, Fry, and Walter Crane, designers such as Ashbee, and writers like Carpenter. Carpenter's notion of a democratic manly comradeship and a 'Fellowship of New Life' countered bourgeois values by questioning contemporary materialism and advocating the notion of non-revolutionary social and political change through access to education and inter-class friendship. In 1883, Carpenter had published his influential prose poem *Towards Democracy* that promoted a new way of understanding democracy between human beings as one neither defined by capitalist economics nor subscribing to conventional class politics, but as a means of celebrating human love and beauty in the natural world. These proposals had earned him the reputation of being 'an English Walt Whitman.'[77]

The legacies of Morris's Arts and Crafts socialism formed an important part of both Carpenter's and Fry's beliefs, and they were central to the founding of the Social Democratic Federation in 1883 and the Fabian Society in 1884. Carpenter had first met Morris dressed in a plain blue linen sailor shirt in London in 1883.[78] By September 1885, Carpenter had joined Morris's Socialist League and he was busy establishing the Working Man's Radical Association in Sheffield, attracting the city's growing number of Socialists and promoting the conviction that socialism 'enshrined a most glowing and vital enthusiasm towards the realization of a new society.'[79] As part of this inevitable political change, Carpenter proclaimed that 'this general programme is the one along which Western society will work in the near future [until] the state and all efficient government are superseded by the voluntary and instinctive consent and mutual helpfulness of the people – when of course the more especially Anarchist ideal would be realized.'[80]

Professing not to be a 'socialist,' Fry, as Donald Egbert has recognized, in his emphasis upon the need for the artist to develop craft skills, held beliefs that were also reminiscent of Morris, but 'with overtones from Kropotkin.'[81] Like Carpenter, Fry mixed in left-wing circles that were sympathetic to such progressive politics and shared views about the importance of self-reliance, individual initiative, and freedom of action. Indeed, many of Fry's friends at this period were active Fabians, including the dramatist George Bernard Shaw and the essayist Arthur Clutton-Brock, although Fry later in 1925 revised his political affiliations by declaring: 'I'm an individualistic anarchist.'[82]

In 1890, the distinction between being a socialist and an anarchist was made more acute by Morris's break with the anarchist movement and the publication in the journal of the Socialist League, *Commonweal*, of the reasons why: 'Men absorbed in a movement are apt to surround themselves with a kind of artificial atmosphere which distorts the proportions of things outside, and prevents them from seeing what is really going on.'[83] Personal and political divisions between the socialists and the anarchists became more pronounced from 1891 to 1893 when leading anarchists openly attacked what they saw as Morris's 'middle class cowards' and criticized the movement forming in the north in 1892–3 that would become the Independent Labour Party.[84] Employing inflammatory propaganda, the anarchists urged active social resistance and a programme of open political insurrection incorporating 'the use of bombs.'[85] In spite of trying to follow a conciliatory path between these two increasingly polarized factions, Carpenter was accused in an article in *The Saturday Review* on 9 April 1892 of being a 'theoretical anarchist' and directly implicated in a recent failed anarchist bomb plot; a claim that made Fry's 'anarchist overcoat' an especially incriminating outfit.[86]

Two years later in February 1894, the situation worsened as a wave of anarchist bombings hit London and Paris, generating public outrage at the anarchists' actions and asserting the need of the government to counter such radicalism. In London, Martial Boudin had attempted unsuccessfully to bomb the Royal Observatory in Greenwich; an attack that came only a few days after the French anarchist Émile Henry had thrown a bomb into the Parisian restaurant Café Terminus. These attacks resulted in an increasing public backlash against anarchism in the British capital. Such concerns about its international networks and allegiances were reinforced by a mass rally at Tower Bridge in support of anarchism on 29 June 1894. As a result, police surveillance increased and known sympathizers in the city were arrested and imprisoned for conspiracy. As Crane recorded, such violent action had undoubtedly increased public awareness of the insurrectionary nature of anarchism, but at the cost of widening the rift in England between the active methods of the anarchists and the less violent practices of socialists and trade unionists. The outcome was greater state and police controls upon all British citizens' civil liberties:

> I am afraid that the actions of individual anarchists in these ways has the inevitable effect of causing a strong reaction, and those persons and classes, ever ready to curtail popular liberties, will be glad to seize on any pretence for striking a blow at freedom of speech and discussion.[87]

If such events had produced a greater awareness of Carpenter as a political radical, press coverage had also highlighted his public role as an active member of that community of British writers, artists and intellectuals who were campaigning for sexual reforms and a better understanding of 'sexual inversion,' with improved legal rights for homosexuals. The impact of Carpenter's *Civilization: Its Causes and Cure, And Other Essays* published in 1889, reprinted in 1893, meant that Carpenter's writing was by now attracting a major international following. In 1893–4, Carpenter had first expounded his radical ideas about marriage and sexuality in his pamphlets entitled *Sex, Love and its Place in a Free Society*, *Women and her Place in a Free Society*, and *Marriage in a Free Society*, to be later published as *Love's Coming of Age* (1896).

With the publication of John Aldington Symonds's privately printed booklet *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (1891), the question of same-sex love and the nature of sexual desire in literature and art produced 'a concentrated exchange of ideas' on this subject during 1892–3.[88] In 1892, Symonds had collaborated with the sexologist Havelock Ellis on their planned book *Sexual Inversion*, and he had visited Carpenter. Due to Symonds's untimely death in 1893, the book was published posthumously by Ellis, in 1896. However, the publicity surrounding the Wilde trial in 1895 and the moral panic it precipitated caused Carpenter to print another of his essays, entitled 'Homogenic Love and its Place in a Free Society,' for private circulation only early in 1895: its contract had been cancelled when '[the publishers at Fisher Unwin] all shook their heads. The Wilde trial had done its work and silence must henceforth reign on sex-subjects.'[89] Nevertheless, in spite of this rejection, 'Homogenic Love' achieved a wider international readership when it was translated into German in 1895 and with its publication in the French journal *La Société Nouvelle* in 1896, Carpenter largely assumed the role of being the leading British defender of homosexuality; a position confirmed by the publication of his book *The Intermediate Sex* in 1896.

As Linda Dalrymple Henderson has shown, Fry's interest in Carpenter was not primarily in his writings about the sexual ideal of comradeship or homosexual freedom that attracted Ashbee or Dickinson. Rather Fry was interested in how Carpenter's mystical philosophy could be employed to develop an updated understanding of the power and function of the aesthetic in modern art. As she declares, 'Carpenter's mystical philosophy must have struck a responsive chord in Fry since a similar outlook infuses Fry's writings on art.'[90]

Highlighting the similarities between Carpenter's views in *Angels' Wings: A Series of Essays on Art and Its Relation to Life* (1898) and Fry's own thinking at this time, later expounded in his 1909 'Essay in Aesthetics,' Dalrymple Henderson recognizes that both authors approached art not as a slavish copying of appearances, but as offering a route from ordinary thought through beauty to an enhanced self-awareness or mystical illumination producing greater knowledge with higher levels of consciousness. In painting, as the portrait demonstrates in its careful evocation of the painted walls and scrubbed floorboards and the texture and reflections of the overcoat, jacket, and trousers, attention to the physicality of the medium and the modulation of surfaces by handling and brushstrokes were ways of effectively expressing and communicating an underlying 'artistic idea.'[91]

What many Fabians, socialists, and 'simple-lifers' like Carpenter also shared was a commitment to dress reform as the sign of an anti-materialistic lifestyle simplification. Virginia Woolf in her biography of Fry argued that it was in fact Carpenter who had turned Fry's thoughts 'to democracy and the future of England' (and sandal wearing) after Fry had attended his lectures in the 1880s.[92] As Ruth Livesay has recognized, this particular trope of fashion, politics, modernism, and aesthetics that abandoned the trappings of a leisured lifestyle influenced the next generation of liberal and socialist sympathizers after 1900 through 'their favoured garb of socks and sandals, [their] emphasis on fellowship, vegetarianism, camping and mixed nude bathing.'[93] These circles included the poet Rupert Brooke and his self-styled group of 'Neo-Pagans,' the Cambridge University members of the Apostles Society including Fry, Lytton Strachey, and Leonard Woolf, and many members of the Bloomsbury group who challenged bourgeois values and English middle class respectability even when they did not subscribe wholeheartedly to Carpenter's views on homosexuality.[94]

Yet Fry's portrait does not show Carpenter in his Indian sandals, often worn with home-knitted, virgin wool socks or, as sometimes was the case, in a dress reform skirt. Instead, Carpenter wears a turned-down collared shirt with a long red, simply knotted tie, brown trousers, and brightly polished black leather boots. His hands are buried deep in the pockets of his long ‘anarchist overcoat.’ Nevertheless, it is the informality of Carpenter’s attire that registers most forcefully. As tall, stiff collars and cravats were replaced by soft collars and simply knotted ties, so too formal morning, dress, or frock coats were abandoned in favour of more relaxed four-buttoned suits or jackets with narrow pants, and by 1900, the lounge suit.

Moreover, as in the portraits by Sargent of Robertson and Rothenstein of Condor, there is the acute sense of the ‘momentariness’ of seeing the man of action balancing on his right leg as Carpenter shifts his weight to the other leg and turns towards the viewer. Carpenter’s carefully constructed, though relaxed, dress sense depicted in the attic studio signals the modernization of commercial relationships between the artist and his sitter as both participate in London’s artistic and intellectual friendship networks. Offering a knowing and sophisticated correlation between fashion, identity, politics, and the male (homosexual) body, Fry’s depiction of Carpenter in his ‘anarchist overcoat’ presents a vigorous and manly exponent of social and sexual change. As Fry surely knew, any portrait of Carpenter demanded that it subscribed to the sitter’s updated code of modern manners between the sexes in which ‘anything effeminate in a man, or anything of the cheap intellectual style, repels me very decisively.’[95]

To conclude, after the political unrest of 1894–5 and the Wilde trials in 1895 and his imprisonment for two years’ penal servitude in Reading Gaol, there was a sense that dandified or alternative forms of masculine fashioning had come under greater scrutiny. As Ruth Robins has argued, ‘Wilde’s downfall dramatized the conflict between those who were prepared to live life at the margins, to live several different versions of life, and those who wished to use the full ideological weight of church and state to enforce nineteenth-century sexual norms.’[96] Male dress that suggested an uneasy, unsure, or curious sense of masculine non-conformity was thoroughly examined for any sympathies that might be deemed troublesome, deviant, or even unlawful. Restraint and reticence in dress management, grooming, and public demeanour were carefully interrogated after 1895 as ‘the diffuse indicators of homosexuality cohered into a fixed stereotype and the long parodied and decadent pose became a serious threat.’[97] The stereotype of the anarchist similarly gelled under more sustained police surveillance and extensive press exposure. At this historical moment in the later 1890s, the overcoat's ability to hide the male body and to conceal its wearer's social, political, and sexual sympathies beneath opaque heavy black outerwear was once again viewed as suspicious. For beneath its outer appearance, the long black coat might hide a man who was actively involved in the artistic or bohemian sub-cultures of the city, or one who purposefully wished to disturb the social or political order as the perpetrator of a dissident lifestyle, aesthete, homosexual, or anarchist.

With the onset of the Great War in 1914 and with the introduction of compulsory military conscription in Britain from January 1916, the military overcoat came to symbolize the overwhelming power of the state to enforce the social and political control of its male population. Adopted as an article of clothing by all military forces fighting in the war and conforming to a standard pattern with consistent outline, material, and style, the khaki greatcoat conspicuously identified the serving soldier's mobilized body as part of the enormous patriotic militarization of male labour demanded by the war. For a man not to wear this item of dress was to publicize the wearer's unpatriotic non-participation as a conscientious objector, homosexual, pacifist, or traitor and to openly risk public rebuke and even personal violence. Long after the war had ended in 1918, the greatcoat featured conspicuously in military ceremonies of remembrance and on war memorials as a sign of the heroic sacrifices demanded from British masculinity during the warfare.[98] As Sargent was aware when he painted his enormous commemorative group portrait of 22 British military officers, *Some General Officers of the Great War* (1920–2), overcoats could speak volumes about their wearer's social, political, or sexual allegiances, just as they had done in 1890s.

Notes

1 W. Graham Robertson, *Time Was. The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1931), 236, 238. Quoted in Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent. Portraits of the 1890s, Complete Portraits Vol. II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 87.

2 Robertson, *Time Was*, 238.

3 Claude Phillips, 'Fine Art: The Royal Academy I,' *Academy* (11 May 1895): 407. Cited in Ormond and Kilmurray *John Singer Sargent*, 89.

4 Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), 154.

5 Diana Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas. Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 28.

6 The Harrods Store catalogue of 1895, London, p. 779 illustrates the 'Chesterfield Coat' as coming down just below the model's knee rather than to mid-calf as in Sargent's portrait. For the Harrods catalogue illustration, see http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgibin/History/Historyidx?type=article&did=History.VictorianShopping.i0025&id=History.VictorianShopping&isize=M&pview=hide (accessed 17 March 2015).

7 *Punch* CVIII (11 May 1895): 220; reproduced in Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 87.

8 Robertson, *Time Was*, 235. Quoted in Kenneth McConkey, *Edwardian Portraits. Images of an Age of Opulence* (Woodbridge: The Antique Collectors' Club, 1987), 124.

9 Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer. Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 27.

10 Farid Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 65.

11 Ibid., 67–70.

12 Christopher Breward, 'Fashion in the Age of Imperialism 1860–90,' in *The London Look. Fashion from Street to Catwalk*, ed. Christopher Breward, Edwina Ehrman, and Caroline Evans (New Haven: Yale University Press with the Museum of London, 2004), 53.

13 The Harrods Store catalogue of 1895, p. 779 advertises the 'Chesterfield Coat' as available in Black Cashmere, Union Tweed, or all-Wool Tweed.

14 Chenoune, *History of Men's Fashion*, 78.

15 Ibid., 124–5.

16 Breward, 'Fashion in the Age of Imperialism,' 58–9.

17 Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas*, 173.

18 See Breward, 'Fashions and the Man: From Suburbs to the City Street,' in *The Men's Fashion Reader*, ed. Peter McNeil and Vicki Karaminas (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 409–28.

19 For issues of performativity, see Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson, eds., *Performing the Body, Performing the Text* (London: Routledge, 1999), 1–3.

20 Breward, *Hidden Consumer*, 171.

21 For the role of the coat in the broader historical development of commodity fetishism in capitalism, see Peter Stallybrass, 'Marx's Coat' in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, ed. Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), 183-207.

22 Grant McCracken, 'Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of the Expressive Properties of Material Culture,' in *Culture and Consumption*, ed. Grant McCracken (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 57–70.

23 Breward, 'Fashions and the Man,' 412.

24 See Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011) and Charlotte

Gould and Sophie Mesplède, eds., *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present. A Cultural History* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

25 For transnationalism and its impact on the British art economy, see Julie Codell, ed., *Transculturation in British Art 1770–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate Press, 2012), 9–17.

26 Diana de Marly, *Fashion for Men. An Illustrated History* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1989), 110.

27 Brian Reade, ed., *Sexual Heretics. Male Homosexuality in English Literature from 1850–1900* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), 53.

28 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 216–17.

29 Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (London: William Heineman, 1895), published as *Entartung* in Berlin, 1892.

30 See Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52–5.

31 Laurel Brake, 'Gay Discourse and *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture*,' in *Nineteenth-century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 131–2, 272.

32 See Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire. The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 167.

33 Brake, 'Gay Discourse,' 144.

34 Michael Hatt, 'Physical Culture: The Male Nude and Sculpture in Late Victorian Britain,' in *After the Pre-Raphaelites. Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 249.

35 For the details of the debates around 'the new hedonism' and sexual relations, see Brake, 'Gay Discourse,' 149–52.

36 See Dellamora, *Masculine Desire*, 199; and Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century. Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), vii, 2–3. Michel Foucault sees the emergence of modern discourses of sexuality coming in the second half of the nineteenth century and proposes the earliest usage of the term 'homosexuality' as being around 1870. See his *History of Sexuality Part One: We 'Other Victorians'*, first published in 1976 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 43. David Halperin argues for a date of 1892 in his *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 1990), 8–9.

