



The Journal of Dress History

Volume 2, Issue 1, Spring 2018

Front cover image: Marlene Dietrich, John Engstead, Las Vegas, United States, 1953,
<https://theredlist.com/wiki-2-16-601-412077-view-cinematic-2-profile-engstead-john.html>,
accessed 10 February 2018.

The Journal of Dress History

Volume 2, Issue 1, Spring 2018

Special Themed Issue

**Interwoven:
Dress that Crosses Borders and Challenges Boundaries**



Managing Editor
Editor

Jennifer Daley
Alison Fairhurst

Published by
The Association of Dress Historians
journal@dresshistorians.org
www.dresshistorians.org



The Journal of Dress History
Volume 2, Issue 1, Spring 2018

ISSN 2515-0995

journal@dresshistorians.org
www.dresshistorians.org

Copyright © 2018 The Association of Dress Historians
Online Computer Library Centre (OCLC) accession number: 988749854

The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) is Registered Charity #1014876 of The Charity Commission for England and Wales. The Association of Dress Historians supports and promotes the advancement of public knowledge and education in the history of dress and textiles.

The Journal of Dress History is the academic publication of The Association of Dress Historians through which scholars can articulate original research in a constructive, interdisciplinary, and peer-reviewed environment.

The Journal of Dress History is copyrighted by the publisher, The Association of Dress Historians, while each published author within the journal holds the copyright to their individual article.

The Journal of Dress History is distributed completely free of charge, solely for academic purposes, and not for sale or profit.

The Journal of Dress History is published on an Open Access platform distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The editors of the journal encourage the cultivation of ideas for proposals. Please view the Submission Guidelines on the journal's website for more detailed information regarding the submission of articles, book reviews, and other pieces for publication consideration.

The graphic design of The Journal of Dress History utilises the font, Baskerville, a serif typeface designed in 1754 by John Baskerville (1706–1775) in Birmingham, England.

The logo of The Association of Dress Historians is a monogram of three letters, ADH, interwoven to represent the interdisciplinarity of our membership, committed to scholarship in dress history. The logo was designed in 2017 by Janet Mayo, longstanding ADH member.

The Journal of Dress History

Advisory Board

The editors of The Journal of Dress History gratefully acknowledge the support and expertise of the Advisory Board, the membership of which is as follows, in alphabetical order:

Sylvia Ayton, MBE, Independent Scholar
Cally Blackman, MA, Central Saint Martins
Penelope Byrde, MA, FMA, Independent Scholar
Caroline de Guitaut, MA, Royal Collection Trust
Thomas P Gates, MA, MSLS, MAEd, Kent State University
Alex Kerr, PhD, FBS, The Burgon Society
Jenny Lister, MA, The Victoria and Albert Museum
Timothy Long, MA, The Museum of London
Jane Malcolm-Davies, PhD, University of Copenhagen
Scott Hughes Myerly, PhD, University of Southern Indiana
Susan North, PhD, The Victoria and Albert Museum
Martin Pel, Royal Pavilion and Brighton Museums
Anna Reynolds, MA, Royal Collection Trust
Aileen Ribeiro, PhD, The Courtauld Institute of Art
Georgina Ripley, MA, National Museums Scotland
Gary Watt, MA, NTF, University of Warwick
Rainer Wenrich, PhD, Catholic University, Eichstaett-Ingolstadt

Contents

Welcome	
<i>Jennifer Daley</i>	1
Articles	
“She was Naught ... of a Woman except in Sex:” The Cross-Dressing of Queen Christina of Sweden <i>Inga Lena Ångström Grandien</i>	2
Bloomerism in the Ballroom: Dress Reform and Evening Wear in 1851 <i>Raissa Bretaña</i>	14
Garment+: Challenging the Boundaries of Fashion for Those with Long-Term Physical Disabilities <i>Alexa Chan and Heidi Lempp</i>	26
How to Cross-Dress in Eighteenth-Century Sweden: Skills, Props, and Audiences <i>Lovisa Willborg Jonsson</i>	44
Interwoven Boundaries: Various Stylistic Influences in Romanian Court Costume <i>Calina Langa</i>	56
Challenging Boundaries in the Field of Traditional Russian Costume <i>Elena Madlevskaya and Anna Nikolaeva</i>	71
Their Dress Is Very Different: The Development of the Peruvian Pollera and the Genesis of the Andean Chola <i>James Middleton</i>	87
Fashion Victims: Dressed Sculptures of the Virgin in Portugal and Spain <i>Diana Rafaela Pereira</i>	106
Adopted and Adapted: The Cross-Cultural Appropriation of the Eighteenth-Century Blanket Coat (or Capote) in North America <i>Michael Ballard Ramsey</i>	121
Redressing Japonisme: The Impact of the Kimono on Gustav Klimt and Fin de Siècle Viennese Fashion <i>Svitlana Shiells</i>	135
Dressed to Disappear: Fashion as Camouflage during the Second World War <i>Emma Treleaven</i>	153
Recent PhD Theses	166
Advisory Board	170

Welcome

Dear Distinguished Colleagues,

This publication of The Journal of Dress History is a special, themed issue, based on our annual International Conference of Dress Historians, which we hosted in London during 27–28 October 2017. Sixty-two individual paper presentations were delivered over two exciting days of scholarship in dress history.

The conference title and theme, *Interwoven: Dress that Crosses Borders and Challenges Boundaries*, attracted a large, international audience. As the border has emerged as a key conceptual device in recent political and social history, conference papers considered the role of dress in transcending historical boundaries that operated to denote traditional divisions of gender, class, and nationality, among others.

This issue of The Journal of Dress History includes a selection of papers presented at the conference as well as papers submitted from our open Call For Papers. This issue of The Journal of Dress History contains 11 academic articles and an overview of recently completed PhD theses in dress history.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge Pamela Smith, a member of The Association of Dress Historians, whose editorial expertise was essential to the publication of this issue.

As always, if you have feedback on this issue or an interest in writing an academic article or book review for future publication consideration, please contact me at journal@dresshistorians.org. I look forward to hearing from you!

Best regards,

Jennifer Daley
Managing Editor, The Journal of Dress History
Chairman and Trustee, The Association of Dress Historians

“She was Naught ... of a Woman except in Sex:” The Cross-Dressing of Queen Christina of Sweden

Inga Lena Ångström Grandien

Abstract

This paper is based on portraits of Queen Christina of Sweden, 1626–1689, created between 1641 and 1654, when she abdicated and moved to Rome. There she became known for wearing male dress; a portrait of her thus dressed is also discussed. The paper shows that from 1646 and the appointment of David Beck and later Sébastien Bourdon as court painters, Christina took command over her portraits. A new type of iconography emerged, showing her as a queen with a king’s qualities. Her dress in films from 1933 and 2015 is also analysed in this paper.

Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) was the only surviving heir of Gustav Adolf II and his spouse Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg.¹ She formally became queen in November 1632, upon the death of her father in the Battle of Lützen when she was barely six years of age, but the domestic issues of Sweden were in effect carried out by the Council of the Realm, headed by the statesman Axel Oxenstierna. Her actual reign began in 1644, when she had attained her majority. In accordance with her dead father’s wish she had been educated as a prince and was one of the most learned women in Europe, but she also knew how to fence, ride a horse, and hunt bears.

In 1654, after 10 years of reign, Christina abdicated. She immediately set off for Rome, where she converted to Catholicism, a scandalous step taken by the daughter of Gustav Adolf, who had been called the “Protector of Protestantism.” Through the centuries there has been endless speculation about the reasons behind her abdication, her move to Rome, and her becoming a Catholic.² All things considered, a wish for freedom and independence was, however, probably the most deep seated reason for her abdication.³ And once that decision had been taken, there remained the question of where she would live after she had abdicated. She knew that if she stayed in Sweden she would come second to the new king and have no power. To her, Rome seemed to be the only place she could go as an abdicated queen, and for that a conversion was an absolute necessity. That does not exclude her having a deep interest in Catholicism; however, according to the Swedish historian Marie-Louise Rodén, she was “an intellectual convert” to Catholicism.⁴

Departing Sweden, Christina paused on the Danish border only to have her hair cut short, strap on a sword, and change into the men’s clothing that would henceforth be her attire of choice. In Rome, she would become known for her habit of dressing like a man, not only for security when walking the streets of Rome as the aristocratic Roman women did, but also when entertaining. The cross-dressing by Queen Christina, her refusal to marry and the question of the nature of her relationship with her lady-in-waiting Ebba Sparre, whom she called “Belle,” which has never been resolved, are issues that have become grounds for speculation regarding her sexuality and even her gender. Ebba Sparre, a celebrated beauty at the Swedish court nicknamed “La belle comtesse” (French for the beautiful countess), had in 1644 been appointed lady-in-waiting to Queen Christina and quickly become her favourite among the female courtiers. Most of Christina’s spare time was spent with her and she often called attention to her beauty.

She introduced her to the English ambassador, Whitlock, as her “bedfellow,” assuring him that Sparre’s intellect was as striking as her body. After Christina had left Sweden, she wrote letters to her in which she told her that she would always love her. Such wording in letters were, however, quite common at that time. In 1652 Sparre married Count Jakob Kasimir De la Gardie, a brother of the Queen’s favourite, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie.

In 1937, a former professor of gynaecology, Elis Essen-Möller, launched the theory that Christina had been a pseudo-hermaphrodite, ie, an individual who has normal external genitalia for her gender but a different set of hormones.⁵ Christina’s biographer Sven Stolpe popularised Essen-Möller’s hypothesis in his writings, and explained Christina’s dislike for marriage by a sexual neurosis because of her abnormality. These theories eventually led to the decision to open Christina’s tomb in St Peter’s Church in Rome in 1965 and to have her remains examined. The professor of anatomy, Carl-Herman Hjortsjö, who conducted the examination, concluded that as far as her skeleton was concerned, Christina was a completely normal woman.⁶

The Portraits

In November 1641, a month before Christina turned 14, the court painter, Jacob Heinrich Elbfas, received 108 Taler for a portrait of her.⁷ That portrait is almost certainly the full-length portrait of her now in the City Hall of Stockholm (Figure 1). Christina stands on a black-and-white chequered stone floor, clothed in a yellow-green dress made of gold brocade with applications of gilded lace and with a broad, turned-down lace collar over her shoulders. Her outfit is well in tune with the fashion of the time, whilst the painting style, as well as the composition of the portrait (established in Sweden in the late sixteenth century and remaining unchanged), must be considered old-fashioned when compared



Figure 1
Queen Christina,
Jakob Elbfas, 1641,
oil on canvas,
Stockholm City Hall, Sweden.



Figure 2

Charles X Gustavus,
Abraham Wuchters, 1661,
oil on copper, 350x23mm,
National Museum, Stockholm,
Sweden, NMGrh 464.



Figure 3

Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie,
Abraham Wuchters (?), undated,
oil on canvas, 700x530mm,
Uppsala University Art Collections,
Uppsala, Sweden, UU 871.



Figure 4

Queen Christina, Jeremias Falck, 1649,
copper etching after a painting by David
Beck, from Karl Erik Steneberg,
Kristinatidens Måleri,
Malmö, Sweden, 1955.

to contemporary portrait-painting on the Continent.⁸ This was obvious to people at the court as Elbfas received no more commissions after this portrait.⁹ Also, by this time, Christina had probably acquired quite a refined taste in art through her studies and was aware of the new tendencies in France and Italy, the countries perceived to be at the forefront of artistic development. After having seen Elbfas' finished portrait of her, she might even have come to the decision that this was exactly how she did not want to be represented: as a nice-looking but timid young girl, standing stiffly in clothes that would make movement difficult, in a oppressive castle milieu.

As a teenager Christina had been in love with her cousin Charles Gustavus (the future Charles Gustavus X of Sweden), and it was almost agreed that she would marry him in 1645 after his return from an assignment in Germany. However, this never happened. His marriage proposal was turned down, maybe because his appearance had changed during his stay abroad: he had gained a great deal of weight and now had a heavy waistline and a prominent double chin (Figure 2). Christina may also have heard rumours of his drinking and that he had made a woman pregnant in Germany.¹⁰ Instead she had a new favourite, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (Figure 3), whom she had made Lord Treasurer.¹¹ But that too came to nothing, and she had probably already decided by then that she would never marry.

After Elbfas' above-mentioned painting of 1641 there is no mention of any new portraits of Christina in the castle's accounts until in 1647 and the appointment of the Dutchman David Beck as painter to the Swedish court.¹² Beck had been an apprentice to Michiel van Mierevelt in Rotterdam and to van Dyck in London, where he had also painted portraits of members of the English court. Before his arrival in Stockholm, he had also worked for the French court, so he was well acquainted with contemporary portrait painting, something which is also obvious from his first portraits of Christina.¹³ They are all more or less of the same type, a type that is represented here in the form of a copper etching, made in 1649 by Jeremias Falck in Stockholm after one of Beck's paintings (Figure 4). It is a bust-image against a neutral background, placed within an oval frame. Christina is turning her body to the right (from the viewer's point of view) and is wearing a low cut dress with a thin, white veil with lace trimmings, over her bare shoulders, held together by a large brooch. Round her neck she wears a short pearl necklace. Her curly hair is quite long and reaches down to her shoulders. At the back of her head she has a ray-crown.



Figure 5
Queen Christina,
David Beck, 1650,
oil on canvas,
1100x92mm,
National Museum,
Stockholm, Sweden,
NM 308.

The portrait-type is closely connected to early seventeenth century painting in Holland and the style of Beck's first teacher Mierevelt, who also placed his figures within painted, oval frames.¹⁴ The portrait is thus, in a Dutch context, quite conventional, but what a difference it makes to the above discussed portrait by Elbfas, painted five or six years earlier. It is not only that Christina is older and looking more self-assured; she has also quite literally stepped out of the rigid framework of the other painting and also out of the stiff dress she wore in that. With the neutral background and her wearing less conspicuous – but much more comfortable – clothes, focus is now on her personae only, which comes out as one very proud and very strong-willed indeed.