37 See Chenoune, *History of Men's Fashion*, 96–100.

38 This is highlighted in David J. Getsy's essay, 'Recognising the Homoerotic: The Uses of Intersubjectivity in John Aldington Symonds' 1887 Essays on Art,' *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 1 (2008): 53.

39 George Moore, *Criticisms* (London, 1895), 19; quoted in McConkey, *Edwardian Portraits*, 124.

40 For the Lavery portrait, see Kenneth McConkey, *John Lavery. A Painter and His World* (Edinburgh: Atelier Books, 2010), 65–6. For the Whistler portrait, see Edgar Munhall, *The Butterfly and the Bat. Whistler and Montesquiou* (New York: The Frick Collection, 1995), 86–94.

41 Camille Pissarro, *Correspondance de Camille Pissarro. Volume III*, ed. J. Bailly-Herzberg (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1988), 446; quoted in Munhall, *Whistler and Montesquiou*, 89.

42 The critic Walter Shaw Sparrow referred to the Lavery portrait as depicting 'the man of action … the man of fashion'; cited in McConkey, *John Lavery*, 66, n. 87.

43 Munhall, *Whistler and Montesquiou*, 146.

44 Richard Thomson, 'Exporting Style and Decadence. The Exchanges of the 1890s,' in *Degas, Sickert and Toulouse-Lautrec. London and Paris 1870–1910*, ed. Anna Gruetzner Robins and Richard Thomson (London: Tate Publishing, 2005), 141.

45 Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas*, 71.

46 Thomson, 'Exporting Style and Decadence,' 148.

47 Ibid., 100.

48 See Ann Galbally, *Charles Condor. The Last Bohemian* (Melbourne: Meigunyah Press, 2002), 89–95.

49 Samuel Shaw, 'Equivocal Positions. The Influence of William Rothenstein c. 1890–1910' (PhD diss., University of York 2010), 83–4.

50 The New English Art Club started in 1886; see Kenneth McConkey, *The New English. A History of the New English Art Club* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), 69, 73.

51 McConkey, *New English*, 58–9. Although Rothenstein had been taught by Alphonse Legros, Fred Brown's appointment to the Fine Art Professorship at the Slade School of Art in 1892, followed by the appointment to the staff of Tonks and Steer, both NEAC members, added to this sense of an allegiance between the Slade and the NEAC.

52 Galbally, *Charles Condor*, 69.

53 William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories 1872–1938*, ed. Mary Lago (London: Chatto & Windus, 1978); quoted in Shaw, 'Equivocal Positions,' 61.

54 Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 57.

55 Ibid., 121; quoted by Thomson, 'Exporting Style and Decadence,' 148.

56 Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 198.

57 Shaw, 'Equivocal Positions,' 169.

58 Ibid., 170–1, 174–5.

59 For Rothenstein and Hacon, see Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 84.

60 J. G. P. Delauney, 'Ricketts, Shannon and their Circle,' in *The Last Romantics. The Romantic Tradition in British Art. Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer*, ed. John Christian (London: Lund Humphries with the Barbican Gallery, 1989), 39.

61 Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 64.

62 See Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry. Art and Life* (London: Black Dog Books, 1999), 46–8.

63 For the history of the Carfax Gallery, see Fletcher and Helmreich, *Rise of the Modern Art Market in London*, 297.

64 Shaw, 'Equivocal Positions,' 41.

65 See my 'Precarious Poses: The Problem of Artistic Visibility and its Homosocial Performances in Late-Nineteenth-Century London,' *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 1 (2007): 74, 83–4.

66 See Michael Hatt, 'Space, Surface, Self: Homosexuality and the Aesthetic Interior,' *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 1 (2007): 105–28.

67 Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, 120.

68 Spalding, *Roger Fry. Art and Life*, 43–4.

69 Ibid., 46. Ricketts and Shannon moved from the Vale into 31 Beaumont Street in 1894.

70 Spalding, *Roger Fry. Art and Life*, 45–6. For Sickert's indebtedness to Degas see my 'Buttressing Bohemian Mystiques and Bandaging Masculine Anxieties,' *Art History* 17, no. 2 (June 1994): 269–78.

71 Roger Fry to Lady Fry, 14 January 1894 in Denys Sutton, ed., *Letters of Roger Fry* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972), 156.

72 See Linda Dalrymple Henderson, 'Mysticism as the 'Tie that Binds': The Case of Edward Carpenter and Modernism,' *Art Journal* 46, no. 1. *Mysticism and Occultism in Modern Art* (Spring 1987): 30.

73 Virginia Woolf, *Roger Fry. A Biography* (London: Hogarth Press, 1940), 46–7.

74 Ashbee's Journal, 22 July 1886; quoted in Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter. A Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008), 102.

75 Ashbee letter to Fry, 5 September 1886; quoted in Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 104.

76 Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 9, 12, 111.

77 For a lengthy analysis, see Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 71–4, 72.

78 Ibid., 80.

79 Ibid., 85–6.

80 Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams Being Autobiographical Notes* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1916), 127; quoted in the introduction to Nöel Grieg, ed., *Edward Carpenter. Selected Writings Volume 1: Sex* (London: GMP Publishers, 1984), 49.

81 Donald D. Egbert, 'English Art Critics and Modern Social Radicalism,' *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 26, no. 1 (Autumn 1967): 29–46, 32.

82 Woolf, *Roger Fry*, 232; quoted in Egbert, 'English Art Critics,' 33.

83 William Morris, 'Where Are We Now?' *Commonweal*, 15 November 1890; quoted in Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 162.

84 See Paul Thompson, *The Work of William Morris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 229.

85 Quoted from *Commonweal*, 29 August 1891, in Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 163.

86 *Saturday Review*, 9 April 1892; quoted in Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 167.

87 Walter Crane's response to Charlotte Wilson, 11 July 1894, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam; quoted by Morna O'Neill, "Cartoons for the Cause?': Walter Crane's *The Anarchists of Chicago*,' *Art History* 38, no. 1 (February 2015): 122.

88 Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 188.

89 Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, 196; quoted in Grieg, *Edward Carpenter*, 59.

90 Dalrymple Henderson, 'Edward Carpenter and Modernism,' 30.

91 Ibid.

92 Woolf, *Roger Fry*, 47. Quoted in Ruth Livesay, 'Socialism in Bloomsbury: Virginia Woolf and the Political Aesthetics of the 1880s,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 37, no. 1, *From Decadent to Modernist: And Other Essays* (2007): 135.

93 Livesay, 'Socialism in Bloomsbury,' 126–44, 132.

94 See Paul Delaney, *The Neo-Pagans. Friendship and Love in the Rupert Brooke Circle* (London: MacMillan, 1987); Julie Anne Taddeo, 'Plato's Apostles: Edwardian Cambridge and the 'New Style of Love',' *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no. 2 (October 1997): 196–228 and Christopher Reed, *Art and Homosexuality. A History of Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 134–5.

95 Carpenter quoted in Sinfield, *The Wilde Century*, 128, n. 23.

96 Ruth Robbins, "A Very Curious Construction': Masculinity and the Poetry of A.E. Housman and Oscar Wilde,' in *Cultural Politics at the Fin-de-siècle*, ed. Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 138.

97 Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, 119.

98 See Catherine Moriarty, "Remnants of Patriotism': The Commemorative Representation of the Greatcoat after the First World War,' *Oxford Art Journal* 27, no. 3 (2004): 293–309.

8

SILENCING FASHION IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY FEMINISM

The Sartorial Story of Suffrage

Kimberly Wahl

At the turn of the twentieth century, fashion, art, and feminism were intimately intertwined. 'New Women,' Suffragettes, and Bohemians were identifiable social categories circulating in the visual and literary culture in this period, eliciting intense discussion wherein fashion was a crucial and yet largely unacknowledged factor. Historically, fashion has not been widely discussed in academic histories of the British suffrage movement, yet its role was far more significant than the existing literature might suggest. Visual and material expressions of dress were linked with embodied notions of female agency in complex ways through artistic framing and the conventions of spectacle central to suffrage demonstrations and processions. In daily practice, conventional aspects of Edwardian fashion such as corsetry, the donning of a trim and tailored silhouette, and the consumption and display of decorative accessories (large picture hats, pins, scarves, and muffs) were incorporated into the repertoire of suffrage identity and visibility. On the surface, these conformed to mainstream sartorial norms, indicating values of affluence, modesty, and social decorum. Yet within the symbolic realm communicated through suffrage artworks and ephemera – postcards, pamphlets, and posters – key images of female power and nobility were reliant on an entirely different visual language of dress, authorized by art discourses more broadly, and in particular, the Aesthetic movement in Britain, which rose in prominence in the decades preceding the final push for suffrage at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) presents a fascinating case study for exploring these sartorial tensions, as it was the most visible and radicalized organization of the suffrage movement in Britain from 1905 to 1915. As Katrina Rolley notes in her analysis of the WSPU, the conflation of women with their clothing influenced the literary and visual framing of dress across the suffrage movement more broadly.[1] Yet aside from the integral role that contemporary dress played in everyday life, the symbolic interplay between history, art, fashion, and social reform in the iconography of the movement was far more complex. Functioning on the level of the visual *as well as* the material, the discourses of art informed the motifs and iconic signifiers found in suffrage print culture. On a material level, the strategic use of fashion was complicated by the social codes and gendered conventions of the period that both delimited and enabled the communicative potential of dress. However, on a symbolic level, the convergence of daily practice with visual and literary tropes provided an idealized body of suffrage that was neither manifest nor immaterial, but located somewhere between the subversive potential of the imaginary realm and the material exigencies of everyday life.

EMBODIED PRACTICES/DISCURSIVE IMAGES

Extant garments from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries held in various collections reveal a relatively conventional and prescriptive approach to clothing the female body – much of suffrage clothing was simply mainstream fashionable clothing worn with suffrage sashes, pins, or accessories, and thus cannot be identified as specifically related to the movement unless provenance or identity of the original wearer is proven, or key symbolic combinations of colours or decorative details are included. However, the print culture of the movement reveals the central and iconic role of the female body in the history of the suffrage movement. Rather than picturing contemporary suffragettes in their own clothing, visual and literary sources present images of historical heroines, classical maidens, and ethereal angels to both valorize and personify female virtue. Thus, the visual and material records of the sartorial framing of suffrage dress do not always cohere, and as a consequence, a noticeable gap emerges between the visual and textual framing of fashion in the movement and the lived reality of how clothing was actually worn and experienced on the body. Foundational work by Lisa Tickner offers a nuanced and sophisticated analysis of gender and representation in the visual cultures of the suffrage movement.[2] Informed by this work, some excellent articles have addressed the role of mainstream fashion in the visual and spatial framing of the suffragette in public spaces.[3] As this chapter will show, however, a broader reassessment of historical influences, alternative and reform principles found in late nineteenth-century artistic modes of dress and their imbrication in the visual *and* the material cultures of the movement is necessary.

The print culture of the movement presents a dazzling array of idealized female bodies – rarely dressed in current fashions, these figures often present alternative or timeless modes of dress set in distant provincial locales or a timeless classicizing past, embodying values of mobility, freedom, and grace. This process had valuable propagandistic outcomes, and certainly cultivated visual pleasure and positive associations among a public audience, but it was not without contradiction, as many of these same feminine tropes had been used throughout Victorian culture, by a range of producers (artists, advertisers, illustrators) and not always in ways that supported proactive or empowered notions of the feminine. As Tickner has argued, the response on the part of suffrage artists was to 'reinhabit the empty body of female allegory, to reclaim its meanings on behalf of the female sex.'[4] Yet she also points out the dangers of relying too much on this kind of imagery – imagery that could be at once idealizing and homogenous:

> The more women placed themselves under the image of the inspiring angel (as in the imagery of Sylvia Pankhurst or Walter Crane), the more they emphasized the associations of femininity and virtue, but the more they lost the sense of women as living beings of heterogeneous occupational and social groups that they were otherwise so keen to stress.[5]

The physical reality of the dressed body of suffrage was often at odds with the angelic and transcendent framing of heroic figures presented in posters, postcards, banners, and illustrated texts in the movement. Similarly, the use of provincial/folk dress, or the 'Old English' pastoralism present in much of the pageantry and performative spectacles of the movement, including bazaars, fairs, and staged performances, also presented a counterpoint to the lived reality of most women in suffrage circles. In everyday dress, choice and creativity was certainly allowed, but within fairly narrow parameters erring on the side of fashionable conformity, which usually meant dress – though decorative and occasionally expressive – was also somewhat homogenous and could be constrictive and even cumbersome. As Rosemary Betterton asserts, 'The fashionable dress of the suffragettes, even if wildly impractical in a violent fracas, implied conformity to contemporary dress codes and emphasized their femininity.'[6] Yet she also acknowledges that the suffragettes had to set themselves apart in some way, enabling their political potential 'without appearing to transgress sexual boundaries.'[7] What requires further investigation is the role of symbolic imagery in the transactions between the lived experience of clothing worn on the body, and the processes of signification at the heart of suffrage art and visual culture.

There has been some excellent theoretical work placing the body at the centre of a nuanced study of the interrelation of visual and material forms of culture, but this approach remains underutilized, and more importantly, few studies on fashion vs. dress reform at the turn of the century have approached larger questions of the embodied nature of production and consumption in this way.[8] The body, as a central site for the negotiation and display of social values in connection with public and private identities, is, by necessity, a phenomenon which cannot escape the perils and pleasures of representation. As Cheryl Buckley and Hilary Fawcett have argued, the intimate relationship between the body and one's clothing means that fashion is critical for the representation of gendered identities; performing and rehearsing the boundaries of femininity in ways that can suggest social control and manipulation, fashion also presents opportunities for 'transgression and disruption.'[9]

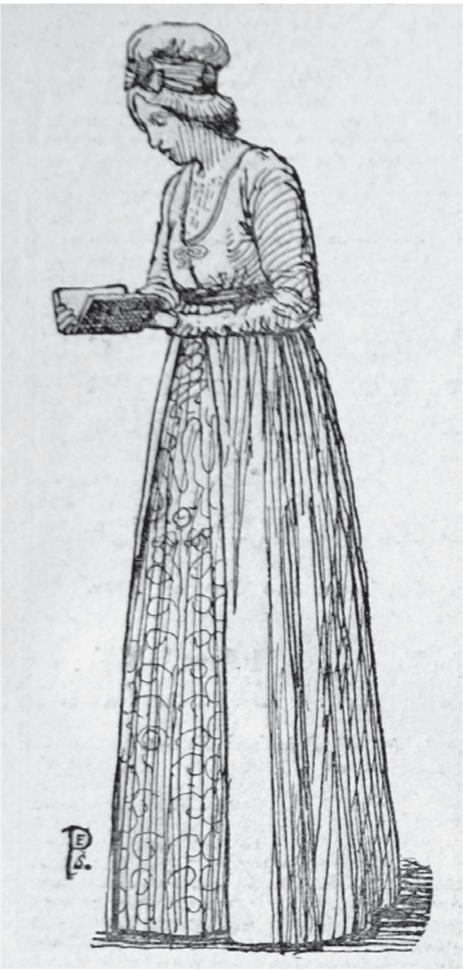
ARTISTIC CONTEXTS AND DRESS REFORM

It is generally agreed that the visual spectacle and subsequent success of suffrage processions, performances, and events depended largely on the efforts of the artists, writers, and performers associated with The Actresses' Franchise League along with the Artists' Suffrage League and the Suffrage Atelier.[10] Lisa Tickner notes that several prominent suffrage artists, such as Sylvia Pankhurst and Edith Craig, were immersed in the artistic cultures of the late nineteenth century in their formative years, where figures like William Morris and Walter Crane had an enormous impact – particularly in terms of art education.[11] Of Sylvia Pankhurst, Tickner notes that the 'blended politico-aesthetic ambience of her childhood was not untypical of radical middle-class homes in the 1880s and 1890s.'[12] Edith Craig, the daughter of Ellen Terry, also lent the stamp of artistic authority to the visual discourses of the movement.[13] Edith Craig's contributions were underscored and authorized by her extensive experience designing costumes for plays and a range of historical productions. In keeping with artists linked with bohemian and artistic circles of the period, the idealized female tropes of suffrage imagery have close ties to modes of living and dressing outside conventional and normative constraints. As dress reform and artistic dress practices were often closely allied with British Aestheticism as well as the Arts and Crafts movement, it makes sense that many of the artists associated with the suffrage movement would have had a preference for artistic and Aesthetic models of dress for symbolic and metaphorical explorations of an imagined body of suffrage.

Although there are few explicit connections between the dress reform movement and the suffrage campaign, there was notable overlap in the area of the Arts and Crafts movement, particularly in terms of figures like Crane and Henry Holiday, who was both president of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union, and also a suffragist.[14] Alternative forms of dress were promoted in rational and temperance circles as well as in various artistic groups who advocated reform through art and design, from the Arts and Crafts movement, through Aestheticism and later in early twentieth-century Modernism. Yet there are important distinctions to be made between these various approaches. In the late nineteenth century, innovations in dress and the critique of mainstream fashion were undertaken by design reformers, artists, and bohemians. Importantly, their approach and resulting garments were markedly different from the more conservative and fashionable solutions proposed by progressive women's groups who would later focus their energies on the right to vote. There have been some notable explorations of the intersections between artistic practices, dress reform, and feminism, but very rarely have political and artistic dress practices been explicitly compared, particularly given the important legacy of Aestheticism and the birth of Aesthetic dress in Britain 1860–90.

Suffrage imagery and performances often included pageantry, theatricality, and historicism in the form of provincial and 'folk' clothing as well as a generalized 'Old English' ideal, mostly drawn from eighteenth-century fashions. The most obvious example can be found in the costume scheme devised by Sylvia Pankhurst for the WSPU Christmas Fair and Fête in the Autumn of 1911. Featuring both provincial and regional costumes, the emphasis was on presenting a traditional and nostalgic vision of English femininity through the construction of an 'Old English village' set at the 'end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.' Sylvia Pankhurst described the inspiration for one particular outfit that she also illustrated (Figure 8.1):

> Not only were great ideals for social and economic freedom born, but this was the era also of dress reform. Powder and tight-lacing were discarded … The movement towards a less artificial and more



8.1 Sylvia Pankhurst, 'Fashions of the Fair,' *Votes for Women*, 6 October 1911, p. 4. LSE Library.

beautiful and healthful style of dress both for children and adults originated in England, and Englishwomen, together with the great portrait painters, Reynolds, Romney, Angelica Kaufmann, and others, were mainly responsible for it. English ladies of the period discarded their wigs, hair powder, tight-lacing, hoops, and other deformities, and sought instead simple and graceful lines.[15]

Interestingly, Pankhurst goes on to argue that these reform fashions eventually became exaggerated and 'of the scantiest proportions' and so she is precise in her description of her own design as being drawn from the period of early change 'when the skirts were still full and ample, and the waists were high, but not too high.' In choosing this particular period of 'high' fashion in the England, Sylvia Pankhurst was also echoing the language and intent of the vast majority of dress and design reform texts and illustrations of the late nineteenth century that placed great value on both comfort and mobility in dress, but whose ideal dress models would have been rejected by most fashionable suffragettes as too eccentric and unconventional to be worn in daily life. It is also important to acknowledge that the 'Old English' ideal was largely a constructed one, intended to unify and harmonize a wide array of divergent cultural practices and national associations exploited elsewhere under the guise of appealing to regional difference and identity. The fact that historicism and nostalgia were so pervasive in the progressive political messaging of suffrage print culture is highly significant, and clearly affixes the visual cultures of the movement to earlier formations in the art and design realm of the late nineteenth century.

THE 'FASHIONABLE' SUFFRAGETTE

In contrast to the idealized tropes and artistic forms of dress explored in suffrage art, print culture, and even embodied in costumes for events and fairs, by the turn of the twentieth century, politically active women had come to acknowledge that in everyday life, more conventional forms of fashionable dress garnered public favour and encouraged support for the perceived respectability and validity of the women's movement. Though occasionally incorporating individual taste, most clothing worn by women active in the suffrage movement was quite conservative, adhering to the dictates of mainstream fashion, which emphasized femininity and fragility through the use of trim tailoring, elaborate hats and accessories, and lightweight or highly decorative fabrics.[16] Despite this self-conscious fashionability, radical suffragettes continued to be depicted by some critics in the press as well as by unsympathetic caricaturists as unwomanly, frumpy harridans wearing ill-fitting masculine clothing. To combat negative public opinion, leaders of the WSPU emphasized the importance of appearance and self-care among followers of the movement. In an article entitled 'The Suffragette and the Dress Problem' in the July 1908 issue of *Votes for Women*, the author notes: 'It is not so very long ago that, in the popular minded, the woman who wanted the vote figured as that extremely unpleasant person, a 'frump'.' In contrast, she provides this updated assessment:

> The Suffragette of to-day is dainty and precise in her dress; indeed she has a feeling that, for the honour of the cause she represents, she must 'live up to' her highest ideals in all respects. Dress with her, therefore, is at all times a matter of importance, whether she is to appear on a public platform, in a procession, or merely in house or street about her ordinary vocations.[17]

Wendy Parkins highlights this very ability of fashion to provide a 'distinguishing link across distinct sites (street or house or platform)' in establishing performative continuity across a range of contexts.[18] Further, she asserts that the growing popularity of the WSPU colours of purple, white, and green, and their presence even in commercial settings such as the window displays of prominent stores like Selfridges, 'allowed women to construct practices of conventional femininity as political and to understand themselves as political subjects whether in the home, shopping, or protesting on the streets.'[19]

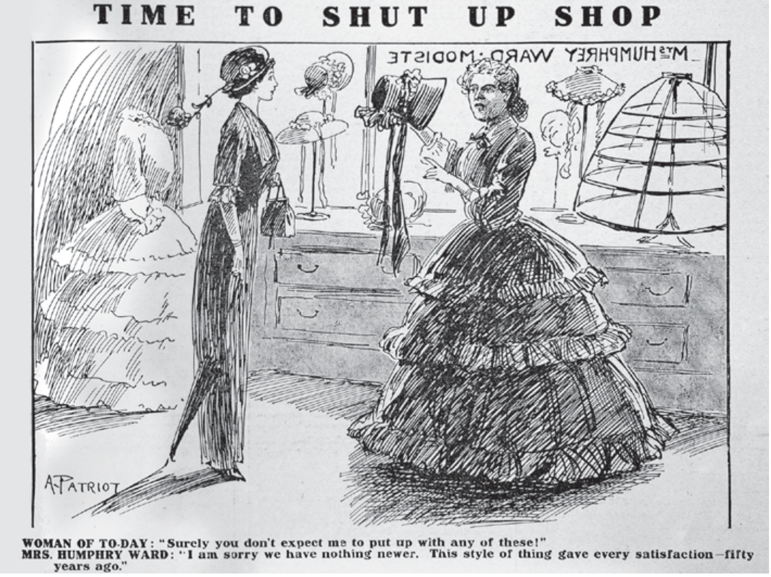
Evidence suggests that the self-conscious adoption of fashionable dress continued throughout the more radical years of the WSPU's activities. Sylvia Pankhurst, sister of the more visible WSPU leader Christabel Pankhurst, noted in 1910 that 'many suffragists spend more money on clothes than they can comfortably afford, rather than run the risk of being considered outré, and doing harm to the Cause.'[20] As Katrina Rolley has argued, as militancy increased, so too did the fashionable appearance of its leaders. She points out that in the final years of militant action, Christabel was often pictured in preference to Emmeline Pankhurst in the press – more visible and more fashionable, she changed the face of the WSPU membership to a younger, more fashion-conscious demographic. In addition, there was a distinct shift in her own dress from artistic (albeit 'feminine') to a more pronounced emphasis on high fashion and a look that was 'strikingly chic.'[21] Pictured early in her career, the dress of Christabel Pankhurst is in line with many other young intellectuals and bohemians of her day, often wearing Arts and Crafts jewellery and featuring art embroidery on some of her garments.[22] The class associations between high fashion, consumption, and bourgeois values are confirmed by Christabel's own acknowledgement that an increasingly aspirational appearance was an effective tool in political demonstrations. In her autobiography *Unshackled*, she discusses her shift away from socialism and its connections with the Labour Party, stating 'it was evident that the House of Commons, and even its Labour members, were more impressed by the demonstrations of the feminine bourgeoisie than of the feminine proletariat.'[23]

Clear evidence for fashionable dress practices among suffragettes can be found in a plethora of photographic images, whether formal portraits, journalistic or even police photographs.[24] In addition, in many autobiographical accounts of the most radical period of suffrage, from 1911 to 1914, clothing and dress are mentioned frequently, albeit in passing and not in depth.[25] More importantly, while it can be argued that fashionable dressing was partially a performative tactic, it is also clear that for many of these women, fashionable clothing was central to their sense of self, as an authentic expression of their civil status and social values. Even when imprisoned, the right to wear one's own clothing was considered a mark of respect and was a central issue among suffragettes in their demand for fair treatment as political prisoners rather than criminals. Katherine Roberts recounts a speech in 1909 by Emmeline Pankhurst where she instructed activists to resist wearing prison clothes and to retain their own clothing if at all possible unless 'undressed by force.'[26]

Suffrage journals reiterate this emphasis on fashionable dress – imbricating it with other discourses such as advertising, political reportage, and biography. In an intertextual play between activism and fashionability, the pages of *Votes for Women* juxtaposed images of clothed bodies in both advertising and photographs of processions and suffrage events with provocative headlines and polemical articles – a process which may have had an enormous impact on the politicization of dress itself. Started in 1907 by the WSPU, the journal reached its peak circulation between 1909 and 1910, disseminating approximately 40,000 copies weekly.[27] It is possible that this association of current modes with current affairs and politics was a conscious one. In the 7 July 1911 issue, a columnist writes 'behold the present-day Suffragette pondering fashions side by side with political problems, for she is an essentially up-to-date being.'[28] Similar to other journals and magazines of the period with a largely female readership, the vast majority of advertisements in *Votes for Women* were for clothing, with the occasional ad devoted to beauty products and accessories, most notably hats.[29] Using the metaphor of modern fashion to represent the currency and relevance of suffrage ideals, the front cover of the 4 July 1913 issue disparages anti-suffrage sentiments by personifying them in the form of an outdated Victorian bonnet peddled by the prominent anti-suffrage campaigner Mrs Humphry Ward (Figure 8.2). When the chic suffrage consumer, the 'Woman of Today' surveys the available headgear and says 'Surely you don't expect me to put up with any of these!' the 'seller' in the 'Humphrey Ward Modiste' shop replies: 'I am sorry we have nothing newer. This style of thing gave every satisfaction – fifty years ago.' Thus, the anti-suffrage sentiment is cast off as an outdated style that has nothing to offer the modern woman. Notably, all of Alfred Pearse's illustrations for *Votes for Women* portray the figure of the suffragette in this way – as an idealized and fashionable young woman embodying a progressive sense of femininity.[30]

CONFORMITY AND MODERATION

Indeed, it was this conventional and timely approach to mainstream fashion that allowed activists to mobilize with a certain amount of freedom in public spaces. The less conspicuous they appeared, the less likely they were to be singled out. Thus, overly elaborate or unusual dress was discouraged, and moderation reigned. Aside from sporadic (and rather


TIME TO SHUT UP SHOP
Mrs HUMPHREY WARD: MODISTE
A. PATRIOT
WOMAN OF TO-DAY: "Surely you don't expect me to put up with any of these!"
MRS. HUMPHRY WARD: "I am sorry we have nothing newer. This style of thing gave every satisfaction—fifty years ago."

8.2 'A. Patriot,' 'Time to Shut Up Shop,' front cover of *Votes for Women*, 4 July 1913. LSE Library.

brief) directives on what to wear during processionals and protests, the WSPU did not tend to give specific advice on what to wear in everyday life. Occasional columns appear, but the discussions tend towards lightness and frivolity, erring on the side of individual taste and aimed at women who could afford to buy clothes on a regular basis. Among the fashions mentioned between 1908 and 1911, the only garment of dress that was specifically condemned was the 'hobble' skirt, a narrow skirt that varied in shape and style, but which effectively restricted easy mobility and prevented a natural gait.[31]

Innovative interpretations of at-home or classical dress by the house of Lucile as well as the exotic and Orientalist designs of Paul Poiret (who introduced 'harem pants' into mainstream fashion as well as various designs for hobble skirts) were rejected by the majority of suffragettes as being too experimental. In 1911, under the heading 'Fashion Jottings,' a columnist notes the widening silhouette of skirts, but looks back to the straighter style with nostalgia. More importantly she makes a point of emphasizing its efficiency, comfort, and convenience by carefully distinguishing it from the hobble skirt:

> Is Woman becoming emancipated even in the ateliers of La Mode? Well, I will not commit that most gratuitous of all crimes – prophesy – but it looks like it. Did not our dress autocrats – the inviolate male Cabinet Council of Paris – command not only that straight skirts should be totally tabooed, but, still more terrible, that we were to encumber ourselves with the crinoline? And yet here we are practically as we were … Gowns, except for walking, are longer, and their draperies are more pronounced. But the straight skirt (bien entendu, not the hideous 'hobble') still lives to give us lightness, cleanliness, freedom, and thrice welcome packing-space even in our motor-boxes.[32]

Thus, fashionable and expressive dress was encouraged, but within limits. In fact, overly elaborate dress was sometimes associated with anti-suffragists; in 1910, a columnist noted in a report on an anti-suffrage meeting that there was seen 'a sprinkling of ladies in hobble skirts.'[33]

That suffragettes often eschewed experimental or overly eccentric dress is further underlined when in a speech at a WSPU-organized event in 1911, Miss Elizabeth Robins wittily suggested that for the male attendees who felt threatened by the 'cause,' the odd sartorially hobbled woman in conjunction with the abundance of sweet foods, feminine pleasures, and domestic niceties would put them at their ease:

> The hobble skirt came to the fore at the psychological moment, when women were unhobbling themselves in every other direction. And I feel sure that the spectacle of thousands of women meekly submitting to the tyranny of the hobble skirt – has been a priceless comfort to many an anxious soul.[34]

Though not endorsing the hobble skirt, Robins seems to argue that if women wore such ridiculous fashions men would be disarmed and confused. Further, a woman's fashionable appearance (particularly when outlandish or extreme) might serve as an interesting tool for reassuring opponents of women seeking the vote of their relative ineptitude – something that might then be subversively belied by their actual actions.

FASHIONABILITY AND SUBVERSION

The self-conscious use of mainstream fashion to maintain a non-threatening and therefore acceptable feminine appearance should be understood as a potentially disruptive phenomenon in and of itself. Jane Marcus points out that in several suffrage memoirs, women recounted a variety of ways in which the 'exploitation of their femininity foiled the police or the government.'[35] More importantly, it was the strategic convergence of 'ladylike' behaviour and dress in the furtherance of radical political aims that constituted a reconfiguration of the feminine itself as potentially disruptive. As Wendy Parkins has argued, through conformity and the 'subversive repetition of practices which were seen to constitute femininity' while simultaneously engaging in political practice, the performance of 'middle-class prescriptions of fashionable femininity was a contestation of the construction of the female subject – as decorative but apolitical.'[36] Forging new feminine identities and conflating domestic and 'traditional' feminine experiences and pursuits with a claim to public space, the perceived borders between public and private, masculine and feminine were increasingly being eroded by women's increasing visibility and demands to be heard. Fashion was a silent yet pervasive presence in these political clashes and claims for public redress and change.