In 1650, the year in which Christina was crowned, Beck created a new style for her portrait (Figure 5). The knee-length portrait shown above is, however, the only surviving original of this type, which is characterised by Christina's face being in almost full profile and her hair shorter and more tightly drawn back from the face than in the before-mentioned type. In this portrait-type, Beck also introduced a figure composition that was new to Swedish portraiture, with the body seen from the side, one arm outstretched to the side and the hands making a contra-posting movement.¹⁵ In creating this type, Beck was probably inspired by his teacher in England, van Dyck, who in turn had been strongly inspired by Italian painting, especially Venetian.¹⁶ Christina's face, on the other hand, with its heavy traits, strong nose and protruding lower lip, is rendered without beautifying, and even the large, blue-grey eyes may, according to contemporary sources, stand close to reality. Thus, it is Dutch realism rather than van Dyck's flattering court art that characterises the portrait. Christina is standing by a window in a castle, dressed in a shimmering white frock made of atlas.¹⁷ Over her shoulder lies a blue veil that flies out behind her as if lifted by wind. She wears brightly coloured flowers in her hair. Her outstretched right arm is resting on a stone globe in the window with a letter with the inscription "CRISTINA" and the signature "D Beck" in her hand. A thin spout of water from a fountain can be seen to the left of the painting.

Karl-Erik Steneberg has quite convincingly interpreted the painting as a representation of the four elements.¹⁸ The lifted veil symbolises the wind, the globe on the windowsill, the earth, the fountain the

*Figure 6*

Queen Christina, Sébastien Bourdon,
1653, oil on canvas,
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden, NM 1072.

*Figure 7*

Equestrian portrait of Queen Christina,
Sébastien Bourdon, 1653, oil on canvas, 3400x303mm,
Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain, Po1503.

water — but then where is the fire, without which the other elements cannot exist? Basing himself on writings by the Swedish writer, linguist and nature philosopher Georg Stiernhielm, also called “the Father of Swedish Poetry,” Steneberg concluded that Christina herself is the fire.¹⁹ The flowers in her hair, as shown by Steneberg, are not the only sign, she also stands in the place of fire among the elements. However, in her timeless, white dress Christina is also Sapiientia Divina, the holy wisdom, which according to tradition also wears white, the colour of truth.²⁰ In all probability, Christina never wore the atlas dress in public; it was explicitly made for this painting. To wear a timeless dress like this was also a break with earlier portrait painting in Sweden, which always depicted the fashions of the time. In the painting we sense for the first time Christina’s own ideas behind a portrait of herself — this is how she wanted to be seen, as a life-giver to the arts, a carrier of truth and wisdom, and as a universal ruler.

The difference between Beck’s above-discussed portraits of Queen Christina and the ones painted by the Frenchman Sébastien Bourdon, who replaced Beck as painter to the Swedish court in 1652, is great. Not only did the symbolism vanish, Bourdon also brought with him a different, less realistic style that was more flattering to the Queen’s looks, as can be seen in this often reproduced portrait of her (Figure 6). Christina’s strong nose has been transformed into an even bow, the double chin has vanished, and her eyes have been enlarged to such an extent that they would never fit in a normal cranium. Also her hair, which was much admired at the court, has been allowed to flow more freely around her face. The Queen is wearing a low-cut, imaginatively draped black satin gown over a loose-fitting white blouse, with a small collar held together by a narrow black ribbon. This type of collar arrangement generally belonged to a man’s dress, not that of a woman. This is evident when compared to the portrait of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie — his collar is also tied by a black ribbon (Figure 4). In the portrait Christina has chosen another way of presenting herself. By wearing a dress with allusions to men’s attire, whilst at the same time not hiding her femininity, she presents herself as both feminine and masculine, king and queen.

In the same year of 1653, and on the command of King Philip IV of Spain, who wanted equestrian portraits of all European rulers, Bourdon painted an equestrian portrait of Queen Christina (Figure 7). This was later delivered to the Spanish court by the Spanish envoy in Sweden, Antonio Pimentel. With

the exception of the letters RCS (Regina Christina Svecorum) on one of the dogs' collars there is however nothing in the painting that tells us that the woman portrayed is a queen — nothing except the portrait itself. Conventionally, only a ruler, ie a king, was portrayed sitting on a rearing horse. In equestrian portraits, the horse and the rider most commonly perform a levade, as they do also in Christina's portrait. Although the horse is made to rear in a levade, the movement is totally controlled by the rider as proof of their consummate horsemanship and, by extension, their qualities as a ruler.

A closer look at her clothes reveals that not only is Christina sitting in a king's pose in the portrait, she is also wearing men's riding attire, although that was the fashion at the time. Until the mid-seventeenth century women had been wearing sturdy overskirts called safeguards over their dresses for riding. One description mentions strings being attached to the stirrup or foot to hold the skirts in place when riding. Mantles had also been popular. A distinctive equestrian costume for women was first introduced in the 1640s, but tailored in the manner of men's dress: a fitted jacket worn over a long skirt, often worn with a masculine hat.²¹ Christina wears no hat in the portrait but according to a contemporary source she used to wear a hat when riding.²² The same source tells us that though she rode in a sidesaddle "she reined the horse so softly and nimbly, that she could have been taken for a cavalier."²³ That women rode dressed like men was something to which Samuel Pepys in London strongly objected. A passage from 12 June 1652 in his famous diary, reads:

Walking here in the galleries I find the Ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with perriwigs and with hats; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odde sight, and a sight did not please me.²⁴

In her male riding suit Christina was thus only following the fashion of the time. Not long after that the equestrian portrait was painted in 1653 she would, however, adopt a man's way of dressing for a very different kind of reason, for safety. After her abdication on 5 June 1654, she embarked for Rome, travelling under the name of Count Dohna, a name she had taken from one of the men in her escort. From a contemporary source it is known that she stopped on the Danish border and had her hair cut short. She also strapped on a sword and changed into men's clothes, probably looking very much the same as those she wears in a painting from 1666 (Figure 8). The portrait was painted in Hamburg in 1666, on her second trip to Sweden (she had already been back to her former homeland in 1661). That she is wearing male dress is clear from a comparison with Figure 9, which shows a young man "of quality" dressed in similar clothes and shoes to Christina.



Figure 8
Queen Christina,
Wolfgang Heimbach,
1666, oil on paper,
267x178mm,
Gripsholm, Sweden,
NMGrh 2534.



Figure 9
Homme de Qualité,
1686, engraving,
Recueil de Modes de la
Cour de France,
<https://collections.lacma.org/node/205568>, View 3,
accessed 30 March 2018.

Like other women throughout history, Christina adopted male disguise for protection when travelling. Once in Rome, she would however continue to wear men's dress whenever she could. To dress like a man was a right that had been granted her by the pope. That was not uncommon; papal dispensation to wear men's clothes was given also to other women, the difference was that she used men's dress more often than other women.²⁵ A contemporary said of her that she went "commonly with a velvet coat, a cravat and a man's peruke."²⁶

Christina's Dress in Films

Focus now turns to the two major films that have been made about Queen Christina, *Queen Christina* from 1933 and *The Girl King* from 2015. In 1974, Liv Ullman played Queen Christina in *The Abdication*, a film directed by Anthony Harvey, but since it deals with her period in Rome, it will not be discussed here. The costumes worn in the two films will be analysed and compared.

In *Queen Christina*, a Hollywood Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production (directed by Reuben Mammalian and written by H M Harwood and Salka Viertel), Christina was impersonated by the famous Swedish actress, Greta Garbo. Garbo alone makes this a fascinating film even for today's viewers; however, the plot is not true to life. In the film, Christina is in love with the Spanish envoy to Sweden, Antonio Pimentel (cf above), (played by John Gilbert) who, to complicate things further, was a Roman Catholic. Consequently in the film both her abdication and her conversion to Catholicism are explained by her love for him. The above-mentioned Ebba Sparre (played by Elizabeth George), also has an important role in the movie although there are no hints of a sexual relationship between the two women.

All the clothes in the film were designed by Hollywood's legendary costume-designer Adrian Greenberg, better known as Adrian. He most famously created costumes for *The Wizard of Oz* in 1939. For most of the dresses Greta Garbo wears in the film, Adrian seems to have been inspired by seventeenth-century fashion in general, although there are some that could have been inspired by contemporary portraits of the Queen. The jacket in Figure 10, and which Garbo wears in Figure 11, has for example a row of buttons similar to the jacket Christina wears in Figure 8. Since there are no other portraits in which she



Figure 10

Greta Garbo's robe, Hollywood Costume, a V&A Museum exhibition, Wilshire May Company Building, Los Angeles, United States, 2014.



Figure 11

Antonio Pimentel (John Gilbert), Queen Christina (Greta Garbo), Reuben Mammalian, *Queen Christina*, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Hollywood, United States, 1933.



Figure 12
Ebba Sparre, Sébastien Bourdon,
1653, oil on canvas, 1060x900mm,
The National Gallery of Art, Washington,
United States, 1952.5.34.



Figure 13
Queen Christina (Greta Garbo) and Ebba Sparre
(Elizabeth George), Reuben Mammalian, *Queen
Christina*, Metro-Golden-Mayer, Hollywood,
United States, 1933.



Figure 14
Green jacket and Queen Christina (Greta Garbo) wearing it in the film.
Reuben Mammalian, *Queen Christina*, Metro-Golden-Mayer, Hollywood, United States, 1933.

wears that kind of jacket, the one that Garbo is wearing may have been inspired by that. On the other hand it is not known how much Adrian knew about this and other portraits of Christina when he designed the clothes for the film. However, one he must have seen is Sébastien Bourdon's portrait of Ebba Sparre (Figure 12), as Elizabeth George's dress in Figure 13 is very similar to hers. This portrait of Ebba Sparre was one of the few Queen Christina took with her to Rome from her personal collection, whilst most of the other paintings she took came from the large war booty that had been taken in Prague by the Swedes in 1648. Adrian must have seen a reproduction as the portrait only came into the possession of the National Gallery of Art in Washington in 1952: before that it was held in Grittleton House in Wiltshire, England. The square, flat white collar that has been added to the jacket in Figure 14 is, however, a pure fantasy.

The film, *The Girl King*, from 2015 was directed by the Finnish film-director, Mika Kaurismäki. Christina was played by Malin Buska and Ebba Sparre by Sarah Gadon. All the clothes in the film were designed by Marjatta Nissinen. In *The Girl King*, the sexual nature of Christina's relation to Ebba Sparre is stressed: it is even suggested that Christina's abdication was precipitated by her sexual attraction to Ebba. It is in vain that Axel Oxenstierna tries to marry Christina off to his son, Johan (played by Lucas Bryant). The forces around the Queen finally realise that Ebba is the key to controlling her, but they underestimate Christina's brilliant mind and her drive to be free. Christina's dresses in *The Girl King* were designed more closely from her portraits than those of Adrian. For example, her clothes in Figures 15 and 17, are almost directly copied from her portrait in Figure 8, clothes which were noted as being a male outfit.

It is interesting to compare the dress that Christina wears in the abdication scene in the two films. From written sources it is known that she wore a simple white taffeta gown during the abdication ceremony, which took place on 6 June 1654 at Uppsala castle. It was said of her that she stood there "as pretty as an angel."²⁷ After that her regalia had been ceremonially removed one by one, she gave a farewell speech, thanking everyone and left the throne to her successor, Charles Gustavus, who was standing next to her, dressed in black. In the abdication scene in *Queen Christina*, Garbo wore a yellow-white robe with a wide skirt and a tight fitting bodice (Figures 10 and 11). The dress was a pure fantasy — albeit a rather fantastic one — that had none or very little resemblance to seventeenth-century fashion. In same scene



Figure 15

Ebba Sparre (Sarah Gadon) and Queen Christina (Malin Buska).
Mika Kaurismäki, *The Girl King*,
Marianna Films, Helsinki, Finland, 2015.



Figure 16

Queen Christina (Malin Buska) in the white abdication gown.
Mika Kaurismäki, *The Girl King*,
Marianna Films, Helsinki, Finland, 2015.



Figure 17

Queen Christina and Johan Oxenstierna (Lucas Bryant).
Mika Kaurismäki, *The Girl King*, Marianna Films, Helsinki, Finland, 2015.

in *The Girl King*, Malin Buska (Figure 16) wore a plain white dress, which, though simpler in detail had much more in common with the baroque period in which Christina lived than the one Greta Garbo had to wear.

Finally, in *The Girl King*, most of Christina's outfits are more loose fitting, and thus more comfortable to wear, than those worn in *Queen Christina*. It is suggested that these are more in keeping with how Christina thought of herself – as a woman bound by neither the etiquette nor the fashion of the time.

Endnotes

- ¹ For the most recent biographies of Queen Christina, see Veronica Buckley, *Christina, Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric*, Fourth Estate, London, England, 2004; Marie-Louise Rodén, *Drottning Kristina: En Biografi [Queen Christina: A Biography]*, Prisma, Stockholm, Sweden, 2008. See also Betty Millan, *Monstrous Regiment: Women Rulers in Men's World*, Kensal Press, Windsor, England, 1982.
- ² Marie-Louise Rodén, "Christina of Sweden and Catholicism," in *Queen Christina of Sweden, the European*, Contributions to Seminars 2014–2015, Stockholm, Sweden, 2017, p 137.
- ³ "Libero i' nacqui e vissi, e morirò sciolto" ["I was born free and lived free, and in death I will find release"], words of Torquato Tasso that are inscribed on one of Queen Christina's Roman medals, Rodén, 2017, p 136.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Elis Essen-Möller, *Drottning Kristina - en människostudie ur läkarsynpunkt [Queen Christina – A Human Study from a Medical Point of View]*, Gleerup, Lund, Sweden, 1937.
- ⁶ Hjortsjö, *Drottning Christina – Gravöppningen i Rom 1965 [Queen Christina – The Grave Opening in Rome in 1965]*, Corona, Lund, Sweden, 1967.