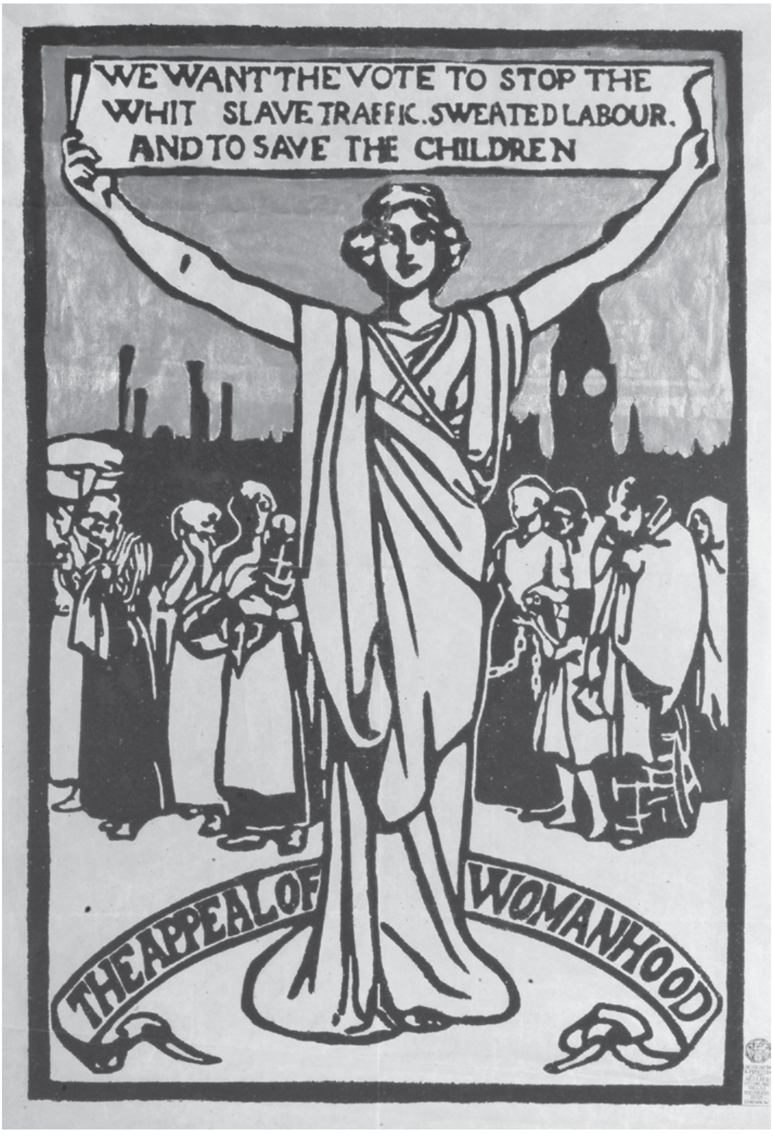
The assessment of whether or not the militant activities of the WSPU under the direction of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst helped or hindered the last stages of attaining suffrage in Britain is of particular relevance to the field of fashion studies. The incursion of a private 'domestic' feminine into public/political life, along with the acknowledgement that the suffragettes paired mainstream fashion with radical activism, reveals the complexity of clothing and dress as a culture of self-expression that can be both communal and conformist while simultaneously subversive and individual. Harold Smith, in reviewing the literature on the WSPU, notes that recent studies focus more on the Pankhursts' activities as an early form of 'radical feminism that sought to liberate women from a male-centred gender system.'[37] Similarly, June Purvis, in her account of Emmeline Pankhurst's life and legacy in the women's movement, typifies her ideas as 'more akin to those expressed by radical rather than socialist feminists in Second Wave Feminism.'[38]

Perhaps nowhere was the subversive potential of fashionable dress better expressed than in the highly organized and orchestrated marches of the suffrage movement. To a large extent, dress-practices in these settings were uniform and even communal; many objects, details, and even commercial sources for clothing and textiles were shared. Advocating the WSPU colours of purple, green, and white for a demonstration in 1908, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence stated 'We have 700 banners in purple, white, and green. The effect will be very much lost unless the colours are carried out in the dress of every woman in the ranks.'[39] The ubiquitous presence of fashion is often underplayed in the public spectacles of the suffrage movement – particularly between 1908 and 1912. In 1910, the day before the 18 June procession, members of the WSPU were asked again, in the pages of *Votes for Women*, to wear the colours of the Union, but were further instructed that because the 'period of full mourning for King Edward is now at an end, no black should be worn.'[40] A year later, one of the largest political marches of the movement, the Women's Coronation Procession of 17 June 1911, took place less than a week before the official coronation of George V. It featured 29 united suffrage societies and by that point the colour symbolism and codified appearance of suffrage supporters was firmly fixed. Almost always in white to emphasize the purity of spirit and aims of the movement, typical costumes were accented with key colours of specific suffrage associations – for the WSPU it was purple, green, and white, but there were many others – most of which included white as one of the foundational colours.[41]

These elaborate communal processions were the cornerstone of the movement, and it was in this setting that the embodied and ephemeral aspects of suffrage symbolism in the arena of dress came together in crucial ways. Supporting the spectacle of hundreds of women dressed in white, marching together in ritual unity, the movement also relied on the depiction of idealized representations of womanhood, often classical goddesses, or historical figures such as Joan of Arc, reproduced on a range of suffrage print and textile materials, from banners carried aloft in demonstrations to the supporting notices and postcards. The personification of positive cultural values in the guise of idealized female figures reveals the impossibility of separating women's bodies from other ephemera in the material culture of the suffrage movement. Clothing remains a central facet of this material manifestation of suffrage ideals, and yet its myriad connections with the body were articulated differently, depending on the context. As an embodied form of protest, clothing was worn in conventional and regimented ways, signalling the power of fashion to signify allegiance, inclusion, respectability, and fashionability. Yet on a symbolic level, representations of dress served more ephemeral ends, tying the body of the suffragette to a symbolic array of idealizing female stereotypes and tropes that were deemed useful or desirable amongst politically active women. It was in this very duality of function that the communicative power of clothing and dress in both its material and visual expressions came together most clearly, and where broader debates of representation and the female body across a range of discourses were also revealed.

CLASSICISM AND REFORM IN SUFFRAGE ICONOGRAPHY

More broadly, Victorian print culture frequently placed the bodies of women front and centre in debates over politics and gender. Both negative and positive depictions illustrate the persuasive power of such images. Interestingly, they also reveal the highly ambiguous nature of signifiers in the visual realm. In 1912, a famous postcard, 'No Votes Thank You' by Harold Bird, produced by the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, lampooned the figure of the suffragette as a shrieking and unattractive extremist wielding a hammer. Standing in front of her a classically draped figure is depicted – a 'true model' of woman who does not want the vote. Louise Jacobs of the Suffrage Atelier appropriated this earlier


WE WANT THE VOTE TO STOP THE
WHIT SLAVE TRAFFIC. SWEATED LABOUR.
AND TO SAVE THE CHILDREN
THE APPEAL OF WOMANHOOD

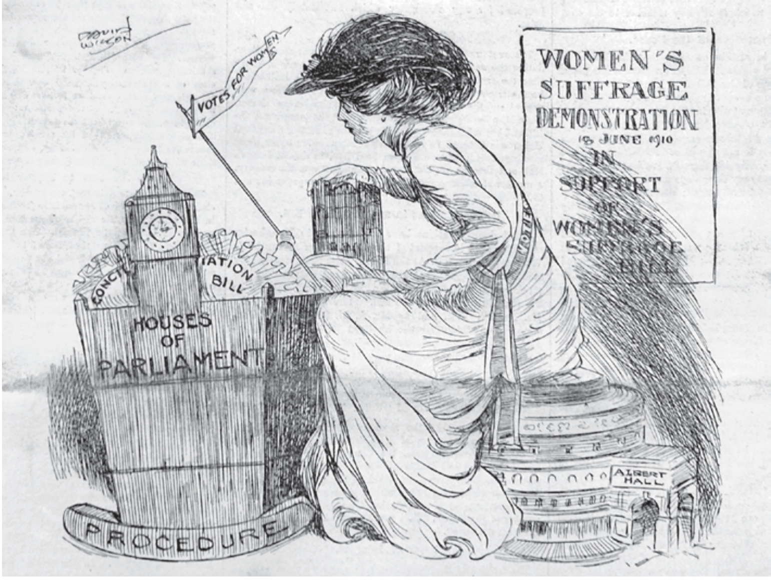
8.3 Louise Jacobs 'The Appeal of Womanhood,' *Suffrage Atelier*, 1912. Museum of London.

image, and reversed the use of the classically garbed figure to instead represent the figure of the suffragette as one full of virtue, grace, and selflessness (Figure 8.3).[42] In doing so, she attempted to relocate the presence of the suffragette in the popular imagination and recuperate a certain loss of support by a fickle and impressionable public.

Both Bird and Jacobs personified women as 'noble' goddess figures where antique dress signified the traditional 'feminine' traits of restraint, nobility, and modesty, the classical drapery acting as a kind of sign, gesturing towards a timeless and stable conception of femininity. However, this same idealizing discourse was mobilized by opposing camps, showing the rhetorical value (and instability) of representation itself in terms of how agreed-upon visual codes accrue meaning, as suffragists and anti-suffragists defined notions of 'true womanhood' differently. Fashion and textiles bear this same sense of ambiguity – in and of themselves they do not communicate specific messages – and so, without culture and context to animate material and visual objects it is difficult to assess their meaning and value. In the context of the suffrage movement, Jacobs's use of a classically dressed figure serves as an example of selfless womanhood – one that is reliant on the mechanisms of democracy to enact its protective powers – and as the champion of the downtrodden and exploited women from all class backgrounds, the 'laundress, the prostitute, the mother, the chain maker, the mill girl' who appear behind her with the houses of Parliament pictured in the distance.[43]

The presence of the 'classical' in dress as a stand-in for democratic values has a longstanding and established history in Western fashion and has particular relevance in the context of nineteenth-century design reform. Between the 1860s and 1890s, it impacted both experimental forms of artistic dress within the Aesthetic movement, but also the broader context of the decorative arts in relation to labour and commerce. Links between design reform and the iconography of suffrage art can be quickly identified, particularly in the pronounced interest in classical drapery and personification to signify key tropes conveying artistic or moral values. In this context, it can be argued that the dress reform practices and aesthetic modes of dress from the 1870s to the 1890s were foundational in shaping iconic suffrage images of female beauty, nobility, and achievement. By way of example, the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union of the 1890s cited the artistic and moral superiority of the classical age as an appropriate template for design and dress reform. Walter Crane, a prominent artist, illustrator, and design reformer of the period, was a regular contributor to their short-lived journal *AGLAIA*, and frequently endorsed the beauty and usefulness of classical dress.[44]

Classical imagery, and more particularly the performative aspects of reform based on historic dress, would shape much of the visual and symbolic language of the first wave of the women's movement, even while conventional clothing practices informed the 'uniform' of most suffragettes. Thus, within the suffrage campaign of the early twentieth century, the symbolic and material expressions of clothing culture functioned on different levels. The dual and strategic use of dress to communicate a range of crucial social values may partially explain the success of the movement, where the iconography of suffrage art and the embodied conventions of dress in practice were able to coexist in two distinct yet complementary visual realms. In some cases, these two influences converged to present a metaphorical and harmonious body of suffrage. In the 1910 illustration 'The Hand that Rocks the Cradle' a fashionable, yet artistically draped figure presents a monumental image of female power, signifying both the strength and size of the suffrage movement, but also embodying notions of political change in the service of women (Figure 8.4). Suggesting themes of motherhood, evolution, and transcendence, the oversized but feminine figure of the suffragette wears a fairly close-fitting, yet gracefully draped untailored gown with multiple pleats enshrouding the length of the body in fluid folds. Despite the fact that the overall fit conforms to a contemporary fashionable silhouette, the natural waist and lack of any signs of constrictive fastenings, or decorative trimming, recalls the understated and classically inspired principles of artistic dress reform at the end of the nineteenth century. The addition of a picture hat adds an updated fashionable detail, but the overall effect is indefinable, the silhouette of the dressed body referencing multiple points in the evolution of Western fashion. At several key moments in history, gowns complimented the female body in a complementary yet unrestrictive way, most notably during the Classical period, and to a lesser extent, during the first


DAVID WILSON
VOTES FOR WOMEN
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION 18 JUNE 1910 IN SUPPORT OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL
CONCI
IATION BILL
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
PROCEDURE
ALBERT HALL

8.4 David Wilson, 'The Hand that Rocks the Cradle,' front cover of *Votes for Women*, 24 June 1910. LSE Library.

decade of the 1800s (a not insignificant time in terms of its association with post-French Revolution fashions). Albeit essentialist and reductive to some degree, rendered through the lens of nineteenth-century dress reform, these periods were perceived to be superior with regard to the ability of clothing to express the naturalism and inherent beauty of the female form.

AN UNSPOKEN DIALOGUE

Given that the discourses of both mainstream *and* alternative/artistic forms of dress are present in the print culture of the suffrage movement, it is significant that serious debates over dress reform and 'suitable' attire for women are so rare in suffrage literature, particularly when one considers the politically charged debates over appropriate female dress in the preceding decades. Despite progress in the development of easy-care fabrics, and a growing tolerance of special clothing designed for mobility and sport (e.g., the cycling costume), it can be argued that fashionable dress at the beginning of the twentieth century was just as restrictive and ornamental as it had been in the late nineteenth century. Over a six-year period from 1909 to 1915, only one occurrence of public dialogue over dress is acknowledged in the pages of *Votes for Women*. In the correspondence section of the 2 April 1915 issue, a reader wrote in to complain about a tendency for wider skirts in current fashions, and requested that the editors include more journalistic review and criticism of fashion in the future. Published under the editor's tagline 'Are Suffragists Slaves to Fashion?' the reader, self-named 'Anonymous Correspondent of the Times' stated:

> Votes for Women might make a few authoritative remarks which many of its readers would value, without detracting from its dignified reserve on dress or the serious political reason of its existence. Men are not victimized in dress by absurd and changing fashions. But I suppose that even accredited leaders of the Suffrage have no hesitation now in buying new frocks and coats of the most generous widths, and so agreeing tacitly to this slavery of clothes.[45]

In response, several readers offered a variety of opinions on the matter in the weeks that followed. One reader used the opportunity to radicalize the argument, offering a pointed critique of mainstream fashionable dress and stating that women's dress is neither 'hygienic nor rational. In the enlightened twentieth century it is just as ridiculous as it was in the barbaric ages … why should we be continually driven from one extreme to another? … The tragic part of it all is that not even the suspicion enters her mind that everything is not just as it ought to be.'[46]

The majority of the responses however, were more moderate in tone – acknowledging the reality of mainstream fashion as a part of daily life, and in some cases even supporting fashion as a means of providing economic security to an army of women working in the garment trades. As one correspondent wrote:

> Most Suffragists believe in freedom of movement, and although they are not likely to hamper themselves with unnecessary yards of cloth, and will eschew the bizarre and the outré in the matter of dress, just as they have always done in the past, they will not be deterred by newspaper criticism from buying any new clothes they can afford and of the cut and style that suits their fancy.[47]

Ultimately, however, these more complacent responses downplay the importance of fashion, for the above correspondent also stated: 'Whether women should wear 'balloon' or 'hobble' skirts is of little real concern to Suffragists.' The sentiment is echoed elsewhere, as another responder asserted that suffragists' energies should be restricted 'to wider and graver questions than the question of the number of inches round the hems of our skirts.'[48] Among members of the WSPU then, two typical positions emerged – one explicitly acknowledged the efficacy, social acceptability, and therefore strategic usefulness of mainstream fashionable dress, the other denied the importance of dress altogether, or minimized its importance in light of more pressing political issues. Among the latter group, the underlying conviction positioned dress as a naturalized extension of common sense and accepted social values rather than a symbolically charged performance constructed through cultural practice and hegemonic norms. In 1909, in the regular column 'The World we Live in' the suffragette is presented as an inherently rational being, one who is in a privileged position to make decisions on her own: 'The suffragette, giving scope to her intellect, is of all women best fitted to express her own individuality in the clothes she wears.'[49]

As this limited correspondence makes clear, in the pages of *Votes for Women* there is a lack of consistent critical dialogue and debate surrounding dress, fashion, and the body, and when it does come up, it is frequently dismissed as unimportant or tending to reify contemporary notions which conflate women with fashionable consumption. While mentioning fashion in passing, most of these primary sources qualify the interest in clothing as a necessary means of presenting a credible face to the public which might reassure rather than question gender norms. Alternative or otherwise experimental forms of dress are often downplayed, or even discouraged, lest they confirm perceptions of suffragettes as existing outside socially acceptable values and practices.