- ⁷ Karl Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens Måleri* [*Painting in Sweden in Queen Christina's Time*], Malmö, Sweden, 1955, p 45.
- ⁸ As shown in my article "An Analysis of Dress in Portraiture of Women at the Swedish Royal Court, 1600-1650," *The Journal of Dress History*, Volume 1, Issue 1, Spring 2017, pp 6-17.
- ⁹ That the court had begun to see Elbfas style of painting as old-fashioned is confirmed by a letter from 1641 from Axel Oxenstierna to the engraver and art-connoisseur Michel le Blon in Amsterdam, in which he asks le Blon to find a painter who knew about perspective in painting. See Steneberg, op cit, pp 59-60.
- ¹⁰ Buckley, op cit, p 266.
- ¹¹ On the various explanations about her change of heart, see Björn Asker, *Karl X Gustav. En Biografi* [*Charles X Gustav. A Biography*], Historiska Media, Lund, Sweden, 2009, p 81f. Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie eventually married Christina's cousin, Maria Euphrosyne of Pfalz, a sister of Charles Gustavus.
- ¹² Steneberg, op cit, p 132.
- ¹³ Ibid, p 129.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, p 133.
- ¹⁵ Ibid, pp 133-134.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p 135.
- ¹⁷ In May 1650 Beck collected 26 ells of atlas "for the produce of some portraits" ["till några conterfeiers förfärdigande"], ibid, p 135. Maybe those were the two pieces of atlas that are mentioned in the castle's account books for 1650. See Julia Holm, *Att Klä en Kvinnlig Kung. Manifestationer av Genus och Makt i Drottning Christinas Garderob* [*To Dress a Female King: Manifestations of Power and Gender in Queen Christina's Wardrobe*], Uppsala, Sweden, 2015, p 51.
- ¹⁸ Steneberg, op cit, pp 138-139.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, p 139.
- ²⁰ Ibid, p 141.
- ²¹ Edwards, Lydia, *How to Read a Dress: A Guide to Changing Fashion from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Bloomsbury Academic, London 2017, p 35.
- ²² Steneberg, op cit, p 181. "Ehuru hon red i damsadel tyglade hon springaren så mjukt och vigt att man kunde ta henne för en kavaljer," Captain C A Manderscheydt, late 1653.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, George E Crossup, New York, United States, 1859, p 305.
- ²⁵ Bolich, p 155.
- ²⁶ Edward Browne, 1665, cited in Buckley, op cit, p 356.
- ²⁷ According to Count Per Brahe in his *Tänkebok* (Book of Thoughts), quoted by Rodén, 2008, p 17.

Bibliography

Published

- Ångström Grandien, Inga Lena, "An Analysis of Dress in Portraiture of Women at the Swedish Royal Court, 1600-1650," *The Journal of Dress History*, Volume 1, Issue 1, Spring 2017, pp 6-17.
- Ångström Grandien, Inga Lena, "An Analysis of Portraits of Queen Christina from Childhood to 15 Years of Age," *Queen Christina of Sweden, the European*. Contributions to Seminars 2014-2015, Stockholm, Sweden, 2017, pp 121-130.
- Ångström Grandien, Inga Lena, "Christina of Sweden: How an Abdicated Queen Commanded Respect Through Fashion," *History of Royals Magazine*, Issue 17, July 2017, pp 42-44.
- Asker, Björn, *Karl X Gustav: En Biografi* [*Charles X Gustav: A Biography*], Lund, Sweden, 2009.

- Bolich, G G, *Transgender History and Geography: Cross-Dressing in Context*, Volume 3, Psyche's Press, Raleigh, United States, 2007.
- Buckley, Veronica, *Christina, Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric*, London, England, 2004.
- Edwards, Lydia, *How to Read a Dress: A Guide to Changing Fashion from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2017.
- Essen-Möller, Elis, *Drottning Kristina – en människostudie ur läkarsynpunkt* [*Queen Christina – a Human Study from a Medical Point of View*], Gleerup, Lund, Sweden, 1937.
- Hjortsjö, *Drottning Christina – Gravöppningen i Rom 1965* [*Queen Christina – The Grave Opening in Rome in 1965*], Corona, Lund, Sweden, 1967.
- Holm, Julia, *Att klä en kvinnlig kung: Manifestationer av genus och makt i drottning Christinas garderob* [*To Dress a Female King: Manifestations of Power and Gender in Queen Christina's Wardrobe*], Master's Thesis, Textile Science, History of Art Department, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, 2015.
- Millan, Betty *Monstrous Regiment: Women Rulers in Men's World*, Kensal Press, Windsor, England, 1982.
- Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, George E Crossup, New York, United States, 1859.
- Rodén, Marie-Louise, *Drottning Kristina: En biografi* [*Queen Christina: A Biography*], Prisma, Stockholm, Sweden, 2008.
- Rodén, Marie-Louise, "Christina of Sweden and Catholicism," in *Queen Christina of Sweden, the European*, Contributions to Seminars 2014–2015, Stockholm, Sweden, 2017.
- Steneberg, Karl Erik, *Kristinatidens Måleri* [*Painting in Sweden in Queen Christina's Time*], Malmö, Sweden, 1955.

Copyright © 2018 Inga Lena Ångström Grandien
Email: inga.lena@angstrom-grandien.com

Inga Lena Ångström Grandien, PhD, is an independent scholar based in Stockholm, Sweden. Formerly at the Department of Art History at Stockholm University and the Department of Art History at Dalarna University, her research expertise is Swedish post-Reformation art and the Renaissance in general. She has an interest in portrait painting and has, among other things, written an article on the portraits of Charles XII (1682–1718) to be published in Rotterdam in 2018, and an article about the early portraits of Queen Christina, published by The Royal Armoury, Stockholm (2013). Her article, "An Analysis of Dress in Portraiture of Women at the Swedish Royal Court, 1600–1650," was published in the Spring 2017 issue of *The Journal of Dress History*.

Bloomerism in the Ballroom: Dress Reform and Evening Wear in 1851

Raissa Bretaña

Abstract

As the Bloomer costume gained prominence amongst dress reform activists in the mid nineteenth century, a unique phenomenon occurred in ballrooms across America. The “Bloomer Ball” was born and subsequently brought the radical bifurcated garment into the realm of fashionable evening wear. Though these balls remained a source of novelty throughout the year 1851, they soon fell out of favour with the decline of Bloomerism. Originally presented at the International Conference of Dress Historians in 2017, Interwoven: Dress that Crosses Borders and Challenges Boundaries, this paper addresses the Bloomer Ball and its confrontation of traditionally held notions of femininity through fashionable dress, dance etiquette, and social activism in the nineteenth century.

As Bloomerism captivated America in the mid-nineteenth century, it eventually found its way into ballrooms in 1851; and thus, the unique phenomenon of the Bloomer Ball was born, creating an intersection between dress reform, women’s rights, fashionable evening wear, and dance etiquette. Originally conceived in the spirit of anti-fashion, the Bloomer costume was adopted by women’s rights advocates in the 1850s and became known as the uniform of female freedom. The progressive feminist agenda of those who wore the ensemble gave the style international visibility, while subsequently making it synonymous with controversy. Bloomerism in the ballroom remained a novelty throughout the year 1851, but these balls eventually spelled the death of the costume. By equating the Bloomer costume with a fancy dress ensemble, the reformed style became associated with frivolity and lost the sense of sincerity it needed to bring about significant change.

When brought into the realm of eveningwear, the Bloomer costume became subject to the scrutiny of fashion — the very entity it sought to defy — and failed in its attempt to reconcile progressive ideas of dress with traditional ideas of femininity in the nineteenth century. The introduction of such radical dress to the decorum of the ballroom was a brazen breach of social norms that contributed to a growing fear that women would abandon their traditional gender roles and seek to gain equal power with men. In the end, the ballroom was simultaneously too festive and too formal a setting for the Bloomer costume to thrive, and the reform style soon died out altogether. Though the Bloomer costume was short lived, it left a vibrant cultural imprint and ultimately set the stage for women’s rights and dress reform in America.

In the mid-nineteenth century, fashion for women became increasingly restrictive as bodices grew tighter and skirts grew more immense. Fashionable dress perpetuated the practice of tight-lacing corsets and demanded that multiple layers of heavy petticoats be worn to achieve a desirable silhouette. Understandably, many women felt handicapped by their clothes and were eager for a change of fashion, and such was the position when the Bloomer costume appeared. In the spring of 1851, prominent women’s rights advocate, Amelia Bloomer (1818–1894) introduced in print a new style of a dress that was shortened to approximately six inches below the knee, and beneath which were worn trousers. The

radical ensemble garnered much attention and was reported in the press with much detail, “The new costume consists of a French gipsy hat and Turkish trowsers [sic], full, and gathered into a band at the ankle, with a short ruff ... such a dress, it is contended, gives grace and elegance to the person, and enables those who wear it to walk with more ease and to breathe freer than they can do in the dresses of the existing fashion.”¹

Although Bloomer refused to take credit for inventing the pants-and-tunic outfit, the frequency with which she wore the style herself ensured that her name would be forever associated with it. The ensemble quickly became known as “the Bloomer costume,” the iconic trousers as “bloomers,” and the women who wore them as “Bloomers” themselves. In 1851, Amelia Bloomer published a series of editorials in her feminist magazine, *The Lily*, heralding the advantage of bifurcated garments. The garments purportedly freed women from the multiple layers of petticoats, which weighed up to 15 pounds and collected dust and debris. Her writings were met with controversy and her opponents accused her of advocating for the total disruption of gender roles in a rigid patriarchal society. Pantaloon dress reformers, however, wanted to reform female dress for comfort, health, and physical well-being, not to blur the distinctions between the sexes.

The Bloomer costume gave women a newfound freedom. They were able to physically move around with greater ease than allowed by fashionable dress of the 1850s. The controversy that surrounded the new style was rooted in the perception that women were trying to dress as men, and women would ultimately seek more active roles in society that would take them away from their place in the home. With famed activist, Amelia Bloomer, at the helm of the enterprise, the dress reform movement became closely intertwined with the early women’s rights movement. The prominent social reformer and American suffragist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), advocated for Bloomerism and wrote of the freedom the costume inspired, “What a sense of liberty I felt with no skirts to hold or brush, ready at any moment to climb a hill-top ... with no ruffles or trails limped by the dew or soiled by the grass.”² Even despite the physical benefits that the Bloomer costume afforded, some women abstained from wearing bloomers because of the garment’s associations, which were deemed dangerously radical.

Nevertheless, those who were ardent supporters of women’s rights enthusiastically adopted the new style when it became known that Amelia Bloomer was wearing bloomers herself. Letters came pouring in to her by the hundreds from women all over the United States, making inquiries about the dress and asking for patterns – showing how ready and anxious women were to throw off the burden of long, heavy skirts. Contentious as the costume was, the circulation of *The Lily* increased significantly, from 500 copies per month to 4000 copies per month following the dress reform controversy.³ Amelia Bloomer’s image was widely circulated when T W Brown made a daguerreotype of her wearing the ensemble for which she had become known. Soon after, Bloomer activities flourished across the United States. During the summer of 1851, Bloomer Balls and parties were held throughout Ohio and Massachusetts. In New York City, a floral festival included speeches on dress and health with a procession of women dressed in bloomers. In just a few months, the costume became the emblem of liberation for the American woman; and soon, Bloomerism would extend its reach across the Atlantic Ocean.

The *Illustrated London News* printed an engraving of Amelia Bloomer after the T W Brown daguerreotype (Figure 1) on 19 July 1851 under an article headlined “The American Ladies’ New Costume,” and by the autumn, the Bloomer movement had arrived in London. An “Association of Bloomers” was formed by English women in favour of dress reform, taking their activism to the streets and distributing printed handbills in Piccadilly Circus, London, advocating for Bloomerism.⁴ Londoners looked on with amusement, and did not know what to make of the new American fashion being paraded before them.

A lecture on the new garment and its advantages was delivered on 29 September 1851 at the Soho Theatre in central London, at which the ladies of the London Bloomer Committee appeared in the costume.⁵ While the impression of the lecturers was generally favourable and thought to be sincere, the reformation as a whole was not well received by the country. The English thought that the Bloomer



Figure 1
Engraving of Amelia Bloomer wearing the costume which would be named after her, artist unknown, after a daguerreotype by T W Brown, published in The Illustrated London News, 27 September 1851, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive.

movement excited too much merriment to be held in much respect, and that the leaders of dress reform were unjustifiably being upheld as martyrs. Nevertheless, the British press covered the phenomenon with unrelenting enthusiasm. One paper reported, “The development of ‘Bloomerism’ in this large metropolis promises a rich fund of amusement. It is, in fact, quite a God-send during the dull season.”⁶

Excitement reached its peak in London when a group of high-spirited young women formed a committee and organised a Bloomer Ball in Mayfair, to which only ladies dressed in the Bloomer costume would be admitted. The much-anticipated event took place on 29 October 1851 at the Hanover Square Assembly Rooms, where arriving guests were greeted by crowds — some there to cheer, others to boo. Reports of the scene inside claim that “the ballroom filled with men of fashion, officers of the guards, and habitués of opera, with a sprinkling of women in the most extravagant style of Bloomer dress got up for the occasion.”⁷ Because normal conventions of ballroom attire had been cast aside, and a Bloomer costume of the evening variety had not yet been established, many variations of it were worn. Nevertheless, reporters from The Times who were present that evening admit that there were some “who really dressed very nicely ... their clothes fitted beautifully.”⁸ There were objections, however, to the exceedingly large straw hats worn by many of the Bloomer women, which were thought to be “inappropriate for a ball-room” as if Bloomerism were concerned with the social conventions of appropriate dress.⁹

The Illustrated London News released an account of the Hanover Square Bloomer Ball in their 1 November 1851 issue, accompanied by an engraving that depicted the festive scene inside the Assembly



Figure 2

Bloomer Ball held at the Hanover Square Assembly Rooms in Mayfair on 29 October 1851, engraving, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 1 November 1851, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive.

Rooms (Figure 2). While other news sources reported only 30 to 40 Bloomer women in attendance, the engraving seems to suggest that overwhelming throngs of ladies sporting the costume flocked to the event. The artist of the engraving, who remains unknown, used linear perspective to create the illusion of depth within the ballroom interior and densely populated the space with a vast crowd of people, most of whom are indistinguishable as human figures as they move toward the vanishing point of the composition.

Several figures directly in the foreground, however, bear the distinguishable Bloomer silhouette: The fitted bodice with wide pagoda sleeves partially concealing a full undersleeve, paired with a domed skirt that flares out at the natural waistline and ends abruptly below the knee, revealing voluminous trousers that billow out before being characteristically pinched around the ankles. One woman in the corner appears wearing the wide-brimmed straw hat that had been disdainfully mentioned by the reporter of *The Times*. It is clear that the artist intended to represent the event with a sense of spectacle that could match the excitement with which it was anticipated. The distinguishable figures in the foreground are depicted in threesomes, gentlemen flanked by Bloomers on either side.

While the engraving in *The Illustrated London News* implied that the Bloomer Ball was a wholly successful evening for dress reformers, the truth that “the attempt was a decided failure, the proportion of ‘ladies’ to the number of gentlemen who thronged the rooms being very small.”¹⁰ Indeed, many men attended the party out of the curious desire to witness the spectacle of Bloomerism in the ballroom; but some women, too, playfully donned the Bloomer costume for the event in the spirit of fancy dress. It was evident to the press that “the wearers without exception [were] the frequenters of the Vauxhall

masquerades and other entertainments of the like character” and not necessarily advocates of dress reform.¹¹ It was this lack of sincerity associated with Bloomer Balls that eventually aligned the costume with frivolity and inspired much ridicule at the expense of those who wore it.

Following the event at the Hanover Square Assembly Rooms, the satirical magazine *Punch* published a poem entitled “The Bloomer Ball,” which parodied Alfred Tennyson’s famed poem “Locksley Hall” (written in 1835). Though the account of the Bloomer Ball published in *Punch* is largely dramatised for the sake of comedy, it captured the amusement with which the ball was viewed. The poem noted London’s fascination with Bloomerism and the excitement the press created leading up to the event:

Bloomer Ball — that in the papers promised much that might attract
Quite an overflow of people, rushing like a cataract.¹²

However, the poem goes on to paint a decidedly more dismal picture than the festive scene depicted in the engraving in *The Illustrated London News*. In a light-hearted tone, the writer comments on the glaring disproportion of men to women in attendance and then goes on to address the components of the Bloomer costume in a derisive manner:

Oh! my Bloomers, chicken-hearted! Oh! my Bloomers, what a fall!
Oh! the dreary, dreary aspect of the barren Bloomer Ball!
Seedier than fancy dresses; dirtier than Showman’s stocks,
Half-a-dozen pairs of trousers, half-a-dozen school-girls’ frocks.¹³

Punch published a small illustration to accompany the poem (Figure 3), featuring a dancing couple, the woman in exaggerated Bloomer costume, surrounded by a crowd of onlooking men. The woman faces away from the viewer, her head obscured by a hat with a wide brim and a comically large feather protruding from it. Her dance partner turns his head away from her (perhaps to avoid the feather) and has a semblance of haughtiness. The audience of men looks on with mixed expressions, some wry smiles of amusement, a few puzzled looks, but mostly piercing stares of disapproval. When subjected to the male gaze, Bloomerism was often disregarded in its mission to reform dress for the benefit of women.



Figure 3

Illustration accompanying “The Bloomer Ball,” a parody of Alfred Tennyson’s “Locksley Hall,” *Punch*, 1851, Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) Special Collections and College Archives, New York, United States.

When women allegedly infringed on men's claim to trousers, male opponents launched a counterattack. The jeering crowds, physical attacks, and satirical poems eventually wore away at the resolve of dress reformers. Bloomerism disappeared from England as quickly as it had arrived, driven out by the laughter and derision following the Bloomer Ball on 29 October 1851.

Although the Bloomer costume was short lived in England, it lasted a bit longer in the country of its birth and continued to be a topic in American fashion press through to the end of 1851 and into the beginning of 1852. Due to the very nature of its radical inception, the Bloomer costume remained constantly at odds with reigning fashionable dress. Several esteemed fashion magazines, like Godey's *Lady's Book*, were silent in their opposition and expressed their disapproval of the style by completely ignoring it.¹⁴ Their refusal to cover the Bloomer costume as mainstream fashion indirectly undermined the style and hindered its ability to gain widespread approval. However, there were those women's publications that chose to address the sensation and experimented with the idea that there was nothing inherently male about trousers, and that the garment could be adapted and made feminine. There were certainly American women who thought so. This was the case with Ms Theodosia E Bang, who wrote to *Punch* in defence of the Bloomer costume, declaring that "the dress of the Emancipated American female is quite pretty, as becoming in all points as it is manly and independent."¹⁵ She makes a clear distinction between prettiness and femininity, and suggests that the two are not mutually exclusive.

This was the approach taken by *Peterson's Magazine*, a widely read national ladies' magazine in the second half of the nineteenth century. Unlike Godey's *Ladies Book*, the publication confronted the dress reform controversy by addressing Bloomerism in their December 1851 issue, which claimed that the style was worn to a considerable extent in cities throughout America, though not to such a degree as to render it general. Somewhat begrudgingly, *Peterson's Magazine* advocated for the Bloomer costume, proclaiming that "so long ... as it is worn, in any section of the country, we shall duly report the prettiest styles."¹⁶ Indeed, the writers of the publication were forced to reconcile their uneasiness with the departure from traditional modes of fashion and femininity. Consequently, they sought to represent the reformed dress in such a manner that would be considered unquestionably appealing in aesthetics, despite the controversial nature of the costume. In the section headlined "Fashions for December," *Peterson's Magazine* reports:

The leaders of fashion totally reject the dress. We must say, too, that few of the Bloomer costumes are graceful: they are either altogether uncouth, or they are too theatrical. In our January number we shall give an engraving of one, for evening costume, which is quite pretty, when such of our fair readers as prefer the Bloomer, can avail themselves of the pattern.¹⁷

The marriage between the Bloomer costume and evening wear signifies that Bloomer Balls were still being held in America at the end of 1851, and that the negative impressions of Bloomerism left by the Hanover Square affair did not travel across the Atlantic. The language in the excerpt further suggests that there was a reasonable demand for Bloomer evening dresses among the publication's readers – at least, enough to elicit a response.

Unlike the caricature of the Bloomer Ball costume published alongside the satirical poem in *Punch*, the Bloomer evening dress is given the full fashion treatment in the January 1852 issue of *Peterson's Magazine*, complete with a hand-coloured fashion plate (Figure 4). Pictured are two women attending a sort of soiree in a grand ballroom, with a festive scene taking place in the background just beyond the doorway. One woman is depicted wearing a conventional formal evening dress – short-sleeved with a dramatic scooping neckline, tightly fitted bodice, and voluminous tiered skirt trimmed with white lace and satin ribbons. She is a traditional picture of feminine beauty, accessorised with drop earrings, delicate gloves, and a fan in hand. She touches her other hand to her breast in a somewhat alarmed gesture as she looks over at her companion. The other woman looks rather strange in comparison, mid-motion and wearing a curious rendition of a Bloomer costume. The "Fashions for January" section gives a detailed description of the ensemble:



Figure 4
Bloomer evening dress,
Peterson's Magazine,
January 1852,
fashion plate,
Fashion Institute of
Technology (FIT)
Special Collections and
College Archives, New
York, United States.

Bloomer Evening Dress, of dove coloured silk, skirt trimmed with two flounces, scalloped and embroidered in colours. Corsage of white cambric, the front formed of richly worked insertion; sleeves demi-long, finished with worked ruffles. Full white cambric trousers, with a frill around the bottom, and dove coloured gaiters. The hair is combed back from the face in waves, and gathered in a knot behind.¹⁸

The woman attired in the Bloomer evening dress lacks the additional fashionable accessories given to her counterpart, which contributes to the impression that she is wholly unencumbered by her ensemble. Based on her body language, the Bloomer woman looks to be charging through the doorway wearing a determined expression on her face, perhaps a direct reference to the forward-thinking ideas of dress reformers and the fervour with which they pleaded their cause. Though the magazine's rendition of the Bloomer evening costume bears the hallmarks of fashionable dress — the full, tiered skirt featuring embroidered floral border motifs and the fitted bodice meticulously decorated with lace trimmings — it is ultimately unsuccessful in its attempt to achieve the same impression of formality as the conventional ball gown that appears alongside it.

The folly of the Bloomer evening dress in Peterson's Magazine is not limited to the trousers that protrude from beneath the shortened skirt, but is also seen in the departure from the accepted style of bodices for evening attire. By the middle of the nineteenth century, strict rules were in place that dictated the necklines and sleeve lengths appropriate for morning, afternoon, and evening wear. It was the features of the upper half of a garment that typically determined which time of day it could be worn, and often

different bodices were fabricated to be worn with the same skirt, in the interest of versatility. The neckline on the Bloomer evening dress shown in Peterson's Magazine would have been considered odd to readers in the 1850s, when such high necklines were strictly relegated to daytime attire, or otherwise only worn by older women who wished to conceal their aging bodies. Women of the mid-Victorian era thought that such a neckline "expresses, or seems to express, modesty [and] retiring virtues."¹⁹ Because the model in the fashion plate is clearly a young, dynamic female, this conservative feature of the costume seems decidedly incongruous to her character. Furthermore, the long sleeves would have been thought of as entirely inappropriate for what was meant to be the most formal of garments. Aside from the materials used, the defining feature of a proper evening dress was the exposure of the arms. Conventions of sleeve length in the nineteenth century were largely non-negotiable and the leaders of fashion decreed that sleeves "add[ed] to the completeness of the dress, and assist[ed] in rendering it suitable for its purpose in the occupations of life."²⁰ These conservative touches added by the illustrator were perhaps an attempt to give the Bloomer woman a sense of modesty, to compensate for her unseemly trousers. Peterson's Magazine makes a valiant effort to normalise the Bloomer costume by placing it alongside mainstream fashion in its January 1852 issue; yet, the Bloomer evening dress pictured in the fashion plate would have ultimately been deemed inappropriate to wear to a proper ball, thus rendering it useless.

Although Bloomerism struggled to find its place in the ballroom, it had a notable impact on the music and dance enjoyed by partygoers of the 1850s. Perhaps influenced by the freedom of movement that the Bloomer costume afforded women, musicians and songwriters adopted Bloomerism as a cultural touchstone in developing lively new melodies that would have their effect on social dancing. Throughout 1851, ballrooms echoed with the sounds of the Bloomer Schottische, the Bloomer Quadrille, the Bloomer Waltz, and the Bloomer Polka.²¹ Before long, images of women in Bloomer costume began to appear on the covers of sheet music circulated amongst ballroom musicians (Figure 5), and the



Figure 5

Bloomer Waltz, composed by William Dressler, sheet music cover, 1851, lithographer, Sarony and Major, William L Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, United States, ID1053.

compositions effectively became fashion plates in themselves. It is as if Bloomerism found an alternate route into the ballroom through dance; however, the mannerisms associated with social dancing and courting traditions at the time were perhaps even more rigid than the conventions of fashionable dress. The dancing that took place in ballrooms during the mid nineteenth century was characterised by propriety and restraint, and neither were virtues associated with Bloomerism. At a typical ball, “the staple dance was the quadrille, perhaps not a very lively piece of pantomime, but one of which, from its nature provided ample opportunity for conversation, (you may call it flirtation if you like,) and was neither, in its form, too reserved nor too familiar.”²² Social dance remained closely related to courtship throughout the nineteenth century, as it allowed for the interaction between men and women in a setting deemed appropriate by social standards: the ballroom. Novels written in the Victorian era often featured scenes of romantic interest centring around dance. In Gustave Flaubert’s 1853 work, *Madame Bovary*, he describes an experience of ballroom courtship in which “... the dancer’s feet would resume their rhythmic tapping, skirts would billow and brush against each other, hands would join and part, eyes would be lowered in front of you, then return and stare into yours a moment later.”²³ Flaubert depicts the ballroom as an idyllic setting of graceful movement, swirling skirts, and subtle flirtation — a setting in which the disruptive Bloomer costume did not belong.

By the end of 1851, it became evident that Bloomerism did not have a place in the ballroom due to its flagrant rejection of propriety and controversial associations with the women’s rights movement. Even those ladies who attended the Bloomer Ball at the Hanover Square Assembly Rooms wearing the reform costume were denounced by the press as “those not exactly of the class of person who should be taken as models, either in their dress or conduct.”²⁴ Ultimately, the movement lost momentum because it was unable to overcome the deeply-rooted social conventions it defied. The very morality of the bloomer garment continued to be subject to scrutiny, and general thought persisted that “the Turkish woman in her loose trouser, perhaps the most modest and sensible of all feminine costumes, is often held up as a type of indelicate dress.”²⁵ However, the opposition to Bloomerism was not necessarily directed at the garment itself, but at the radical ideas perpetuated by the women who chose to wear it. The audacity that the Bloomer costume came to embody was one that mirrored the courage it took to actually wear it. The *New York Daily Times* recognised that “female costume is in a transition state; but to come at once to trousers (sic), implies a degree of daring of which few of the fair sex are capable.”²⁶ That degree of daring in women had the potential to dramatically disrupt social order, and thus, Bloomerism was regarded as a threat against men.