By the end of World War I, the women's movement was more fragmented and took on various forms addressing themes beyond the goal of suffrage. From the remnants of the late nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts movement, to the later avant-garde Bloomsbury Group involved in the production of textile and dress designs for the Omega Workshops in the first decades of the twentieth century, a variety of artistically inclined women sought alternative modes of dress which might visually articulate changing gender relations. Much of this visual culture relied on the authority of art, as well as the earlier efforts of dress and design reformers during the Aesthetic movement. Yet by the turn of the century, artistic and 'Bohemian' expressions of female empowerment through the donning of loose, experimental, artistic garments often stood in stark contrast to the conventionally fashionable and trim figure of the Suffragette. Despite this apparent distinction, I would assert that the legacy of Aesthetic dress and design reform more broadly was an important factor in both of these contexts, and further, was a silent yet pervasive presence in the visual imaginary and print culture of the suffrage movement.

Given the complexities and connections between artistic practice, the Arts and Crafts movement, and the theatrical and visual framing of alternative forms of dress in the print culture of the movement, I think it's important to look behind the surface image of the 'fashionable' suffragette. As I have shown, the interest in allegorical goddess figures or historical female leaders such as Boadicea or Joan of Arc alludes to the perception of classical and medieval values as timeless and noble – pictorial depictions of an idealized and classical image of female nobility found throughout the ephemera and visual culture of the movement also reference the Aesthetic movement's critique of the fashion world of the 1870s and '80s. During that earlier period, dress reform was widely perceived as an embodied and textile-based form of emancipation for women who felt that mainstream fashion restricted women's freedom, both mentally and physically. Thus, although the popular narratives of Aesthetic dress were fading from public view by the turn of the century, the spectre of past clothing reform and artistic licence with regard to the body existed as a background presence in the visual framing of the ideal suffragette through the art and print culture of the period even if such debates and discussions of sartorial reform were largely absent from the pages of *Votes for Women*.

Notes

1 Katrina Rolley, 'Fashion, Femininity and the Fight for the Vote,' *Art History* 13, no. 1 (1990): 48–9.

2 Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907–14* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987).

3 See Wendy Parkins, "The Epidemic of Purple, White and Green': Fashion and the Suffragette Movement in Britain 1908–14,' in *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*, ed. Wendy Parkins (Oxford: Berg, 2002); and A. L. Montz, "Now she's all hat and ideas': Fashioning the British Suffrage Movement,' *Critical Studies in Fashion & Beauty* 3, no. 1+2 (2012): 55–67. For an extensive discussion of the framing of the female body in suffrage ephemera and print culture, see Rosemary Betterton, "A Perfect Woman' The Political Body of Suffrage,' in her *Intimate Distance: Women, Artists and the Body* (London: Routledge 1996), 46–78.

4 Tickner, 209.

5 Ibid., 209.

6 Betterton, 51.

7 Ibid.

8 For nuanced discussions of the body and its relations to visual and material forms of fashion culture, see Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson, eds., *Body Dressing* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

9 Cheryl Buckley and Hilary Fawcett, *Fashioning the Feminine: Representation and Women's Fashion from the Fin de Siècle to the Present* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2002), 9.

10 For an in-depth account of the artists associated with the suffrage movement, see Tickner, 13–29.

11 Tickner, 32.

12 Ibid., 27.

13 Katharine Cockin, 'Cicely Hamilton's Warriors: Dramatic Reinventions of Militancy in the British Women's Suffrage Movement,' *Women's History Review* 14, nos. 3 & 4 (2005): 529.

14 Tickner, 306, n. 73.

15 Sylvia Pankhurst, 'Fashions of the Fair,' *Votes for Women* (6 October 1911): 4.

16 For further discussions on gender and fashion at the turn of the twentieth century, see: Buckley and Fawcett, 16–49; and Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 181–4. For examples of primary texts and patterns of women's clothes during this period, see Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes 1600–1930* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1968), 227–81.

17 'The Suffragette and the Dress Problem,' *Votes for Women* (30 July 1908): 348. In 1913, the WSPU requested that sellers of suffrage materials should 'dress themselves in their smartest clothes to help counteract press misrepresentation.' *The Suffragette* (25 April 1913): 476; quoted in Rolley, 51.

18 Parkins, 102.

19 Ibid., 100.

20 'Women's Dress,' *Votes for Women* (23 September 1910): 825; quoted in Rolley, 51.

21 Rolley, 60–1.

22 An early portrait of Christabel featured her wearing 'a round brooch attributed to C.R. Ashbee and a pendant attributed to Ernestine Mills.' See V. Irene Cockroft, *New Dawn Women: Women in the Arts & Crafts and Suffrage Movements at the Dawn of the 20th Century* (Compton: Watts Gallery, 2005), 24.

23 Christable Pankhurst in *Unshackled*, 66–7, quoted in Sandra Stanley Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 36.

24 Rolley, 52.

25 See for example, Katherine Roberts, *Pages from the Diary of a Militant Suffragette*, 2nd ed. (Letchworth and London: Garden City Press Limited, 1911), 22. Roberts notes an occasion where a young man asked her about the suffrage colours: ''These are our colours': and I showed him my Suffragette brooch. He examined it critically. 'Very pretty,' he said; 'charming. And do you drive about in a wagonette decorated with purple, white, and green flags? I should not go to Holloway if I were you. The excitement and notoriety are all very well, but the prison clothes are not at all becoming.'' See also Margaret Haig, *This Was My World* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933).

26 Roberts, 59. For more details on Emmeline Pankhurst's requests to authorities to allow women to retain their own clothing while in prison, see E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst: The Suffragette Struggle for Women's Citizenship* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1935), 85–6.

27 Harold Smith, *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866–1928*. 2nd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), 44.

28 'Fashions Fair,' *Votes for Women* (7 July 1911): 659.

29 For an interesting discussion of the fashionable 'picture' hat as an emblem of subversion, see Caroline Howlett, 'Femininity Slashed: Suffragette Militancy, Modernism and Gender,' in *Modernist Sexualities*, ed. Hugh Stevens and Caroline Howlett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 77.

30 Rolley, 53.

31 Ibid., 52.

32 'Fashion Jottings for 1911,' *Votes for Women* (17 November 1911): 102.

33 *Votes for Women* (28 October 1910): 53; cited in Rolley, 57.

34 Elizabeth Robin's speech, reproduced in *Votes for Women* (15 December 1911): 177.

35 She notes that on occasions when it became clear suffragettes would undergo physical violence at the hands of police and 'rowdies,' women would respond by carrying hat pins as weapons and wearing 'cardboard 'armour' under their dresses to carry off their ladylike image.' Jane Marcus, 'The Asylums of Antaeus: Women, War, and Madness – Is there a Feminist Fetishism?' in *The New Historicism*, ed. Harold Veeser (London: Routledge, 1989), 144.

36 Parkins, 105.

37 Smith, 34.

38 June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 7.

39 'Women's Sunday,' *Votes for Women* (18 June 1908): 249.

40 *Votes for Women* (17 June 1910): 611.

41 For a full account of the various colour schemes among suffrage societies, see Tickner, 265.

42 Ibid., 250–1.

43 Cockroft, 26.

44 Kimberly Wahl, *Dressed as in a Painting: Women and British Aestheticism in an Age of Reform* (Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2013), 29–32.

45 Anonymous Correspondent of the Times, under 'Are Suffragists Slaves to Fashion?' *Votes for Women* (2 April 1915): 222.

46 M. Corrigan, under 'Are Suffragists Slaves to Fashion?' *Votes for Women* (16 April 1915): 238.

47 Louisa Thomas-Price, under 'Are Suffragists Slaves to Fashion?' *Votes for Women* (16 April 1915): 238.

48 M. Mears, under 'Are Suffragists Slaves to Fashion?' *Votes for Women* (9 April 1915): 230.

49 'The World we Live in,' *Votes for Women* (5 November 1909): 87; quoted in Rolley 56.

9

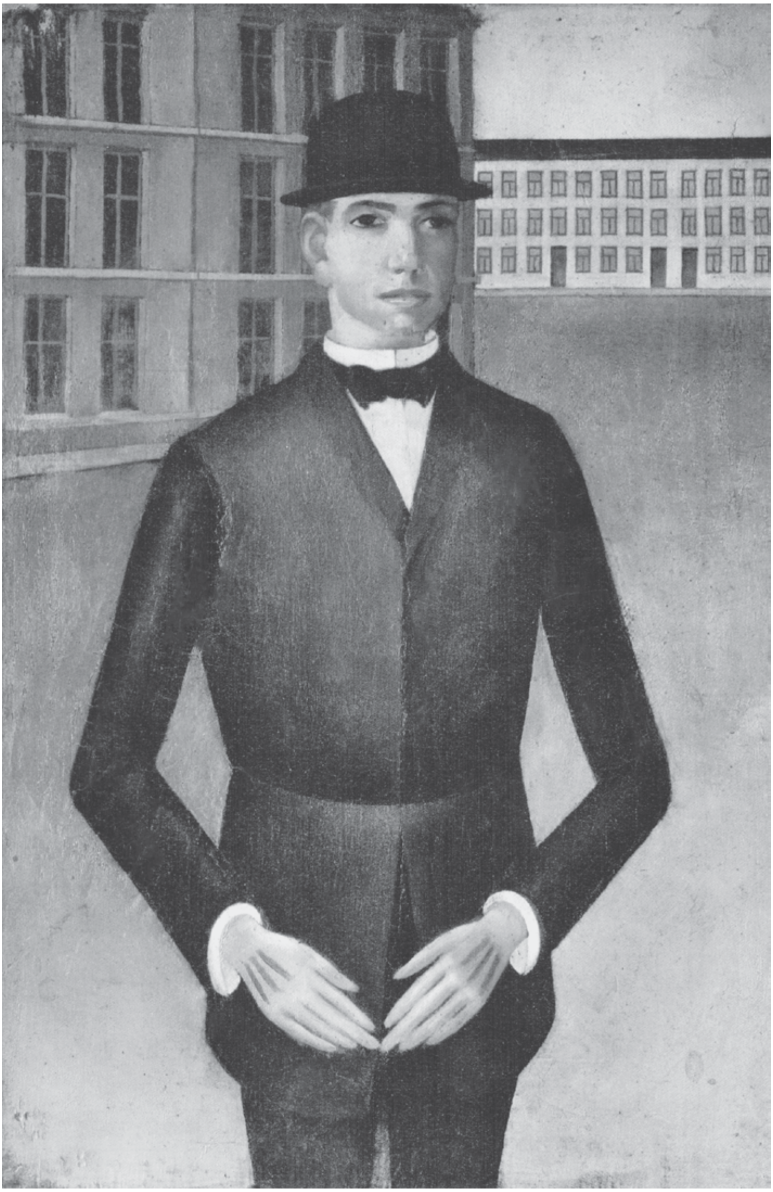
PUPPETS, PATTERNS, AND 'PROPER GENTLEMEN'

Men's Fashion in Anton Räderscheidt's New Objectivity Paintings

Änne Söll

Having lost World War I and undergoing serious social and economic upheaval, 1920s Germany was in crisis. With maimed veterans filling the streets and unemployment on the rise, traditional concepts of masculinity symbolized by the soldier and family breadwinner were under threat. In the realm of male fashion, the conservative fashion ideal of the 'proper gentleman' that dated to before the war and propagated an upright, tightly clad, strong, and impenetrable male body was resurrected. This sartorial *rappel à l'ordre* was mirrored in art by the development of the 'New Objectivity' (Neue Sachlichkeit) movement, which meant a renewed interest in realism, harking back to traditional ways of painting.

Having returned from his time in the army, Anton Räderscheidt picked up both of these trends in his paintings of the early 1920s. He produced images that, on the surface, depict 'proper gentlemen' in a realist mode. Therefore it comes as no surprise that already in one of the earliest contemporary reviews of Räderscheidt's paintings in 1928, the art critic Willi Wolfradt called attention to the relationship of his figures to the realm of fashion. Räderscheidt was then living in Cologne and after being included in Gustav F. Hartlaub's seminal 1925 exhibition, 'Neue Sachlichkeit. Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus' in Mannheim, his work was closely connected to the new and very diverse art movement 'New Objectivity.'[1] So Wolfradt's review was published at a time when Räderscheidt was starting to receive national publicity. The critic writes that Räderscheidt's figures 'are marvellous apparitions straight out of the display window of a provincial ready-to-wear clothing store, but rather more eerie than amusing – personifications of a merely conditional existence that does not know what to do with itself.'[2] Following Wolfradt's lead, I will argue that Räderscheidt's depiction of men and their clothing in his early 1920s New Objectivity paintings is closely related to men's fashion discourse of the 1920s. Whereas aspects of gender and other themes have been addressed in the writing on Räderscheidt's oeuvre, the role of dress has so far gone unnoticed.[3] Räderscheidt, I will show, references fashion in the following way: with his uncanny images of men (and women) in empty cityscapes (Figure 9.1), Räderscheidt enters the contemporary discourse on the 'proper gentlemen,' the male puppet or tailor's dummy in the shop window, and the dispute over whether men's ready-to-wear was acceptable as gentlemen's clothing. In Räderscheidt's world, fashion is not an integrative force enabling men to come to terms with the forces of modernization and, thus, into their own. Quite the contrary: men's fashion is part of a dystopia that isolates men, turning them into empty puppets. As I will argue, Räderscheidt's depictions of men in the period of New Objectivity arose in response to a crisis of masculinity brought about by the upheavals of World War I and, not insignificantly, by women's emancipation. Men returned from war, sometimes seriously injured,[4] to enter a society that was not at all prepared for defeat, that was struggling with numerous economic crises, in particular, inflation, and plagued with all manner of political conflicts.[5] As Richard McCormick points out, 'the shock of modernity in Germany was often experienced as a crisis of traditional male authority, agency, and identity.'[6] 'In New Objectivity,' he continues, 'as in many other eras of the modern age – the project of stabilizing modernity tends to be equated with stabilizing threats to male subjectivity.'[7] In fact, as McCormick and others



9.1 Anton Räderscheidt, *Junger Mann mit gelben Handschuhen* (*Young Man with Yellow Gloves*), 1921. Oil on wood, 27 × 18.5 cm, private collection. © VG Bild Kunst, Bonn 2015.

have made clear, New Objectivity as a whole must be seen as a reaction to a crisis in masculine authority that demanded a 'New Masculinity' and created an explicitly rational, decisive, and clean-cut style.[8] In the words of Albrecht Koschorke, the art of New Objectivity aimed at 'getting on top of this crisis by strong manly will.'[9] The art of New Objectivity was not merely a symptom of this 'crisis of masculinity' but was actively involved in the debates about gender equality, trying to tip the balance back in favour of men's sovereign status and authority.[10]

Fashion played a central role in the gender struggles of Weimar Germany. Wearing shorter dresses and sporting masculine hairstyles lent women the aura of the 'modern sex.' Men's dress, by comparison, appeared to lag behind and be in desperate need of modernization.[11] While men's suits had long been championed – especially by architects like Adolf Loos, Siegfried Gideon, Le Corbusier, and others[12] – as the ultimate modern dress by virtue of their 'rational' and sober design, they, too, lost this self-evident, unquestioned status toward the end of the 1920s. As Le Corbusier writes in 1930:

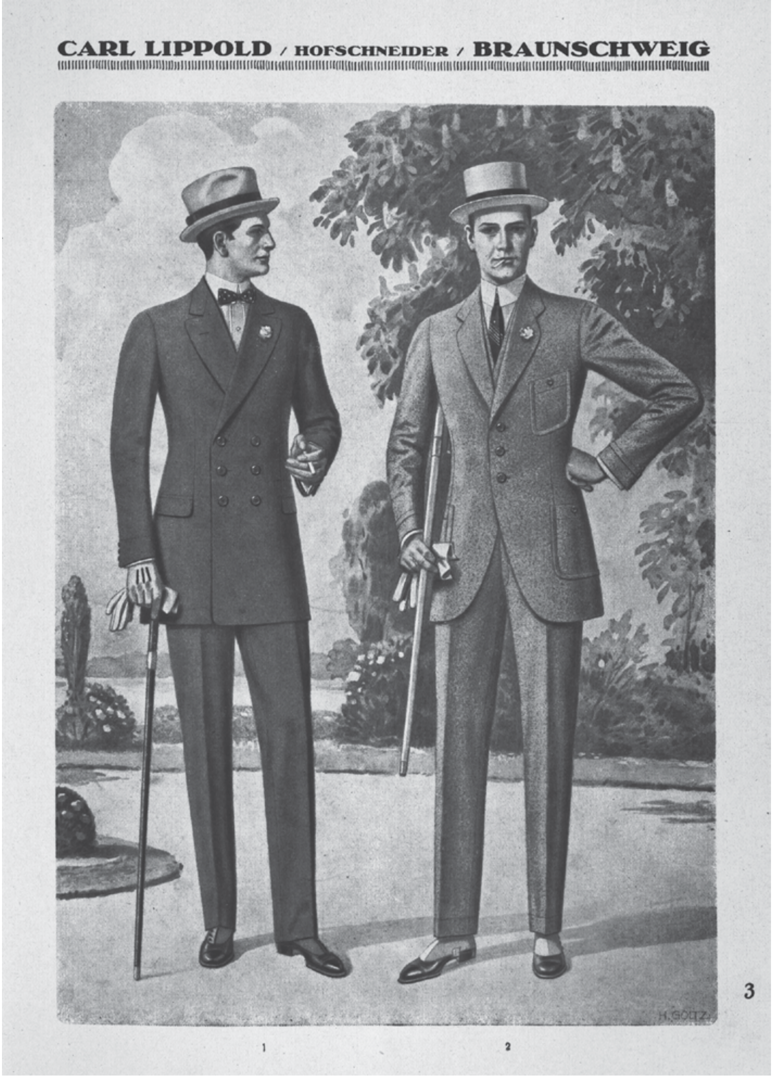
> Are we men? A sad question! In dress clothes, we wear starched collars and resemble the general of the Grand Armée. In street clothes we are not at ease … One must choose between working and being elegant. The English suit we wear had nevertheless succeeded in something important. It had neutralized us. In town it is useful to have a neutral appearance. … At Saint-Moritz on the snow, modern man is up-to-date. At Levallois-Perret, at the headquarters of the automobile industry, the mechanic is a forerunner. We office workers are beaten by a serious length by women.[13]

Men's dress slowly changed in the course of the 1920s to incorporate sports-wear and work-wear into the everyday wardrobe. By contrast to the seemingly radical changes in women's dress, the transformation of men's fashion encountered resistance, making it a slow and difficult process.[14] Moreover, these transformations did not introduce a completely different look, but rather brought already existing suits and shirts up-to-date, turning them into so-called lounge suits with soft, down-turned collars and ties.[15] Räderscheidt, as I will argue, does not present us with the modernized version of men's suits but instead harks back to a form of male attire, the black suit, that was soon to become outmoded. This old-fashioned look, as we will see, is also intimately connected to the contemporary discourse of the 'proper gentleman.'

PROPER GENTLEMEN

The archetype of the 'proper gentleman' (*der 'korrekte Herr'*) was the most prominent theme in the debates taking place in men's fashion magazines and advice books in the Weimar period. The 'proper gentleman' represents a conservative male ideal dating from the period before World War I, which was taken up, circulated, and up-dated in men's fashion magazines of the 1920s. This 'proper gentleman' was characterized by sovereignty, authority, physical and moral integrity, and a perfect, impenetrable bodily surface and, thus, stood in stark contrast to the reality of most men of the 1920s, plagued as the period was by violent upheaval, unemployment, and political instability in the wake of World War I. In this context, Räderscheidt's rigid male figures in their black, formed and form-giving suits call to mind not only the archetypal 'employee,' as Siegfried Kracauer describes,[16] but bear a close relationship, as well, to men's fashion ideals of the period in the figure of the 'proper gentleman.'

Comparing paintings such as *Junger Mann mit gelben Handschuhen* (*Young Man with Yellow Gloves*) (Figure 9.1) from 1921 with fashion illustrations of the same period (Figure 9.2), it becomes clear that Räderscheidt's male figures do not positively embody the idea of the 'proper gentleman.' His figures do not appear self-confident and authoritative, as prescribed by male ideals of the time depicted in German and Austrian men's fashion magazines, such as *Die Herrenkleidung*[17] (Men's Dress), *Herrenwelt*[18] (Men's World), or later in the 1920s *Der Modediktator*[19] (The Fashion Dictator).[20] While these magazines do not advance a single, cohesive male ideal, the ideal of the 'proper gentleman' dominates their pages. He is a man who always conducts himself appropriately at every occasion and in every situation, who is


CARL LIPPOLD / HOFSCHNEIDER / BRAUNSCHWEIG
3
H. GOLTZ
1
2

9.2 Illustration from *Die Herrenkleidung*, no. 17 (spring/summer 1920): 3. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek.

autonomous vis-à-vis fashion and consumer culture, who, unlike woman (or dandy), could never be a 'fashion victim.' The proper, generally older gentleman is omnipresent on the pages of *Der Modediktator* and *Herrenjournal*. It is a masculine ideal stemming from the years before World War I that was transplanted to the Weimar period by an older generation of fashion journalists. In the face of major social transformations, this figure provided a sense of stability and continuity. A comparison of German illustrations in men's magazines with those of French publications, such as *Monsieur*, clearly reveals the pervasiveness of this rigid, manly silhouette in German fashion magazines.[21]

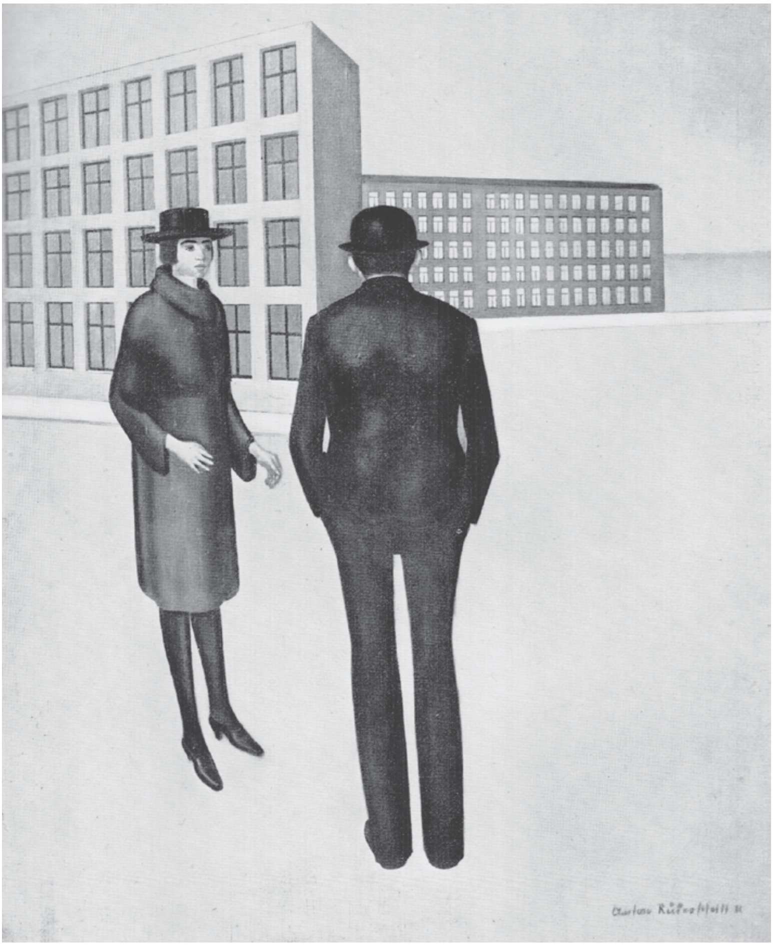
Very few alternatives to the 'proper gentleman' existed; only on the pages of *Der Junggeselle*[22] (The Bachelor) do we find a less rigid ideal, a man with a younger, more dynamic, sporty body, flexible in his character and physically agile. This modern male image, however, was not able to take hold in either the French or German fashion press. It was not until the close of the 1920s and early 1930s that publications like *Adam* in France or *Der Modediktator* and *Blau-Rot*[23] in Germany began to incorporate this newly won flexibility, dynamism, and sportiness into a modified ideal of the 'proper gentleman,' characterized by his muscular physique and broad shoulders unambiguously signifying his mastery of both the social and fashion scenes.[24] On the whole, this can be seen as a restorative and, in part, starkly conservative effort to foster the self-confidence of men in regard to fashion, an effort to establish a status quo for the bourgeois man. With the help of rules of fashion, of conduct, physical fitness, cultural entertainment, and recommendations for the consumption of fashion, the fashionable man was to gain authority and sovereignty in the face of the emancipated 'New Woman,' who, especially through her clothes, had increasingly come to stand as the symbol of modernity.[25]

But Räderscheidt's men are neither authoritative nor are they 'conquerors of fashion' or trendsetters of the modern with a sound grasp of fashion on a par with the New Woman. They are rather more like schematic drawings of 'little men' or dolls, whose clothes confine and constrict them.[26] The perfect attire and outward appearance of the proper, ever upstanding gentleman, while supposed to lend authority, is mutated by Räderscheidt into a modern suit of armour, impairing movement, enclosing the body, and making a fashion doll of the man inside. By stripping away all stately surroundings as well as accessories such as cigarettes, and by accentuating their stiffness and hollowness, Räderscheidt denies his figures every trace of authority embodied by the illustrations of men in the fashion magazines of the period. Räderscheidt clothes them in the garb of the 'proper gentleman' without modifying this traditional ideal with the attributes of youthfulness or dynamism, echoing the candid critique voiced in *Der Junggeselle* in 1924 of the proper gentleman ideal that 'to be a man like him is a curse … A man like him can never sin. A man like him has obligations and never rights. He can never be a person, for his propriety has made him a god.'[27]

Räderscheidt's figures thus underscore the physical, and intellectual, limitations of such an ideal. In this regard, he perpetuates the representation of men in the fashion magazines of the time and exaggerates it by turning the male body into nothing more than a shell. His figures embody to the point of absurdity the maxim touted in men's fashion magazines and advice literature that a man is to appear effortlessly, 'naturally' masculine and avoid at all costs the appearance of artificiality (code for 'feminine').[28] Räderscheidt's painted men, consequently, are just as contrived and 'artificial' as the women, an effect that becomes obvious in works such as *Die Rasenbank* or *Begegnung* (Figure 9.3), both dating from 1921.[29] In both images men and women alike appear forlorn, embedded in an alienating environment with seemingly no connection between them. Men and women, Räderscheidt seems to argue, are equally affected by the consequences of fashion and consumer culture, turning them both into dolls with no firm connection to the ground and their barren surroundings.

MALE FASHION DOLLS

As the critic Willi Wolfradt suggested in 1928, the appeal of Räderscheidt's figures develops out of their clearly visible lifelessness, their doll-like appearance: Their movements are sparse, the arms bent, the legs stiff.[30] The figures in Räderscheidt's paintings such as *Young Man with Yellow Gloves*



9.3 Anton Räderscheidt, *Begegnung* (*Meeting*), 1921. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, lost. © VG Bild Kunst, Bonn 2015.

from 1921 (see Figure 9.1) or *Man with Lantern* from 1924, bring together all of the popular types of doll in the early twentieth century – the jointed doll, the mannequin, the tailor’s dummy.[31] Nevertheless, Räderscheidt’s figures retain recognizably human – albeit schematized – faces, becoming an unsettling amalgamation of these various types of dolls and the human. All these forms of dolls, as Katharina Sykora and Pia Müller-Tamm have pointed out, exist at the border between life and lifeless matter, subject and object, and, thus, underscore their status as 'image,' provoking the viewer's critical engagement with the constructed and illusory character of the work.[32] Their schematized clothing, affixed as on a tailor's dummy, underscores this ambivalence. For example, in *Young Man with Yellow Gloves*, we see the rigid hands protrude from the pipe-like sleeves, whose seams on the front side meet the hands in such a way as to give them a schematic, almost skeletal appearance. Mostly, men's clothing looks unfinished and unworn, the pattern is readily visible, pleats and details such as buttons, buttonholes, pockets, and seams are missing altogether. What we see, here, is a prototype piece designed to fit an ideal figure represented by the fashion dummy. Enhancing the ambivalent dummy effect, most of the heads bear no relationship to the body at all, appearing to be screwed on. The bowler worn by most of Räderscheidt's figures accentuates the doll-like impression, closing off the head to the outside world and 'standardizing' the figure's look to an even greater extent. As a symbol of the middle-class man in the 1920s, the bowler, as Fred Miller Robinson has argued, is a modern and permanent accessory of the city-dweller: 'The bowlers seem natural extensions of the subjects' heads, snug and appropriate … The many bowler-hatted men featured in Räderscheidt's paintings are like frozen Chaplins, haunted but affectless men in black suits and black ties who are almost scarily sober.'[33]

As jointed doll, store mannequin, or child's doll, the 'artificial human' is a topos of classical modernity taken up in the work of many artists such as Hannah Höch, Oskar Schlemme, Carlo Carra, or Giorgio de Chirico.[34] Art of the classical avant-garde, in part, re-designs the human body, transgressing the border between reality and fiction. This can be seen as a critical response to the mechanization of the body, on the one hand, and, simultaneously, as a fascination with the conception of the body as machine, hence as something humans can change and shape.[35] Dolls are objects; they are also, then, projection surfaces for human fantasy, which makes them into uncanny objects. The store mannequin was then not only the newest in an entire series of dolls in existence since the fourteenth century, but also the one most closely associated with 'femaleness' and, through its commercial production and wide implementation in display windows since the mid-nineteenth century, the one most closely associated with consumption.[36] The female store mannequin embodies the contradiction between a whole, natural, and authentic femininity and the idea of femininity being a product of artifice.[37]

But what of the male version of the window mannequin and the tailor's dummy? A 'real' gentleman, as one men's fashion advice book from 1914 explains, can never be compared to a store mannequin: 'A gentleman is not a wooden doll and does not live in a panopticon. You do not dress him, but he dresses himself. You do not direct his movements, no, he moves on his own accord.'[38] Fashionable masculinity, it is made clear, is never artificial, but always 'natural'; the fashionable man is always in command, and no one can pull his strings to make him move. The puppet as an object that is at the mercy of its puppeteer looms as the ultimate sign of the loss of masculine control and it is exactly this possible loss that Räderscheidt's figures embody.

While the fashionable male rejected identification with the artificiality of dolls, dummies, and puppets, the brutal effects of World War I on the male body and its literal fragmentation nevertheless created a context in which the male doll acquired radical gender-political significance.[39] The efforts of medicine and prosthetic technology to reconstruct the male body in an attempt to reintegrate injured, often deformed or dismembered, men into everyday life in the Weimar Republic are reflected in the increased attention of the artistic community to the doll and doll-like prosthetic limbs. The use of man as 'war material' is underscored by the cynical representation of prosthetic bodies in the Dadaist works of Otto Dix, George Grosz, and others. It is safe to say that the aftermath of World War I seriously threatened the notion of a strong, invulnerable, and heroic male body, confronting postwar German society as it did with injured and amputated men. These men were 'patched up' with prostheses that embodied male vulnerability and turned them into semi-automatons.[40]

But Räderscheidt's doll-like figures do not have prostheses on their bodies, as do those of Otto Dix, George Grosz, or Rudolf Schlichter. Räderscheidt's works give us the impression that the entire male body is one, giant prosthesis, literally a 'replacement body' that can be variously assembled, positioned, and moved to fulfil the requirements of its social environment. Similar to representations of men in Georg Grosz's *Untitled* from 1920, in which the schematic torso is depicted amidst an equally schematized industrial landscape, the men (and women) in Räderscheidt's early paintings are depicted as artificial bodies within similarly artificial surroundings.[41] Räderscheidt's dolls are not what Philipp Sarasin has described as 'nervous machines,'[42] neither can they be compared to what Klaus Theweleit has analysed as the 'utopia of a male body-machine.'[43] They do not communicate an empowering image of the male body, steeled, readied, and invulnerable. The man as doll is hollow within and cannot fall back on his inner machine, his inner motor drive – and, hence, is subjected all the more to the forces of modernization than his 'automatized brothers.' Whereas the female doll is seen as perfecting femininity, which is per se thought of as artificial, the male doll in Räderscheidt's paintings parodies the vision of a perfect and invulnerable male body.