Contrary to belief at the time, the goal of American dress reform was not to destroy visual gender distinctions. Women who chose to wear the Bloomer costume did not look like men, nor did they play at being men. However, the majority of society feared that if dressed as a man, a woman could not help but behave like one. This concern was poignantly manifested in a cartoon entitled “Bloomerism in a Ball-Room” that was published in *Punch* leading up to the Bloomer Ball at the Hanover Square Assembly Rooms (Figure 6). In it, a woman dressed in a variation of a Bloomer evening dress approaches a rather demurely seated man, removes her gloves, and leans into him. The caption reads, “Bloomer: ‘May I have the pleasure of dancing the next polka with you?’”²⁷ The man’s shocked expression reflects what the general public’s initial reaction to the announcement of a Bloomer Ball might have been. Such an event that not only bred this kind of audacious behaviour — but outwardly celebrated it — was unsurprisingly met with considerable opposition. Trousers were traditionally upheld as the symbol of patriarchy, and the proposal that women should adopt them (almost entirely concealed by the skirt as they were) was seen as a threat to the whole structure of society.²⁸ And so, in the very same article that recounted the festivities that took place at the Hanover Square Assembly Rooms, the *Illustrated London News* pronounced the death of Bloomerism, stating, “The Bloomer ball has sealed the fate of the Bloomer costume.”²⁹

Bloomerism in the ballroom remained a source of novelty and amusement throughout the year 1851, but it was ultimately the radical concepts born out of the Bloomer Ball that spelled the end of the movement. The very etymology of the Bloomer “costume” suggests an ensemble more appropriate for



Figure 6

Bloomerism in a Ball-Room, Punch, 1851, cartoon, Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) Special Collections and College Archives, New York, United States.

a fancy dress party, and not one intended to inspire significant, meaningful change. The introduction of Bloomerism to formal evening wear was an unsuccessful attempt to resolve fashion and anti-fashion in one garment. Additionally, the incongruous relationship between radical ideas of dress and traditions associated with ballroom activity contributed to the decided failure of the Bloomer Ball.³⁰ In the end, it was the growing fear that women would abandon femininity and challenge the power of men that spurred enough opposition to eventually extinguish the Bloomer movement. As was inevitable, the much-talked-of revolution in female attire was killed by ridicule and satire, much of which was brought on by the Bloomer Ball. Nevertheless, Bloomerism did much to forward dress reform and the women's rights movement in the nineteenth century. Even the light-hearted poem published in *Punch* acknowledged the Bloomer Ball's greater significance:

Not in vain the Bloomer movement.
Forward! Forward, let us range!
Set the world of fashion spinning —
All improvement comes from change.³¹

Endnotes

- ¹ "The New Female Costume," *The Newspaper*, 20 September 1851, p 303.
- ² Charles Neilson Gattey, *The Bloomer Girls*, Coward McCann, Inc, New York, United States, 1967, p 56.
- ³ National Park Service, "Women's Rights Leaders: Amelia Bloomer," <https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/amelia-bloomer.htm>, accessed 1 December 2016.

- ⁴ Charles Neilson Gattey, op cit, p 66.
- ⁵ "England – Bloomerism," *The New York Daily Times*, 28 October 1851, p 1.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ "The Bloomer Costume," *The Newspaper*, 1 November 1851, pp 351–352.
- ⁸ Charles Neilson Gattey, op cit, p 78.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ "A Bloomer Ball," *The Illustrated London News*, 1 November 1851, p 539.
- ¹¹ "The Bloomer Costume," op cit.
- ¹² "The Bloomer Ball," *Punch*, Volume XXI (July–December 1851), p 209.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Carol Mattingly, *Appropriate[ing] Dress: Women's Rhetorical Style in Nineteenth-Century America*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, United States, 2002, p 73.
- ¹⁵ Theodosia Bang, "Woman's Emancipation (A Letter to Mr Punch)," *Punch*, Volume XXI, July–December 1851, p 3.
- ¹⁶ "Fashions for December," *Peterson's Magazine*, Volume 19, December 1851, p 254.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ "Fashions for January," *Peterson's Magazine*, Volume 20, January 1852, p 85.
- ¹⁹ Charles Blanc, *Art in Ornament and Dress*, Chapman and Hall, London, England, 1877, p 161.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Patricia A Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850–1920: Politics, Health, and Art*, Kent State University Press, Kent, United States, 2003, p 67.
- ²² "Manners of the Modern Ballroom," *The New York Daily Times*, 28 March 1853.
- ²³ Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, Bantam Dell, New York, United States, 2005, p 49.
- ²⁴ "A Bloomer Ball," op cit.
- ²⁵ H R Haweis, *The Art of Beauty*, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, United States, 1878, p 26.
- ²⁶ "England – Bloomerism," op cit.
- ²⁷ "Bloomerism in a Ball-Room," *Punch*, Volume XXI, July–December 1851, p 184.
- ²⁸ Charles Neilson Gattey, op cit, p 13.
- ²⁹ "A Bloomer Ball," op cit.
- ³⁰ Julius M Price, *Dame Fashion: Paris – London (1786–1912)*, Sampson Low, Marston & Co Ltd, London, England, 1913, p 108.
- ³¹ "The Bloomer Ball," op cit.

Bibliography

Published

- Bang, Theodosia E, "Woman's Emancipation (A Letter to Mr Punch)," *Punch*, Volume XXI, July–December 1851.
- Blanc, Charles, *Art in Ornament and Dress*, Chapman and Hall, London, England, 1877.
- "A Bloomer Ball," *The Illustrated London News*, 1 November 1851.
- "The Bloomer Ball," *Punch*, 1851.
- "The Bloomer Costume," *The Newspaper*, 1 November 1851.
- "Bloomerism in a Ball-Room," *Punch*, Volume XXI, July–December 1851.
- Calahan, April, *Fashion Plates: 150 Years of Style*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 2015.

- Cunningham, Patricia A, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art*, Kent State University Press, Kent, United States, 2003.
- "England – Bloomerism," *The New York Daily Times*, 28 October 1851.
- "Fashions for December," *Peterson's Magazine*, Volume 19, December 1851.
- "Fashions for January," *Peterson's Magazine*, Volume 20, January 1852.
- Flaubert, Gustave, *Madame Bovary*, Bantam Dell, New York, United States, 2005 (first published in 1857).
- Gathey, Charles Neilson, *The Bloomer Girls*, Coward-McCann, Inc, New York, United States, 1967.
- Haweis, H R, *The Art of Beauty*, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, United States, 1878.
- Mattingly, Carol, *Appropriate[ing] Dress: Women's Rhetorical Style in Nineteenth-Century America*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, United States 2002.
- "The New Female Costume," *The Newspaper*, 20 September 1851.
- Price, Julius M, *Dame Fashion: Paris – London (1786-1912)*, Sampson Low, Marston & Co Ltd, London, England, 1913.

Internet Sources

- National Park Service, "Women's Right's Leaders: Amelia Bloomer," <https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/amelia-bloomer.htm>, accessed 1 December 2016.

Copyright © 2018 Raissa Bretaña
Email: raissa.bretana@gmail.com

Raissa Bretaña is a fashion historian and MA candidate at the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, in the Fashion and Textile Studies: History, Theory, and Museum Practice programme. She has held internships in The Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Textile and Fashion Arts Department at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, and the Costume Research Division at Western Costume Company. Raissa received a BFA in Costume Design from Boston University and has worked professionally in theatre, opera, film, and television – most recently, as a consultant on the upcoming series, *Pose*. She can also be found educating museum visitors about women's suffrage at the New York Historical Society. Her Master's dissertation will focus on the fashions of American suffragists.

Garment+: Challenging the Boundaries of Fashion for Those with Long-Term Physical Disabilities

Alexa Chan and Heidi Lempp

Contributing authors:

Graham Peabody, Carol Simpson, Savia de Souza, James Galloway,
Marko Milasevic, John Prout, Inua Ellam, Thomas Esterine, and Edmund Gillingwater

Abstract

While early scholarship on disability and clothing is scarce, historical photography can retrace the roots of adaptive clothing back to made-to-measure garments and aids worn by disabled individuals during the Victorian era. Garment+ is a recent investigation into how clothing can be made more user-friendly for individuals with long-term musculoskeletal conditions. Through close collaboration between a garment designer, academic staff and adult patients from one London rheumatology outpatient clinic, the design process was reworked to show that service user considerations can occur in tandem with designers' own creative sensibilities. This paper discusses the findings and stresses the need to embrace inclusivity to incite progressive change and improvement in the fashion industry.

Background

People Living with Musculoskeletal Conditions

According to Arthritis Research UK, musculoskeletal diseases affect around 10 million people across the United Kingdom alone.¹ Demographic shifts as well as an increasingly sedentary lifestyle are expected to contribute to the prevalence of long-term musculoskeletal conditions. Those affected often experience deterioration in physical mobility, coupled with stiffness, pain, and fatigue. In the face of such a debilitating condition, many seek to maintain a life of normalcy and independence and try to adapt to their personal circumstances following diagnosis.²

While people living with life-long musculoskeletal conditions are acknowledged in the UK Equality Act 2010, there is little societal recognition and consideration towards the difficulties they face.³ This is largely due to the physical invisibility of the condition, due to improved treatment over the last decades. Therefore, people living with long-term musculoskeletal conditions silently carry the burden of their condition alongside societal expectations of normalcy. The daily demands of living and social interactions can place a strain on the ability of patients to cope with their symptoms. In turn, this tension can have a negative impact on their quality of life. It has been reported that people living with musculoskeletal conditions are four times more likely to experience depression and low self-esteem, potentially affecting social inclusion and rehabilitation outcomes.^{4&5}

Many of these concerns are highly relatable and common across the general spectrum of ageing, long-term physical/mental disability and disease. As life expectancies continue to rise, it is even more imperative to promote management strategies that prolong individual agency and confidence.

Positive Psychology through Clothing

Fashion, as in clothing, is ubiquitous in society and plays a significant role in the relationship between the person and the immediate environment.⁶ Considering its visual element as well as its proximity to the body, the design and use of clothing can have an important impact on the emotional and physical well-being of a person; its enclothed cognition being so fundamental to identity and self-image.⁷

“Enclothed cognition” refers to the influence of clothing on how one feels, thinks and is perceived.⁸ The embodiment of personhood by way of clothing is realised through the act of dressing — as an integral component of the everyday ritual, its performative experience is an affirmative measure of independence and social readiness. Dressing the body is seen as an act of becoming.⁹ Researchers have begun to explore the psychological experience of clothing and its applicability in therapeutic contexts. Previous studies have explored clothing as avatars of emotional expression and as memory and identity triggers in dementia care through artefact elicitation.^{10&11} These projects tap into the mind-body relationship cultivated through clothing to facilitate and improve emotional sustenance; it would seem appropriate to propose clothing as a complementary means for better well-being in people living with musculoskeletal conditions.

Fashion Design and Special Needs

Bearing in mind the abovementioned emotional qualities as well as the functional aspect of clothing, one could assume that garment ergonomics and wearability are essential parameters in garment design. However, garment ergonomics have been inexplicably viewed as niche and only secondary to adornment. While tastes in style shift by season and over time, foundational elements of clothing have changed little since the nineteenth century — garments are designed to be worn according to a prescribed set of dress methods. In that sense, wearers are expected to conform to the garment’s standardised specifications as opposed to dressing in clothing that is reflexive and accommodative to the wearer’s body and physical ability.

These conventions meant that people with physical needs that differed from the norm were sidelined in favour of the “mainstream body.” The advent of mass-production and fast fashion required further streamlining of design, development and production methodology and processes. Resultantly, the fashion industry has long since viewed designing for people with disabilities as impractical in the interest of cost, time, effort and a perceived lack of demand. Fashion for the physically disabled individual became a product segment of its own, manifesting as “adaptive clothing” — dress solutions for those with physical or cognitive limitations that prevent them from being able to dress with ease.

While early scholarship on disability and clothing is scarce, historical photography can retrace the roots of adaptive clothing back to made-to-measure garments and aids worn by disabled individuals during the Victorian era.¹² In an age where disability was discriminated against and treated as medical anomalies, such adaptations were often corrective, serving to disguise “flaws” (Figure 1). Otherwise, they simply accommodated deformities caused by injury and disease (Figures 2 and 3).

Such a medicalised approach to design for disability was symptomatic of societal prejudice.¹³ It was only from the late 1950s onwards that designers and researchers increasingly recognised these diverse user groups and sought to develop ready-to-wear solutions to meet their comfort needs.¹⁴⁻¹⁶ However, many of these garments were largely developed to meet the situational needs of retirement and long-term care homes; they were designed for the convenience of those who assisted the wearer. Access points were typically located at the back, hindering effortless independent dressing by most people (Figure 4).



Figure 1
Street doctor, 1877,
Street Life in London.¹⁷
Note the platform shoe worn by the
doctor (left) to compensate for leg
length discrepancies.



Figure 2
Man in a wooden wheelchair, 1885,
Robert Bogdan Disability Collection, Yale
University, New Haven, United States.
Note how the suit is cut to accommodate
the man's physical structure and seated
posture but the design of the suit still
requires dressing assistance.



Figure 3

Thomas Marks, circa 1890s,
Barnardo's Photo Archive, Ilford, England.
Note how the subject's dress complements the
design and material selection of his harness
and additional aids, but without considering
physical stress and material abrasion.



Figure 4

Open-back nightie, 2010s,
Adaptawear catalogue, England.
An example of the archetypal adaptive
garment featuring a commonly used
overlapping design at the back. This still
requires assistance in dressing and/or was
designed for the intimacy of the home.

Rather than enhancing self-reliance, such adaptive designs prolonged dependency on others, diminishing self-assurance and competency. Moreover, its visual appearance tended towards the casual — so much so that the stereotypical garment conjures up an image of an ill-fitting, fleecy and elasticised garment that is lacking in aesthetic sensibilities. It was clear that adaptive clothing followed function over form; while these garments prioritised physical needs, it also alienated the wearer from others — there exists a social stigma associated with adaptive clothing due to its disconnect to the contemporary lifestyle and the individual.

There is growing interest in designing for people who live with physical disabilities, as they are becoming visible and taking active roles in society. The call for greater disability rights is gaining prominence. Given fashion's link with identity and social significance, this is an ideal opportunity for fashion to assume a lead role in emotional empowerment. However, in contrast to the accessibility improvements made by industries such as architecture and product design, such developments in fashion are still limited. Nevertheless, body diversity is slowly beginning to be addressed and acknowledged by the industry: mainstream brands have featured disabled models, and brands such as Tommy Hilfiger have released capsule collections aimed for people with limited physical mobility (Figure 5).

Such initiatives are exemplary steps towards inclusivity in fashion. Yet, adaptive clothing is far from being designed as a product easily found in the market; it remains segregated from the mainstream consciousness. Contemporary “runway-worthy” special needs garments follow conventional design principles, still requiring dressing assistance and lacking proportion. Furthermore, specialist fastenings used in these design solutions meant an increase in the cost of production. Conclusively, these garments



Figure 5

Current developments in adaptive dress,
Left: FTL Moda Loving You Show, 2015, New York Fashion Week AW15,
Right: Tommy Adaptive, 2017, Tommy Hilfiger, United States.

are only found in specialist shops, giving most people with disabilities little option but to make do with the small range of accessible pieces available in mainstream fashion. This lack of choice marginalises a large proportion of the population most in need of a strengthened sense of self, compounded by social stigma and poor public regard for their condition's needs and personal aspirations.

The Fashion Design Process

As Entwistle writes, fashion has historically disregarded the body, choosing to dictate rather than to accommodate.¹⁸ It is unknown when the schism between functional and aesthetic priorities occurred. A lack of enquiry into the fashion design discipline is a reflection of this gap in knowledge and the subsequent neglect of ergonomics. Fashion may dress the body, yet its functional elements have been relegated to occupational garments and sportswear.

Fashion researchers have largely concentrated on the analysis of the historical and socio-cultural psychology of finished garment pieces, with few focusing on the creative design process itself.¹⁹ Much work produced in the latter area has been angled towards educational books.^{20&21} A review of these texts reveal a general approach used within the fashion industry: garments are typically developed from subjective interpretation of the zeitgeist and the extraction and juxtaposition of historical contexts. This encompasses the referencing of literary, visual and textural sources of which the design would then extrapolate into fashion designs that follows a conceptual narrative. The designer then amalgamates these inspirations upon the core design principles that make up the “skeleton” of the garment.²²

Due to the preconceived design elements already set in place, designers found little need for interaction with the real body, preferring to work their ideas on the static, upright dress form. This approach has permeated through fashion education into industry: working directly with the body is limited to fittings that usually only occurred late in the development phase. The fitting process involves the model assuming an upright posture akin to that of the dress form. On occasion, the model may be asked to walk – however this is often not for ergonomic analysis, but for the aesthetic purposes of ensuring that the garment looked “right” when it is in motion. Beyond this, the consideration of physical needs typically only occurred based on customer feedback or through specialised, client-facing requests. In this sense, the fashion discipline remains ill equipped to accommodate the factors necessary for inclusivity. Even though they are designing to dress the body, designers rely too heavily on their artistic inclinations and lack the empathic motivation and understanding of dress behaviours beyond the studio.

Reworking the Design Process: Placing the User First

Fashion's continued ambivalence to human needs that are outside what it recognises as the “fashionable norm” is demonstrative of the functional-aesthetic division that excludes rather than includes. Perhaps the design process of its products (clothing) should be reworked: human needs are much more complex and diverse than what has been assumed by the industry.

There have been responses, albeit varied and scattered in practice, that attempted to create clothing that considered the service user at the heart of the garment and beyond functional needs. In particular, the Functional, Expressive, Aesthetic (FEA) model proposed by Lamb and Kallal employs the systematic collation of clothing and uses satisfaction levels of a target group to lead the design of garments that are appropriate to the cultural and situational context that it is intended for (Figure 6).²³ It borrows on product design principles, beginning with problem setting, ideation, validation, prototyping and evaluation, all centred around user needs and societal convention. In particular, practitioners were to develop personas and scenarios in which their designs can be situated. Such awareness and consideration for the user has rendered the model particularly useful for specialist clothing (sportswear or occupational), however, in the context of the everyday, there are few examples of its application in facilitating the transition of adaptive clothing towards the mainstream.^{24–26}



Figure 6
The Functional-Expressive-
Aesthetic Needs Model,
Lamb and Kallal, 1992.

Returning to needs of the musculoskeletal patient, one needs to consider how designing specifically to physical needs does not necessarily solve their frustrations and difficulties with clothing. As people living with an “invisible” condition, they are lost in the middle – they do not fully match the stereotypes of what is considered a “true” disability, neither are they able to identify themselves as fully able-bodied. Clothing to them facilitates the sense of normalcy – they wish to find mainstream clothing they can dress in, and avoid specialist, adaptive clothes that carry all the connotations as previously mentioned.

Direct involvement of such patient groups could entail the realisation of garments that married both adaptive considerations and patients’ comfort and aesthetic needs in relation to societal trends. This builds upon the user-centred FEA model, shifting the garment design process towards achieving garment design universality. Projects that have utilised the FEA model have typically used remote interview and survey methodologies with little direct interaction and physical testing, and only as part of early and late stage development.²⁷⁻²⁹ The researchers argue that by inserting the service user early on in the design phase and having them continually involved in the process, new insights and design guidelines for clothing can be developed that normalises the needs of those with physical diversities.

Codesign and Participatory Involvement

User-centeredness is a design strategy integral to better inclusivity in design. Used within the FEA model, it places emphasis on needs from the perspective of the end user and seeks to identify and mitigate potential problems based on the varying conditions set by the user’s context. Many service and product-oriented sectors deploy user-centred design thinking in varying degrees, and often include participatory approaches to gather insights in order to build solutions. The healthcare sector has increasingly drawn on design thinking practices to improve its provision of products and services. In particular, patient and public involvement (PPI) in healthcare planning, service development, healthcare policy and research has gained increased importance over the past two decades.^{30&31}

PPI in research refers to an active collaboration between patients and/or members of the public and researchers.³² In design terms, it can be referred to as codesign as their involvement is distinct from participation in research: patients and the public are actively involved and contribute to the research process as co-researchers. Patients have first-hand experience of the illness and therefore provide researchers with invaluable insights into what it is like to live with a particular long-term illness, and in this case, musculoskeletal conditions.³³ As highlighted earlier, the symptoms they cope with on a daily basis can be just as limiting as to those with other disabilities. Furthermore, navigating between expectations and stereotypes of disability is a markedly significant aspect in their everyday experience.

The insights gained from their contributions can help designers better understand clothing design problems and the consequential difficulties in dressing and poor social relevance. As their input sets the bar of tolerance for design, it is thus ideal to involve patients/carers in all the stages of the design process, including finding validation of the process and outcomes by presenting these to a wider public and patient group for feedback.

Garment+: Making the Adaptive Mainstream

Recognising the issues regarding the fashion design process and its detrimental impact on people and society, the researchers sought to rework the design process through codesign. A project was set up in one outpatient rheumatology clinic in London to accommodate this discrepancy of social exclusion on the one hand and greater involvement on the other.

The project builds upon the FEA framework to include sustained interaction and collaboration with patients throughout every stage of the research process, combining both fashion design methodologies with health service research approaches. The study objectives were to (i) identify the problems encountered during dress and how it influences patients' eventual clothing choices and attitudes, (ii) develop new parameters that support the design of mainstream everyday clothing that is universally accommodative, and (iii) assess the outcomes' impact on patient well-being and motivation.

Methodology: Design Workshops

Research was conducted in the form of eight design workshops, established over two phases between 2015 and 2017. Seven patients/caregivers of both genders who lived with a range of long-term musculoskeletal conditions, and from diverse socio-demographic backgrounds participated in these workshops. Workshops were carried out sequentially, with consecutive group meetings building upon the findings and reflections from the previous session. Prototyping and sample handling served as key tools in facilitating participant engagement and discussion. The sensory and interactive cues in a physical object can reveal ethnographical insights beyond verbal interviews and surveys.

Garment prototypes and samples were presented to participants during each of the eight workshops. They were invited to use the prototypes and freely share feedback in relation to their personal views and preferences on clothing, links to lifestyle factors, emotional state and dressing strategies. Following the identification of design determinants, the garment prototypes were modified in an iterative cycle and then presented again to the participants.

As part of the codesign process, prototypes were also sometimes rapidly deconstructed and altered on the spot, or suggestions and modification ideas were directly drawn on the prototypes by both the researcher and participants. These rapidly generated outcomes complemented the audio-recorded discussions and filmed physical interactions, providing the researcher with a diverse range of data for analysis. A fashion-based, emotional well-being scale was developed to measure initial patient attitudes to mainstream clothing in comparison to the final outcomes that had been designed with consideration to their needs.

Findings: Attitudes and Concerns with Clothing

Participants of both genders unanimously agreed that clothing is pivotal in sustaining their confidence and motivation to participate in daily life. Having to cope with physical pain, stiffness, mobility limitations, weight fluctuations and skin sensitivities significantly disrupt their daily routine and potentially trigger unwanted self-conscious emotions that preoccupation with how others perceive them. Hence, they expressed a keenness to present themselves as independent, capable individuals well in control of their lives, and felt that clothing is key to retaining their identity beyond their condition.

Despite their interest in clothing and the desire to dress well, a majority of the participants expressed their dissatisfaction with the current clothing ranges found in mainstream fashion stores. They pointed

out that the cut, accessibility, and fabric quality of the clothing that they see in-store does not meet their individual needs and requirements. Most crucially, difficulties arose when it came to dressing — participants described how their physical disabilities resulted in the inability to dress with ease (Figure 7).

Using their favourite garments, participants demonstrated how they coped with the conventional access points in mainstream garments through adaptation or compromise: they utilised other motions of movement (ie, shrugging a jacket on rather than reaching back to look for a sleeve), or chose garments with stretch qualities (Figure 8).

Even so, getting dressed was still a time-consuming and dreaded task despite the adopted strategies employed by the participants. In particular, male participants worried of their being a nuisance when putting on their outerwear in public, as they employed a swinging motion that potentially hit people standing behind them. Participants described their resignation in having their clothing choices and therefore, their personal style, dictated by the few mainstream styles that they found suitable to their needs.

On the other hand, participants also expressed their aversion towards existing adaptive clothing, for it perpetuated the stigma of illness and age. Participants reported that they actively avoid purchasing adaptive clothing where possible because of its negative associations. They were critical of its aesthetics and felt that they looked “frumpy” and were inappropriate for everyday occupational and social functions. Comparisons were made to “old-fashioned nighties” and hospital garments. Furthermore, the fabrics used in adaptive wear were still not suitable for those with sensitive skin: its fleecy and synthetic qualities exacerbated skin irritation. Despite adaptive clothing being designed specifically to meet the needs of those who live with physical limitations, its aesthetic incompatibility instead triggered feelings of scepticism and indignation towards how larger society has approached the accommodation of their condition.

Participant opinions revealed the need to reconcile adaptive design with mainstream aesthetics. They shared how important clothing is to ensuring their own perception of self-competency and normalcy, and the endowment of “social credibility,” but expressed their frustration regarding the lack of choice and the segregation of needs into mainstream and adaptive categories. They reported that these factors prevent expressing their identity on their own terms. Perhaps the focus should be on applying universal design principles to mainstream garments; its functionality, accessibility, and aesthetics need considered improvement and change.

Findings: Identification of Design Parameters

Having understood the relevance of clothing from the perspective of the participating patients, key design parameters were identified through further sample handling and toile creation.

Dress Criteria

During the course of research, participants’ outfits were photographed. Key visual themes were drawn from the photographs. It was interesting to note that while participants had varying degrees of “visible” disability (ie, some had mobility aids while some appeared “able” but were on pain medication), all of them had a similar pattern of dress (Figure 9). When this was represented to participants for validation, they acknowledged the shared patterns of clothing choices and styling, and were willing to elaborate on their preferences and needs.

A key criterion was the facilitation of independent dressing. The service users/caregiver wished for consistency in the design of clothing — that different types of garments were all easy to manoeuvre. Women looked for garments with generous necklines and stretch, while men prioritised pliable loops and buttonholes along with generous leg and armholes. All said that these elements were the first things they immediately test prior to their other concerns.

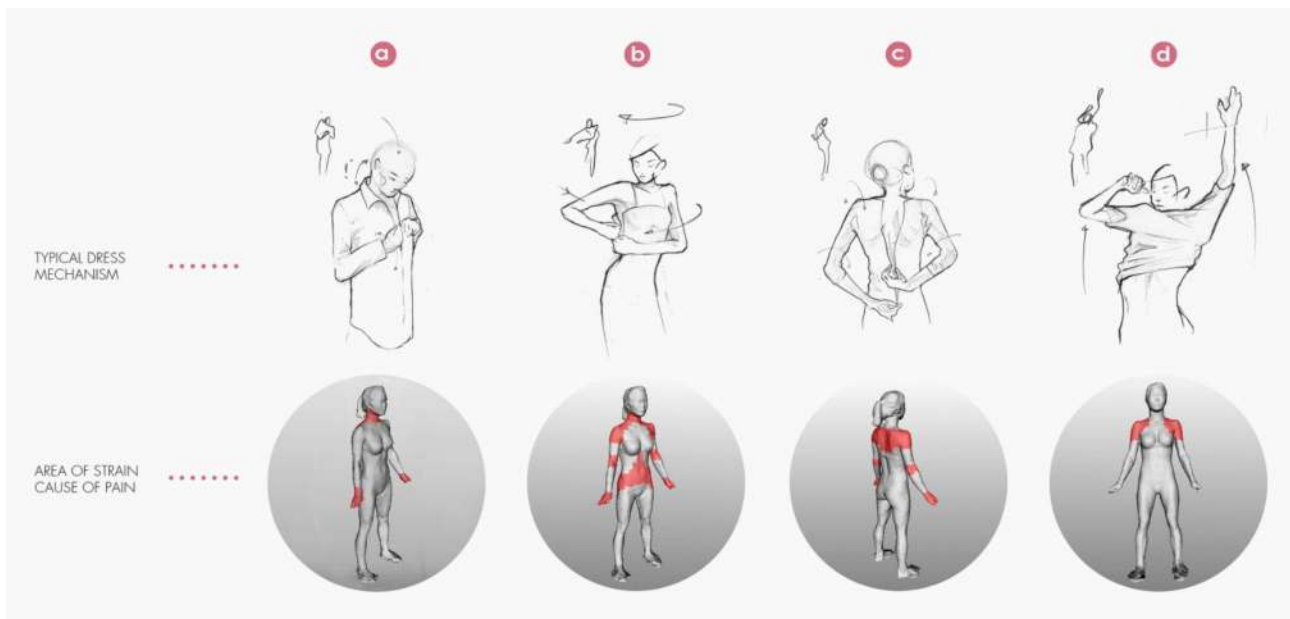


Figure 7
Dress mechanisms and pain modelling, Garment+, 2016.