What about the space these male dolls occupy? Here, in the visual space surrounding Räderscheidt's figures, the ambivalent forces of modernization also exert their influence. We are confronted with virtually barren cityscapes, featuring grid-like architecture that conveys the impression of a theatre backdrop with viewless windows and fake lawns.[44] Yet the image space in which Räderscheidt's figures appear does not depict architecture that is 'stripped and disciplined,' such as Mark Wigley describes, and therefore modern.[45] Räderscheidt's monotonous housing blocks, still sporting turn-of-the-century window design, do not hold the promise of modern architecture as buildings with 'timeless value' where construction and function 'subordinate the surface.'[46] Instead, the buildings in Räderscheidt's settings constitute a lifeless and dehumanizing façade. Taken together with the mannequin-like figures, these empty, hollow picture spaces appear explicitly artificial and constructed.[47] The images as a whole, seen in the context of fashion and consumerism, might best be read as shop window displays.[48] The city itself, as shop window, offers one big artificial display that turns human relationships into commodities.[49] The male mannequin and men's fashion are, then, as much a part of consumer culture as the female mannequin – and equally as much 'merchandise.' Yet, while the male dummy takes up a position in this artificial display next to the female mannequin, it is, nevertheless, she who is more at home here. As Janet Ward explains, 'If women could be mannequins, then mannequins could be women – or rather, the Weimar New Woman was construed (by a majority of trade advertisements at least) as a mannequin-masquerade.'[50] The mere fact of their position alongside the fashionable woman does not necessarily make Räderscheidt's men emancipated. On the contrary, it signals their loss of individuality, sovereignty, and subjectivity. Seen as *Szeneschaufenster*[51] (shop window scenes), Räderscheidt's paintings can be understood as reckoning with the promises of emancipation, as well as with the lure of a consumerist society, at the expense of men and their power.

PATTERNS OF MASCULINITY

Räderscheidt's lonely men look like dummies not only because of their stiff and immobile bodies. Their dress makes reference to both ready-to-wear clothing and customized tailoring, addressing another conflict brought about by the standardization of men's outward appearance. The development of off-the-rack clothing, that is, standard sizes and measurements together with the mechanization, rationalization, and industrialization of the clothing industry, initiated a conflict between individualized styles and mass-produced clothes for men. The rapid development of ready-to-wear clothing around 1900, made possible by new systems of measurement, produced new conceptions of the body as a standardized, as well as eroticized, object, challenging the idea of bourgeois male individuality. Christopher Breward argues that:

> the introduction of the tape measure and an interest in standardized measuring and cutting techniques from the 1820s, which eased the move into mass-production, simply offered the promise of

> democratization to a tailoring-industry already enamoured with the potential of platonic notions of the ‘model’ body … Furthermore, as standardized templates replaced archives of personal measurements, the potential for controlling and speeding up fashion change on a national and international scale multiplied significantly. Bodies could now be imposed on a massive scale, rather than simply disguised on an ad hoc basis … In a sense, new tailoring systems provided maps for the navigation of the ideal fashionable body: the guides for a terrain that in the context of commodity culture was becoming subtly eroticized.[52]

As Breward explains, the clothing industry and off-the-rack clothing emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, fostered not only by new standardized measuring systems but by the production of military uniforms.[53] These developments made the male body measurable, standardized, and, in turn, schematized. Men’s clothing, especially the so-called lounge-suit, thus became affordable even for men of lower classes, who could buy them off-the-rack.[54] This ready-to-wear fashion influenced by sport and leisurewear, however, is neither custom-fitted nor custom-made. Men of the upper social classes continued to have their clothes tailored to set themselves apart from the mass-produced suit through the quality and fit of their attire. As Rob Shormann explains:

> Custom made clothes represented more than superior workmanship; it also symbolized social status, belonging and identity. [Custom made suits] imply a mastery of circumstances and security of position. … Custom made clothing provided a better fit, both physically and psychologically, it guaranteed one was in step with fashion and offered a one-to-one relationship between buyer and seller that reaffirmed an individual sense of self.[55]

What is more, the custom, handmade suit from a tailor stood as a symbol of quality that the manufacturers of off-the-rack clothing longed to achieve.[56] In the context of ready-to-wear vs. tailor-made clothing, the critic Wolfradt calling Räderscheidt’s male figures ‘marvellous apparitions straight out of the display window of a provincial ready-to-wear clothing store' does not symbolize progress, helping men to gain sovereignty in consumer society.[57] Instead, it signals the spread of a form of attire which, while clearly an advance in production, remained inadequate to the individual needs and requirements of bourgeois men, as a result of its mass character. Accordingly, the poorly dressed man in Walter Becker's 1927 advice book entitled *The Gentleman of Today* looks like a 'dead shop window mannequin,' while his well-dressed counterpart is described as 'a lively and sporty gent.'[58]

The mass character of men's clothing, its tendency toward standardization and emphasis on function can also work, as Mark Wigley has pointed out, referencing the writing of Georg Simmel on fashion, as a kind of mask which can, in turn, provide 'a newly required psychological advantage. Inasmuch as men's clothing is standardized, it is able to act as mask behind which the individual is shielded from the increasingly threatening and seemingly uncontrollable forces of modern life (forces that were themselves understood as feminine).'[59] Thus, the 'forces of modern life' are a possible emasculating threat for men, not the opportunity for empowerment that they seem to be for women. Wigley argues that:

> the mask is a means of mental survival. The man cannot afford to wear his sensuality or any other part of his private life on the surface like a fashionable woman does. Masculinity is no more than the ability to keep a secret, and all secrets are, in the end, sexual. The disciplinary logic of standardization is, of course, psychological.[60]

Coming back to Räderscheidt's images of men in black suits, the potential of male attire as mask becomes apparent. Painted like a suit of armour, the black surface shields the young man's body. But, as we have seen, it is not clear whether there is anything beneath the clothing that requires shielding. The body behind the mask might well be empty and hollow. In Räderscheidt's version of the suit as mask, clothing is not a part of mental survival in a threatening modern world, but a form of restriction that empties out the man behind the mask, making him artificial and unstable. The black suit – which according to Wigley's reading of Adolf

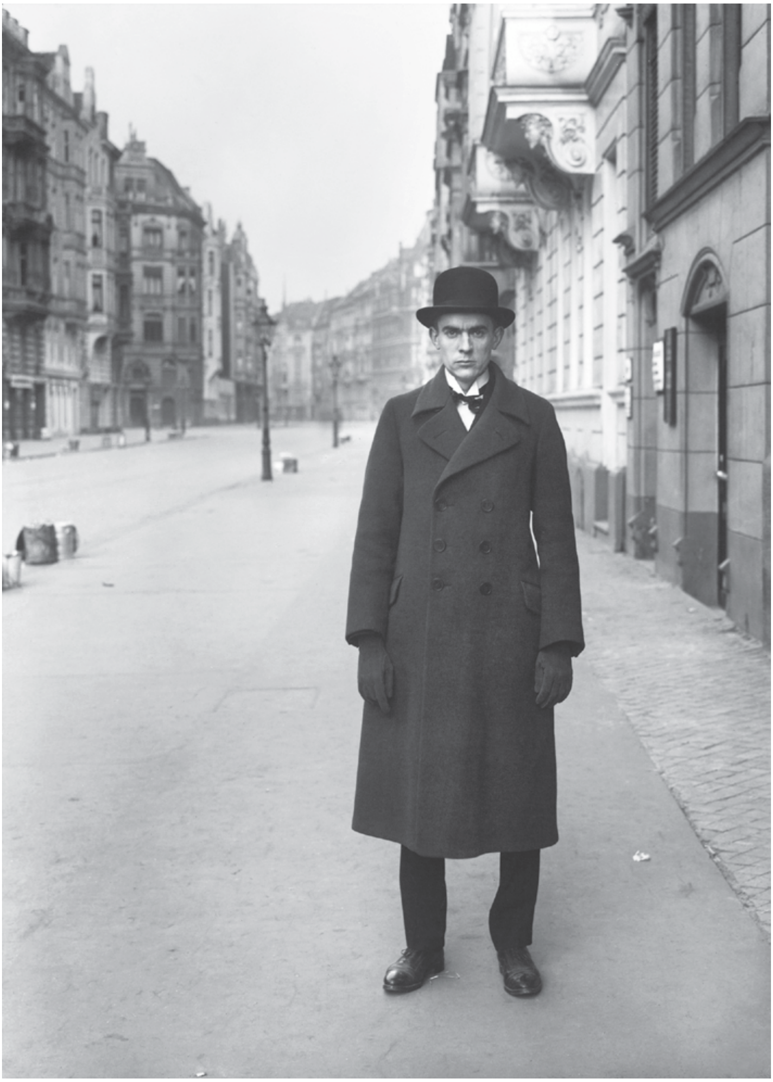
Loos and Le Corbusier serves to keep the secret of men's sexuality and consequently of men's vulnerability – is shown here to totally erase the male body and deny any form of bodily existence.

NEW MASCULINITY?

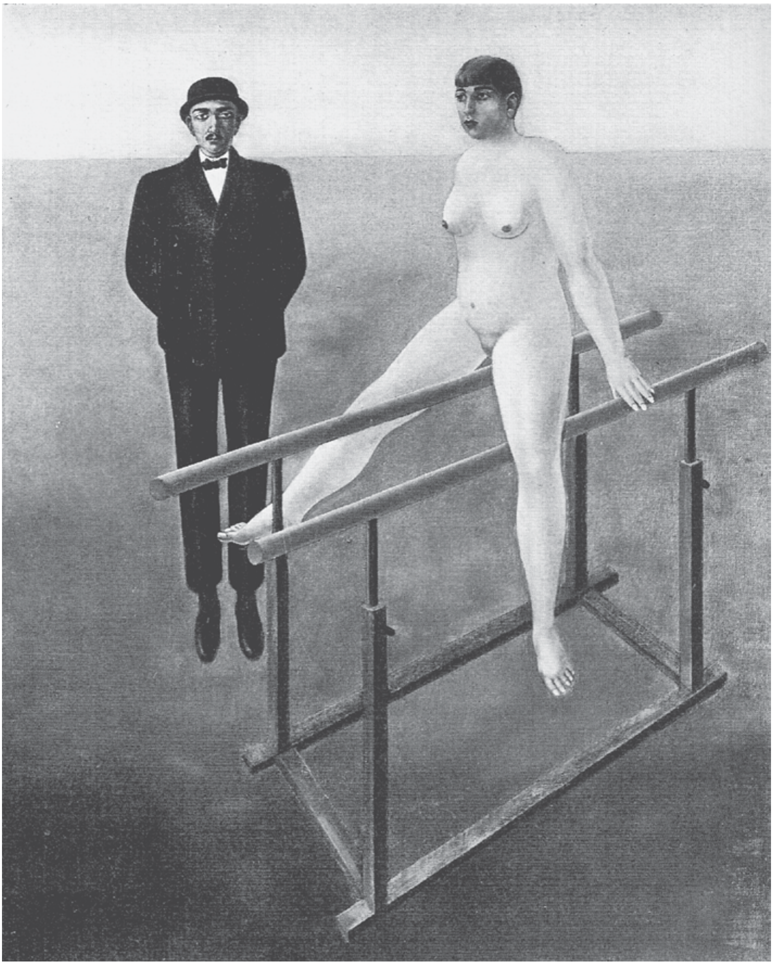
As we have seen, fashion, which is closely associated with the workings of modernity, played a decisive role in Räderscheidt's representation of men. The question remains: how does Räderscheidt's conservative image of men's fashion as restrictive and dehumanizing compare to other depictions of men in black in New Objectivity portraiture? As a symbol for male authority and power from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the 'man in black,' I want to argue, was facing challenges that called for his reinvention. In the case of Christian Schad's portraiture from the 1920s, such as his now famous portraits of *Count St. Genois d'Anneaucourt* dated 1927 and *Baroness Vera Wassilko* dated 1926, the black suit is shown to have turned into a form of fancy dress.[61] Worn by men whose sexual orientation is ambiguous or by persons whose gender is undefined, this former symbol of male authority can no longer attest to the wearer's gender, sexuality, and status. Whereas Schad shifts representation of the black suit in rather subtle ways, Otto Dix's portraits of men in black openly ridicule and reveal it as out of date, as in the *Bildnis des Rechtsanwalts Dr. Fritz Glaser* (Portrait of the Lawyer Fritz Glaser) from 1921.[62] Here, the black suit does not fit. Its tails and waistcoat make it look old-fashioned, deriding the wearer. Only in Dix's portrait of *Heinar Schilling* from 1922 is the black suit shown as an explicitly modern garment.[63] With its tailored waist and smooth lines, the black suit endows its wearer with an air of – albeit somewhat dubious – superiority.

One of the most convincing efforts to reinvent the black suit as a symbol of authority without being outdated and restrictive is Max Beckmann's *Selbstporträt im Smoking* (Self-Portrait in Tuxedo) from 1927, in which he depicts himself as equally self-confident and authoritative.[64] With his assertive pose, looking slightly down on the viewer and holding a cigarette, Beckman appears elegant and powerful wearing a modern tuxedo, whose blackness erases Beckman's body, emphasizing his head and, hence, his intellectual capacities. By giving the black suit new life, Beckman reworks and modernizes an old model of masculinity that had been called into question after World War I, reinvigorating black as a sign of male authority. As John Harvey describes, black 'has been adopted in its use by men not as the colour of what they lack or have lost, but precisely as the signature of what they have: of standing, goods, mastery.'[65]

Unlike Beckmann, Räderscheidt does not offer an alternative model of masculinity in the form of a new modernized black suit that points the way out of crisis. Instead, he gives us an anaemic dystopia in which men (and women) can find no quarter. Men's fashion is depicted as retrograde, impeding engagement with the social world and with women. It is startling, then, to see that Räderscheidt remains devoted to his stiff looking men throughout the 1920s, even presenting himself in the very same outfit as his figures when photographed by August Sanders and others (Figure 9.4).[66] Alone or together with his wife Marta Hegemann, Räderscheidt dons a black suit and tie and even a bowler, slipping into the garb of his imagined male fashion dummies.[67] Becoming something like a trademark, the black suit links the painter's body with his invented male dolls, questioning the boundaries between fact and fiction, life and image. Räderscheidt's self-fashioning as man-in-black makes full use of this men's outfit as an ambivalent symbol of authority. On the one hand, it imbues Räderscheidt with an old-fashioned form of male control and status; on the other, it carries with it a critique of the same, signalling Räderscheidt's status as a self-conscious avant-garde artist of the 1920s. His now infamous paintings of a black suited man, maybe himself, watching a naked doll-like woman standing in a tennis court, sitting on parallel bars (Figure 9.5), standing in a boxing ring or on a swing, and balancing on a tightrope extends the signification of the man-in-black.[68] Contrasted with the naked flesh of the somewhat stiff sportswoman in *Akt am Barren*, the man stands behind the bars, hands behind his back looking towards the viewer. Having no hold within the undefined image plane, the man's body disappears behind his black suit and tie. Men's black suits, and with them men's authority and claim to power, Räderscheidt seems to be



9.4 August Sander, *Painter (Anton Räderscheidt)*, 1926. © Die Photographische Sammlung/SK Stiftung Kultur – August Sander Archiv, Cologne; VG Bild Kunst, Bonn 2015.