Figure 8
A study of dressing strategies,
Garment+, 2016.

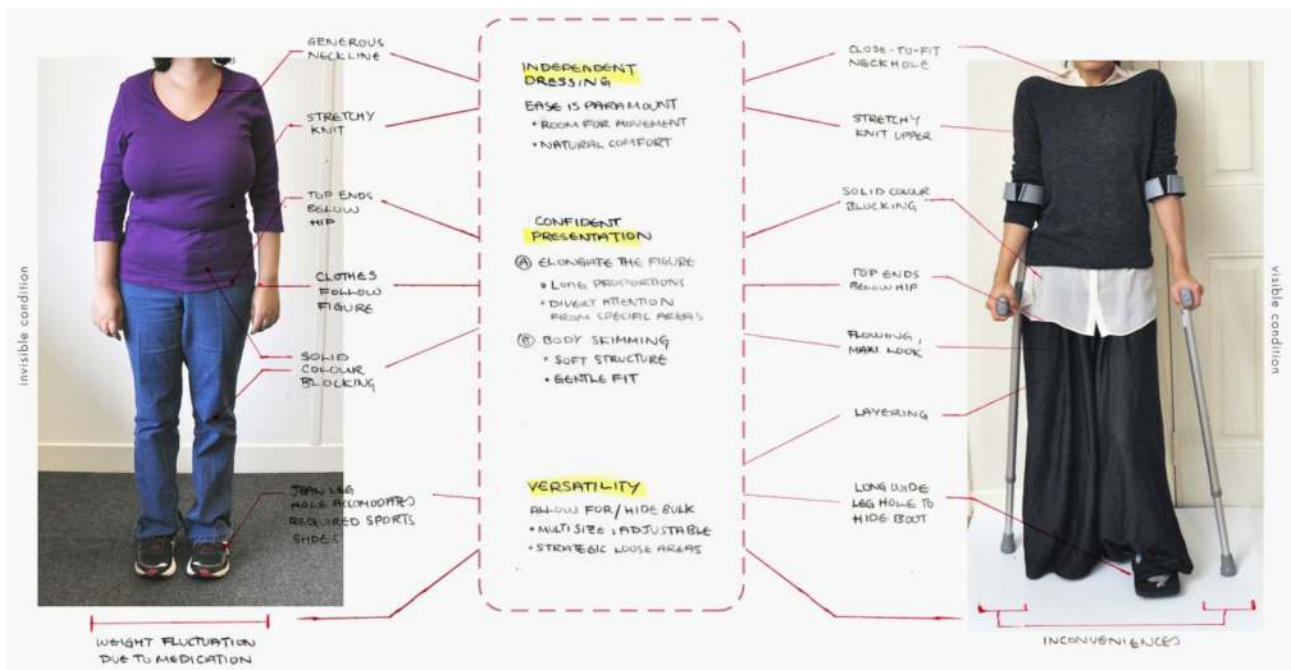


Figure 9

A dress analysis of invisible and visible disabilities, Garment+, 2015.

While women agreed that the wide leg and armholes preferred by male participants allowed room for movement, they felt that contemporary cuts that featured these elements did not flatter them. Female participants dressed to elongate their figure and favoured long proportions and softly structured garments that diverted attention from perceived body concerns. Both men and women were keen on solid colour blocking as they viewed that as “classic” and “timeless.” They sought to build a versatile wardrobe that made for fuss-free layering and styling and therefore suitable for all occasions while accommodating their bodily and temperature changes caused by their condition.

Fabric

Participants stated that their long-term conditions and medication (eg steroids) impacted on their skin and temperature tolerance. As a result, they showed a strong preference for natural fabrics, but were open to trying other materials with breathable, moisture-wicking properties and a smooth, soft texture. Both groups also linked fabric choices to their daily routine: ironing was difficult and weight hard on the joints, hence fabrics prone to wrinkling were avoided. Similarly, heavy fabrics were considered inconvenient. Moreover, it added bulk to one’s frame and hindered their already limited range of movement/mobility. The fabric choices made by participants thus considered practical aspects together with their dressing and layering habits.

Fastenings

A variety of fastening samples were introduced to participants, and they were asked to rate and comment on each fastening. Contrary to the assumption that Velcro was the ideal fastening for use by people with physical disabilities, the researchers found that participants viewed Velcro to be troublesome and infantilising. Velcro has been traditionally used in adaptive clothing as it was considered to be uncomplicated, quick, and convenient. Service users however complained about how it caught on other fabrics and injured their skin due to its rough surface, and disliked how it reduced their own perception of ability. They were quick to dismiss the Velcro sample and were more drawn to the other fastenings given to them. Many of these fastenings were advised as unsuitable for those with poor physical dexterity. However, the collated results revealed that participants suggested that there was no right or wrong

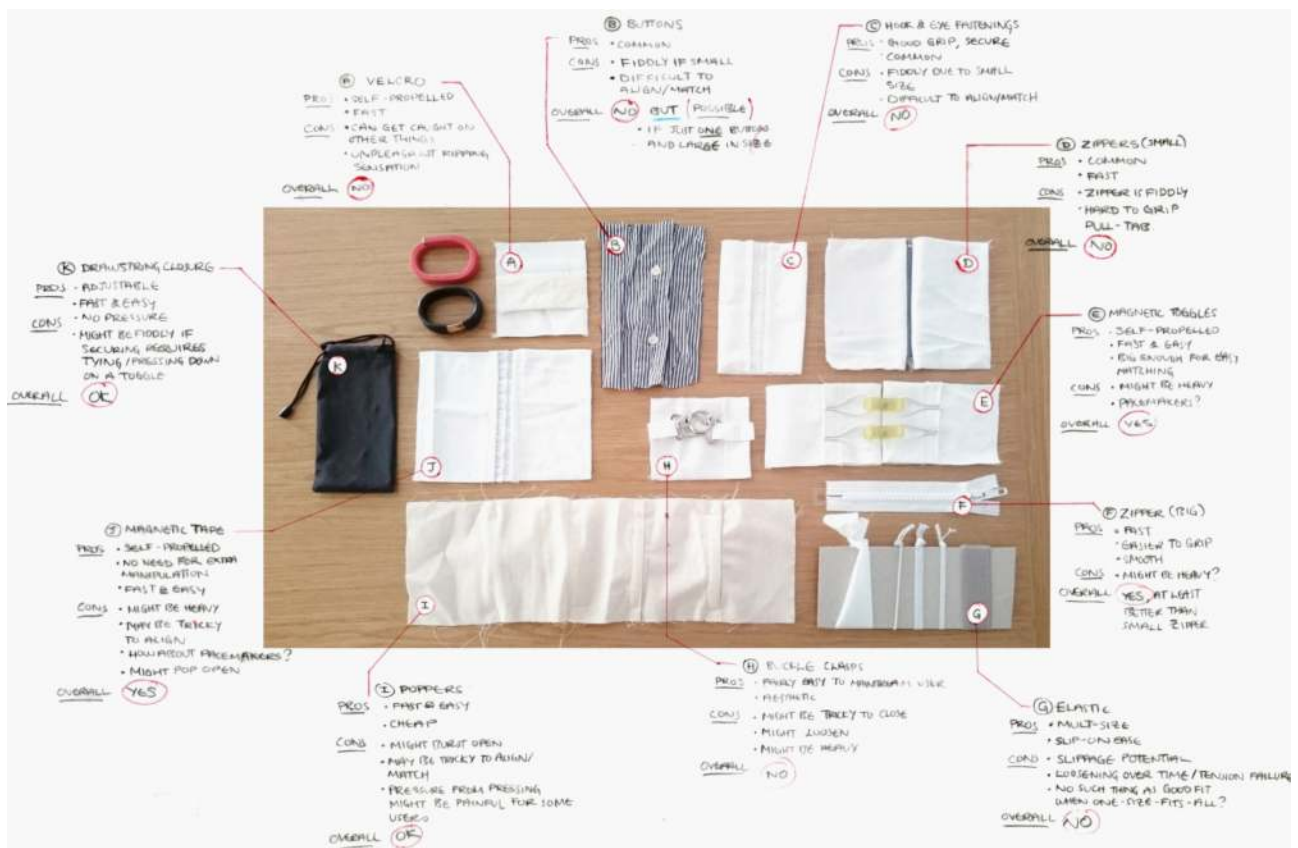


Figure 10

Fastening samples and annotations, Garment+, 2016.

fastening. Rather, most of the comments expressed showed that it was a matter of the size and positioning of the fastening that impeded their ability to manipulate closures (Figure 10). The tactility of the closure was also important to them, as it helped as a sensory indicator to guide the act of operating the buckle or button. They voiced a definite preference for a minimal number of fastenings on garments, citing the need for “unfussiness” to counter their already slowed pace in getting dressed.

Garment Accessibility

In response to conventional dress mechanisms currently available to the mainstream and adaptive markets, the researchers worked with the participants to devise a new scheme of dress that could be combined with the above-discussed findings (Figure 11). Through iterative prototyping and feedback,



Figure 11

Prototyping exercises, Garment+, 2016.

three basic accommodative dress methods were established: (i) entry from the bottom-up, (ii) side, and (iii) a flip-over mechanism. The problem-solving process facilitated the further development of these “blueprints” to suit specific clothing items such as trousers and dresses. Subsequent solutions featured the use of gravity, fold-over techniques and the body as an anchor. Participants were able to put these foundational prototypes on with independent ease. They reported that the alternative motion of movement still felt intuitive and did not strain their joints.

Aesthetics

Participants appreciated how the resulting scheme of design addressed the full spectrum of mobility. However, there was a sense of cautiousness post-research: participants felt uncertain if the resultant scheme of design took on a similar incarnation to the adaptive clothing they actively avoided. They were keen to ensure that new propositions assimilated easily into mainstream fashion sensibilities and did not ride on preconceived definitions. In this sense, participants hoped to see an eclectic range of aesthetic choice, and dreamt of being able to construct their identity as freely as others who crafted their identities from what was available on the high street.

Outcomes

Based on the design parameters that were uncovered during the research phase, a set of garment templates were developed (Figure 12). To test its validity and applicability within practice, capsule ranges for both men and women were created. These collections were designed based on artistic conceptual references while conscientiously following the design conditions set out for better inclusivity. The resulting garments were cut to allow greater manoeuvrability and featured alternate entry points, minimal closures and comfortable fabrics. The clothing range was intended to demonstrate the feasibility of integrating adaptive elements into mainstream design processes.

The project findings and outcomes were presented over three public-facing exhibitions and two formal departmental patient evenings. These engagements were to validate and disseminate the design findings borne from Garment+ and its example applications. Reception to the project has been overwhelmingly positive from health and fashion industries, as well as the general public. Attendees were at first drawn to the visual appeal of the displayed garments which in turn compelled them to feel, inspect and try on



Figure 12
Garment templates, Garment+, 2017.

the garments. Upon closer inspection they were pleasantly surprised to discover the additional accommodative features embedded in the garment. The public expressed their support for the idea of integrating adaptive functionalities within garments. Many opined that there was no need for product segmentation and reflected on the fact that even the most able-bodied will experience disability (be it temporal or permanent) at some point in their lives. They saw the modifications as purposeful and meaningful improvements that benefited not just the disabled community but also themselves.

Patient participants involved in Garment+ reported feeling a sense of empowerment for having their views heard and considered throughout the design process. They expressed pride in contributing to the design of clothing that not only met their needs, but was also accepted and even regarded as useful by the wider community. Notably, involvement in the project inspired the patient participants to begin adapting their wardrobe based on the design proposals developed from the project. There were also Allied Health Professionals (AHPs) who expressed an interest in using the project findings to guide and support their patients in making early lifestyle adjustments to minimise the frustration of coping with physical impairments. The results of the collaborative involvement were also acknowledged by healthcare and fashion professionals, who agreed that patient participation can actually add a new dimension to the research and design process, making it more effective and relevant.

Implications and Future Recommendations

This phase of Garment+ has produced a body of work that revealed the many difficulties relevant to the absence of inclusivity in fashion and its impact on the physical and emotional “self.” The study called for the need to merge the adaptive with the mainstream. While the project was limited to a sample group of people living with a range of musculoskeletal conditions, the immersive role they played over two years enabled a thorough investigation into the importance of clothing in their lives and the problems they encountered – and what is possible to improve existing garment design methodologies to ensure emotional sustainability. The project could be repeated on other patient groups with long-term physical conditions to further assess the impact of clothing on emotional well-being. Currently, the researchers hope to extend its work to teenagers living with musculoskeletal conditions – having acknowledged that clothing has a strong influence on identity, it would be ideal to develop a distinct set of design parameters that are specific to adolescent needs.