9.5 Anton Räderscheidt, *Akt am Barren* (*Nude at the Bars*), 1925, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, lost. © VG Bild Kunst, Bonn 2015.

arguing, have to be balanced against women's self-assertion and emancipation. Yet, in Räderscheidt's vision of men and women in the 1920s, the restrictive black suit as armour and mask seems to have been without alternative, implying a lack of an other masculinity fit for a life on equal footing with the emancipated woman.

Notes

1 In the early twenties, Räderscheidt was specifically associated with the leftist group of constructivist painters called 'Die Progressiven' (The Progressives). He left the group in 1931.

2 '[Die Figuren] sind wunderliche Erscheinungen, wie aus dem Schaufenster eines provinzstädtischen Konfektionsgeschäftes, aber eher unheimlich als komisch. – Personifikationen einer nur zuständlichen Existenz, die nichts mit sich anzufangen weiß.' Willi Wolfradt, 'Junge deutsche Kunst VI: Anton Räderscheidt,' *Die Horen* 5, no. 6 (1928/9): 518–20, 519.

3 For a discussion of gender relations in Räderscheidt's work see for example: Ulrich Gerster, "…und die hundertprozentige Frau': Anton Räderscheidt 1920–30,' *kritische berichte* 4 (1992): 42–62. See also the essays in the exhibition catalogue edited by Werner Schäfke and Michael Euler-Schmidt, which discuss aspects of space, Räderscheidt's still-lifes, and his biographical writings. It also includes a reliable and in-depth biography. Werner Schäfke and Michael Euler-Schmidt, eds., *Anton Räderscheidt* (Cologne: Locher, 1993). Günther Herzog provides a brilliant overview of Räderscheidt's life and work: Günther Herzog, *Anton Räderscheidt* (Cologne: Dumont, 1991).

4 Räderscheidt fought in World War I and was discharged from duty in 1917 due to a lung injury.

5 For a concise account of the repercussions of World War I, see Detlef Peukert, *Die Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987). For an in-depth discussion of the concept of crisis within Weimar society, see Moritz Föllmer and Rüdiger Graf, *Die 'Krise der Weimarer Republik'* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005).

6 Richard McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity. Film, Literature and New Objectivity* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 3.

7 Ibid., 87.

8 Although he does not provide a detailed examination of masculinity, Helmut Lethen's work on 1920s literature has been groundbreaking in this regard. Helmuth Lethen, *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1994). My in-depth study on New Objectivity men's portraiture and the issue of masculinity was published at Fink Verlag in December 2016.

9 Albrecht Koschorke, 'Die Männer und die Moderne,' in *Der Blick vom Wolkenkratzer*, eds. Wolfgang Asholt and Walter Fahnden (Amsterdam: Rodopoi, 2000), 141–62, 152. This does not mean that women could not work in the style of New Objectivity. On this issue see Marsha Meskimmon, 'Politics, the Neue Sachlichkeit and Women Artists,' in *Visions of the Neue Frau: Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany*, eds. Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 9–27.

10 This is the thesis of my forthcoming book on masculinity and portraiture, which was published in winter 2016 by Fink Verlag, Germany.

11 On the issue of men's dress reform in Germany see Änne Söll, 'Raoul Hausmanns Ideen zur Mode im Kontext der Männermodereform,' in *Mann in der Krise? Visualisierungen moderner Männlichkeit im 20. Und 21 Jahrhundert*, eds. Änne Söll and Gerald Schröder (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, forthcoming 2016). For a discussion of the impact of the men's dress reform party in England, see Barbara Burman, 'Better and Brighter Clothes: The Men's Dress Reform Party 1929–40,' in *The Men's Fashion Reader*, eds. Peter McNeil and Vicki Karaminas (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 131–42.

12 Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 37.

13 Le Corbusier, *Précisions. Sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Crès, 1930), 106–07. Translated by Edith Schreiber Aujame in *Precisions. On the Present State of Architecture and City Planning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 106.

14 See Farid Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 135–70. For an overview of the change of women's dress see Gesa Kessmeier, *Sportlich, Sachlich, Männlich. Das Bild der Neuen Frau in den Zwanziger Jahren. Zur Konstruktion geschlechtsspezifischer Körperbilder in der Mode der Jahre 1920 bis 1929* (Dortmund: Ebersbach, 2000).

15 On this development, see Chenoune, *History of Men's Fashion*, 135–6.

16 Ulrich Gerster was the first to link Räderscheidt's men to Kracauer's 'Employee' (*Angestellte*). Gerster, 42–62, 43–5. According to Kracauer, there were male as well as female 'employee types' and the pressure to look good and stylish was equally great for both sexes. Siegfried Kracauer, *Die Angestellten* (Frankfurt: Surkamp, 1971), 25 (first published 1930).

17 *Die Herrenkleidung*, formerly called *Saison*, was published by a tailor to Duke M. Miltenberger in Braunschweig, later by Carl Lippold from 1913 until 1922. This small publication targeted fashionable bourgeois male customers, who would read it at their tailor's. Men depicted in the magazine are particularly stiff and 'upright.'

18 *Die Herrenwelt* was published from 1915 to 1917 in Vienna. This magazine was closely related to the Wiener Werkstätte and aimed at a rich clientele. In addition to articles on male fashion, it covered all aspects of a fashionable lifestyle. Through its illustrations, it represented the male ideal of the 'proper gentlemen' that was upheld throughout World War I.

19 *Der Modediktator* was published by Baron von Eelking in the winter of 1927 and changed its name to *Herrenjournal* in November 1930. It targeted both the individual

consumer and the retail industry. Its illustrations propagated an image of men as upright and fashionable at the same time. In the pages of *Herrenjournal*, the 'proper gentleman' is predominant.

20 For an in-depth discussion of men's fashion magazines in Weimar Germany, see Änne Söll, 'Mode und Männlichkeit in den Lifestyle- und Männermodezeitschriften der Weimarer Republik,' in *Illustrierte Presse in der Weimarer Republik*, eds. Katja Leiskau and Patrick Rössler, 2016.

21 This rigid ideal is also described by Sabina Brändli in her book *Der 'herrlich biedere Mann': vom Siegeszug des bürgerlichen Herrenanzugs im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Chronos, 1998), 43–5.

22 *Der Junggeselle* was published in Berlin from 1919 to 1929 and targeted the single, male, heterosexual city dweller. It was not a fashion magazine per se; it mainly published semi-pornographic short stories and illustrations. Men's fashion did appear regularly though, discussing new trends and all sorts of men's dress. Chief contributor was Baron v. Eelking, who later edited *Der Modediktator*.

23 *Blau Rot. Ein monatliches Magazin für den Herrn* (Blue-Red. A monthly magazine for men) only had a short publication span, from 1928 to 1930. It targeted an upper-class male audience and could be called a lifestyle magazine in which fashion played an important role.

24 Jens Schmidt comes to a similar conclusion for the images of men in other illustrated magazines in Weimar Germany. See Jens Schmidt, *'Sich hart machen wenn es gilt.' Männlichkeitskonzepte in Illustrierten der Weimarer Republik* (Münster: Lit.Verlag, 2000).

25 It was women's fashion that ignited debates about the problems of modernity and 'articulate[d] its contradictions in gendered terms. Many descriptions of the so-called New Woman revolve around fashion,' explains Sabine Hake. '[F]ashion played an important role in defining modern femininity: as a marker of economic status and social ambition, as an expression of female narcissism and beauty, and as a focus of consumerist fantasies and commodified versions of the self.' Sabine Hake, 'In the Mirror of Fashion,' in *Women in the Metropolis. Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, ed. Katharina von Ankum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 185–202, 185.

26 Hans Jürgen Maes has also pointed out the doll-like appearance of Räderscheidt's men. Hans-Jürgen Maes, 'Identitätsbeschaffung in einer totalitären Gesellschaft. Perspektive, Horizonte und Balance in den Sportbildern Anton Räderscheidts,' in Schäfke and Euler-Schmidt, *Anton Räderscheidt*, 9.

27 Titti, 'Der korrekte Herr,' *Der Junggeselle* 5, no. 3 (1924): 14.

28 Compare here, for example, Paul Julius Klein, *Was ziehe ich an?* (Berlin: Wedekind, 1920) (4th ed., first published 1910); Walter M. F Becker, *Der Herr von heute. Das neue Herrenbrevier* (Munich: Eysler Verlag, 1927); Baron von Eelking, *Garderobe Gesetze* (Berlin: Buchverlag des Junggesellen, 1923).

29 Black and white image available in Horst Richter, *Anton Räderscheidt* (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1972), 42. The painting has been lost and only remains as a reproduction.

30 Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg refers to Räderscheidt's men as puppets and claims that they resemble playing-cards: 'Zur Ikonographie der 'einsamen Paare' bei Anton Räderscheidt,' *Pantheon* 39, no. 1 (1979): 59–88, 62. Gerster describes Räderscheidt's women as dolls, not the men. Gerster, 48–9.

31 As with many of Räderscheidt's early works, *Man with Lantern* from 1924 has been lost. A black and white reproduction is available in Richter, 49.

32 Katharina Sykora and Pia Müller-Tamm, 'Puppen, Körper, Automaten. Phantasmen der Moderne,' in *Puppen, Körper, Automaten. Phantasmen der Moderne*, eds. Katharina Sykora and Pia Müller-Tamm (Cologne: Kunstsammlung Nordrhein Westfalen, 1999), 65–93, 66.

33 Fred Miller Robinson, *The Man in the Bowler Hat. His History and Iconography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 96, 104–105, 106. Robinson makes this case referencing Räderscheidt's portrait of Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, but his argument can safely be extended to all Räderscheidt's images of men.

34 Alyce Mahon has given a comprehensive overview of mannequins in modern art. Alyce Mahon, 'The Assembly Line Goddess: Modern Art and the Mannequin,' in *Silent Partners, Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, ed. Jane Munro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 191–222. For a more comprehensive account, see Sykora and Müller-Tamm, *Puppen*, which is unaccountably not referenced in Mahon.

35 Sykora and Müller-Tamm, *Puppen*, 66.

36 For a recent account of the history of the shop window mannequin, see Jane Munro, 'Vivified Commodities. Paris and the Development of the Fashion Mannequin,' in Munro, *Silent Partners*, 167–90.

37 Sykora and Müller-Tamm, *Puppen*, 81.

38 'Doch diese Leute lügen, weil ein Gentleman keine Holzpuppe ist und kein Bewohner des Panoptikums – man zieht ihn nicht an, sondern er zieht sich an, und man knetet ihm nicht die Bewegungen, sondern er erfindet sie selbst.' F. W. Koebner, *Der Gentleman. Ein Herrenbrevier* (Berlin: Eysler Verlag, 1914), n.p., my translation.

39 Mia Fineman has written on the connection between mutilated and prosthetic male bodies after the First World War and their appearance in the art of the Weimar Republic, including photography. Mia Fineman, 'Ecce Homo Prostheticus,' *New German Critique*, no. 76 (Winter 1999): 85–114.

40 On the connection between men's injuries in the First World War and images of dolls, see Karola Hille: ''… über den Grenzen, mitten in Nüchternheit' Prothesenkörper, Maschinenherzen, Automatenhirne,' in Sykora and Müller-Tamm, *Puppen*, 140–59.

41 The Grosz picture is owned by Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf, Germany.

42 Philipp Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen. Eine Geschichte des Körpers 1764–1914* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2001).

43 Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien. Männerkörper. Zur Psychoanalyse des weißen Terrors*, vol. 2 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995), first published 1977.

44 For more on the relationship of space and strategies of 'coolness' in Räderscheidt's oeuvre, see Änne Söll, 'Raumkälte. Architektur und Distanz in Anton Räderscheidts Porträts der 1920er Jahre,' in *Coolness. Zur Ästhetik einer kulturellen Verhaltensstrategie und Attitüde*, eds. Änne Söll, Gerald Schröder, and Annette Geiger (Bielefeld: transcript, 2010), 149–63.

45 Wigley, *White Walls*, 36.

46 Ibid., 39. Räderscheidt's images are therefore as much a critique of men's fashion as they are a critique of modern architecture.

47 See also, Christoph Vögele, 'Kastenraum und Flucht, Panorama und Kulisse,' in *Neue Sachlichkeit Magischer Realismus*, ed. Jutta Hülsewig-Johnen (Bielefeld: Kunsthalle, 1990), 25–43.

48 Räderscheidt's spaces have, so far, been interpreted primarily as a symbol of alienation, while the notion of the shop window has gone largely unremarked. See Maes, 'Identitätsbeschaffung,' 10 and 14.

49 Tag Gronberg analyses the relationship between the female display window doll and male viewer from a psychoanalytic perspective. Tag Gronberg, *Designs on Modernity. Exhibiting the City in 1920s Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 82–3.

50 Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces. Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 231.

51 For more on the idea of the 'Szeneschaufenster,' see Ward, *Weimar*, 217. For a comprehensive overview on the issue of shop windows in art, see Nina Schleif, *Schaufensterkunst* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 46–56.

52 Christopher Breward, 'Manliness, Modernity and the Shaping of Male Clothing,' in *Body Dressing*, eds. Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 165–81, 166.

53 Ibid., 171. For a summary of the history of body measurements and their relation to fashion, see Gabriele Mentges, 'Der vermessene Körper,' in *Der neuen Welt ein neuer Rock. Studien zu Kleidung, Körper und Mode an Beispielen aus Württemberg*, eds. Gabriele Mentges and Christel Köhle-Hezinger (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1993), 81–95. For the influence of uniforms on mass-produced clothing, see Brigitte Tietzel, "Für den ganzen Haufen eine wunderliche Vielheit …' zur Bedeutung der Uniformschneiderei für die Entwicklung der Konfektion,' in *Nach Rang und Stand. Deutsche Ziviluniformen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Krefeld: Deutsches Textilmuseum, 2002), 186–90. For an in-depth analysis of measurement systems, proportion, and statistics for ready-to-wear clothing, see Daniela Döring, *Zeugende Zahlen. Mittelmaß und Durchschnittstypen in Proportion, Statistik und Konfektion* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2011).

54 Breward, 'Manliness,' 171–2.

55 Rob Schorman, *Selling Style: Clothing and Social Change at the Turn of the Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 25–6.

56 Ibid., 33. Schorman focuses on the USA around 1900, nevertheless, his analysis can be applied to the situation in Germany after World War I, as well. Despite its association with lower classes and lower quality, off-the-rack clothing was

successful in both the USA and in Germany, as Schormann describes. Schormann, 28–30 and 75.

57 Wolfradt, 'Anton Räderscheidt.'

58 Walther Becker, *Der Herr von heute. Das neue Herrenbrevier* (Berlin: Eysler Verlag, 1927), 11.

59 Wigley, *White Walls*, 91.

60 Ibid., 92.

61 Both paintings are reproduced in Jill Lloyd and Michael Peppiatt, eds., *Christian Schad. Das Frühwerk 1915–35. Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Schadographien* (Ostfildern: Schirmer/Mosel, 2002), 103, 105.

62 A reproduction of Otto Dix's portrait of Glaser can be seen in Sabine Eberle, ed., *Glitter and Doom. German Portraits from the 1920s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 105.

63 For a reproduction of this portrait see: Kulturstiftung der Länder, ed., *Otto Dix. Bildnis Dr. jur. Kurt Arnold, 1927* (Berlin: Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern 1999), 23.

64 This painting is in the collection of the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, MA.

65 John Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), 10.

66 Examples of these widely reproduced portraits can be seen in Herzog, *Räderscheidt*, 18, 25, 26.

67 For a recent account of the relationship between Anton Räderscheidt and his wife, Marta Hegemann, see Dorothy Rowe, *After Dada. Marta Hegemann and the Cologne Avant-Garde* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

68 With the exception of Räderscheidt's painting *Tennisspielerin* (tennis player) from 1926, which is now in the Pinakothek der Moderne in Munich, all these paintings have been lost. Black and white images are available in Herzog, *Räderscheidt*, 34–6.

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