In this momentum for considerate design, it is imperative for cross-disciplinary collaboration between fashion and healthcare to continue. Both fields engage the body with mental and social implications – the mutual sharing of expertise can help build holistic solutions that are better suited to people’s needs. Particularly, service users/patients and carers need to be valued as the intermediary in this endeavour. As demonstrated in Garment+, their coinvolvement throughout the research cycle can highlight barriers easily overlooked by healthcare staff and designers alike.

The project outcomes served as alternate design proposals that advocate for functionality and aesthetics to be of equal emphasis in order to maximise emotional satisfaction, independence, dignity, and social affirmation. The process showed that the design guidelines put in place did not limit artistic expression, rather, it was an opportunity for designers to challenge themselves creatively to solve and support people’s needs beyond their own personal aesthetic inclinations. Garment+ is essentially a transitional bid for a more affirmative mode of fashion by rethinking the design and development process. Future research should examine fashion and its components from a social design perspective.

Endnotes

- ¹ Arthritis UK, “Musculoskeletal Conditions and Multimorbidities Report, 2017,” <http://www.arthritisresearchuk.org/policy-and-public-affairs/policy-reports/multimorbidity.aspx>, p 24, accessed 3 October 2017.

- ² Andrew M Bassett, et al, "Rheumatoid Arthritis Portrayal by UK National Newspapers 2011-2016: A Service User-Led Thematic Analysis of Language Used," *BMC Rheumatology*, Volume 2, Article 5, 2018, <https://bmcrheumatol.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s41927-018-0013-z?Site=Bmcrheumatol.biomedcentral.com>, accessed 9 February 2018.
- ³ Gov.uk, "Equality Act 2010," www.legislation.gov.uk, accessed 3 November 2017.
- ⁴ Arthritis UK, "State of Musculoskeletal Health 2017," <https://www.arthritisresearchuk.org/arthritis-information/data-and-statistics/state-of-musculoskeletal-health.aspx>, p 8, accessed 5 October 2017.
- ⁵ George Freeman and Jane Hughes, *Continuity of Care and the Patient Experience*, The King's Fund, London, England, 2010.
- ⁶ Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson, *Body Dressing*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2001.
- ⁷ Jose Teunissen, "Fashion: More Than Cloth and Form," in Black, Sandy, et al, eds, *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2013, pp 197-213.
- ⁸ Hajo Adam and Adam D Galinsky, "Enclothed Cognition," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, Volume 48, Issue 4, 2012, pp 918-925.
- ⁹ Mary E Roach-Higgins and Joanne B Eicher, "Dress and Identity," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Volume 10, Issue 4, 1992, pp 1-8.
- ¹⁰ Lisa J Stead, *"The Emotional Wardrobe: A Fashion Perspective on the Integration of Technology and Clothing"*, PhD Thesis, University of the Arts, London, England, 2005.
- ¹¹ Julia Twigg, "Clothing and Dementia: A Neglected Dimension?," *Journal of Aging Studies*, Volume 24, Issue 4, 2010, pp 223-230.
- ¹² Robert Bogdan, Martin Elks, and James A Knoll, *Picturing Disability: Beggar, Freak, Citizen and Other Photographic Rhetoric*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, United States, 2012.
- ¹³ Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon, *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability, 1900-1950*, Northcote House Publishers, Plymouth, England, 1992.
- ¹⁴ Helen Cookman and Muriel E Zimmerman, *Functional Fashions for the Physically Handicapped*, Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University Medical Centre, New York, United States, 1961.
- ¹⁵ Anne Kernalguen, *Clothing Designs for the Handicapped*, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, Canada, 1978.
- ¹⁶ Kate Carroll, "Fashion Design and Disability," in Alison Gwilt, ed, *Fashion Design for Living*, Routledge, Abingdon, England, 2015, pp 151-167.
- ¹⁷ John Thomson and Adolphe Smith, *Street Life in London*, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, England, 1877, p 19.
- ¹⁸ Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 2000.
- ¹⁹ Elizabeth Bye, "A Direction for Clothing and Textile Design Research," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 3, 2010, pp 205-217.
- ²⁰ Sue Jenkyn-Jones, *Fashion Design*, Laurence King, London, England, 2011.
- ²¹ Richard Sorger and Jenny Udale, *The Fundamentals of Fashion Design*, Second Edition, AVA Publishing, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2012.
- ²² Marian L Davis, *Visual Design in Dress*, Third Edition, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, United States, 1996.
- ²³ Jane M Lamb and M Jo Kallal, "A Conceptual Framework for Apparel Design," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 1992, pp 42-47.
- ²⁴ Heejae Jin and Catherine Black, "Assessing Functional and Aesthetics Clothing Needs of Young Male Tennis Players," *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, Volume 5, Issue 2, 2012, pp 145-150.
- ²⁵ Catherine Black and Rinn M Cloud, "Assessing Functional Clothing Needs of Bicycle Patrol Officers," *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2009, pp 35-42.

- ²⁶ Heida Wagner, Angella J Kim and Linsey Gordon, "Relationship between Personal Protective Equipment, Self-Efficacy, and Job Satisfaction of Women in the Building Trades," *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management*, Volume 139, Issue 10, 2013.
- ²⁷ Jin and Black, op cit.
- ²⁸ Black and Cloud, op cit.
- ²⁹ Hyosun An and Inseong Lee, "A Conceptual Framework for Asian Women's Emotional Needs in Fashion Design," *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, Volume 8, Issue 3, 2015, pp 206-213.
- ³⁰ Savia de Souza, et al, "Patient Involvement in Rheumatology Outpatient Service Design and Delivery: A Case Study," *Health Expectations*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 2017, pp 508-518.
- ³¹ Rebecca W N Blackwell, et al, "Using Experience-based Codesign with Older Patients, their Families and Staff to Improve Palliative Care Experiences in the Emergency Department: A Reflective Critique on the Process and Outcomes," *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, Volume 68, Issue 3, 2017, pp 83-94.
- ³² Carole Mockford, et al, "The Impact of Patient and Public Involvement on UK NHS Health Care: A Systematic Review," *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, Volume 24, Issue 1, 2012, pp 28-38.
- ³³ Juan P Domecq, et al, "Patient Engagement in Research: A Systematic Review," *BMC Health Services Research*, Volume 89, 2014.

Bibliography

Published

- Adam, Hajo and Galinsky, Adam D, "Enclothed Cognition," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, Volume 48, Issue 4, 2012, pp 918-925.
- An, Hyosun, and Lee, Inseong, "A Conceptual Framework for Asian Women's Emotional Needs in Fashion Design," *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, Volume 8, Issue 3, 2015, pp 206-213.
- Black, Catherine, and Cloud, Rinn M, "Assessing Functional Clothing Needs of Bicycle Patrol Officers," *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2009, pp 35-42.
- Blackwell, Rebecca W N, Lowton, Karen, Robert, Glenn, Grudzen, Corita, and Grocott, Patricia, "Using Experience-based Codesign with Older Patients, their Families and Staff to Improve Palliative Care Experiences in the Emergency Department: A Reflective Critique on the Process and Outcomes," *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, Volume 68, Issue 3, 2017, pp 83-94.
- Bogdan, Robert, Elks, Martin, and Knoll, James A, *Picturing Disability: Beggar, Freak, Citizen and Other Photographic Rhetoric*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, United States, 2012.
- Bye, Elizabeth, "A Direction for Clothing and Textile Design Research," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 3, 2010, pp 205-217.
- Carroll, Kate, "Fashion and Disability," in Gwilt, Alison, ed, *Fashion Design for Living*, Routledge, Abingdon, England, 2015, pp 151-167.
- Cookman, Helen, and Zimmerman, Muriel E, *Functional Fashions for the Physically Handicapped*, Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University Medical Centre, New York, United States, 1961.

- Davis, Marian L, *Visual Design in Dress*, Third Edition, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, United States, 1996.
- Domecq, Juan P, Prutsky, Gabriela, Elraiyah, Tarig, Wang, Zhen, Nabhan, Mohammed, Shippee, Nathan, Brito, Juan P, Boehmer, Kasey, Hasan, Rim, Firwana, Belal, Erwin, Patricia, Eton, David, Sloan, Jeff, Montori, Victor, Asi, Noor, Dabrh, Abd M A, and Murad, Hassan M, "Patient Engagement in Research: A Systematic Review," *BMC Health Services Research*, Volume 89, 2014.
- Entwistle, Joanne, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 2000.
- Entwistle, Joanne and Wilson, Elizabeth, *Body Dressing*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2001.
- Freeman, George, and Hughes, Jane, *Continuity of Care and the Patient Experience*, The King's Fund, London, England, 2010.
- Humphries, Steve, and Gordon, Pamela, *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability, 1900-1950*, Northcote House Publishers, Plymouth, England, 1992.
- Jenkyn-Jones, Sue, *Fashion Design*, Laurence King, London, England, 2011.
- Jin, Heejae, and Black, Catherine, "Assessing Functional and Aesthetics Clothing Needs of Young Male Tennis Players," *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, Volume 5, Issue 2, 2012, pp 145-150.
- Kernaleguen, Anne, *Clothing Designs for the Handicapped*, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, Canada, 1978.
- Lamb, Jane M, and Kallal, M Jo, "A Conceptual Framework for Apparel Design," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 1992, pp 42-47.
- Mockford, Carole, Staniszewska, Sophie, Griffiths, Frances, and Herron-Marx Sandra, "The Impact of Patient and Public Involvement on UK NHS Health Care: A Systematic Review," *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, Volume 24, Issue 1, 2012, pp 28-38.
- Roach-Higgins, Mary E, and Eicher, Joanne B, "Dress and Identity," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Volume 10, Issue 4, 1992, pp 1-8.
- Sorger, Richard, and Udale, Jenny, *The Fundamentals of Fashion Design*, Second Edition, AVA Publishing, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2012.
- de Souza, Savia, Galloway, James, Simpson, Carol, Chura, Radka, Dobson, Joanne Gullick, Nicola J, Steer, Sophia, and Lempp, Heidi, "Patient Involvement in Rheumatology Outpatient Service Design and Delivery: A Case Study," *Health Expectations*, 2017, Volume 20, Issue 3, pp 508-518.
- Stead, Lisa J, "*The Emotional Wardrobe: A Fashion Perspective on the Integration of Technology and Clothing*," PhD Thesis, University of the Arts, London, England, 2005.
- Teunissen, Jose, "Fashion: More Than Cloth and Form," in Black, Sandy, de la Haye, Amy, Entwistle, Root, Regina, Rocamora, Agnès, and Thomas, Helen, eds, *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2013, pp 197-213.
- Thomson, John, and Smith, Adolphe, *Street Life in London*, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, England, 1877.
- Twigg, Julia, "Clothing and Dementia: A Neglected Dimension?," *Journal of Aging Studies*, Volume 24, Issue 4, 2010, pp 223-230.

Wagner, Heidi, Kim, Angella J, and Gordon, Linsey, "Relationship between Personal Protective Equipment, Self-Efficacy, and Job Satisfaction of Women in the Building Trades," *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management*, Volume 139, Issue 10, 2013.

Internet Sources

Arthritis UK, "Musculoskeletal Conditions and Multimorbidities Report, 2017," <http://www.arthritisresearchuk.org/policy-and-public-affairs/policy-reports/multimorbidity.aspx>, accessed 3 October 2017.

Arthritis UK, "State of Musculoskeletal Health 2017," <https://www.arthritisresearchuk.org/arthritis-information/data-and-statistics/state-of-musculoskeletal-health.aspx>, accessed 5 October 2017.

Bassett, Andrew M, de Souza, Savia, Williams, Ruth and Lempp, Heidi, "Rheumatoid Arthritis Portrayal by UK National Newspapers 2011-2016: A Service User-Led Thematic Analysis of Language Used," *BMC Rheumatology*, Volume 2, Article 5, 2018, <https://bmcrheumatol.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s41927-018-0013-z?Site=bmcrheumatol.biomedcentral.com>, accessed 9 February 2018.

Gov.UK, "Equality Act 2010," www.legislation.gov.uk, accessed 3 November 2017.

Acknowledgements

The researchers would like to express their utmost appreciation for the enthusiastic contributions made by our patient participants Carol Simpson, Savia de Souza, Inua Ellam, Thomas Esterine, Marko Milasevic, Graham Peabody, and John Prout.

We would also like to thank Edmund Gillingwater for his transcription services and Dr James Galloway for his support for this project.

This phase of Garment+ was brokered and supported by the Cultural Institute at King's College London.

Copyright © 2018 Alexa Chan and Heidi Lempp
Email: alexa@aaikai.com and heidi.lempp@kcl.ac.uk

Alexa Chan is a multidisciplinary designer working at the intersection of health, fashion, and technology and an advocate for democratic design. A recent MA Fashion Futures graduate from London College of Fashion, her thesis proposing clothing as vehicles for healthcare interventions garnered the top Distinction award. It has since developed into a close design partnership with King's College Hospital and the Academic Department of Rheumatology at King's College London to redesign the fashion design approach, brokered and supported by the Cultural Institute at King's College London.

Dr Heidi Lempp is a Senior Lecturer in Medical Sociology at the Academic Department of Rheumatology, Faculty of Life Sciences and Medicine at King's College London. Her research interests are patient and public involvement in research, teaching and improvement in health service delivery, the interface of physical and mental health, psychological intervention in rheumatology, psycho-social aspects of living with long-term musculoskeletal conditions and the sociology of medical education. Dr Lempp has a keen interest to collaborate with colleagues outside medicine to make a difference to patients' quality of life and has been working with artists for many years.

How to Cross-Dress in Eighteenth-Century Sweden: Skills, Props, and Audiences

Lovisa Willborg Jonsson

Abstract

This paper explores the tradition of female cross-dressing in eighteenth-century Sweden. Based on trial records in which women were prosecuted for wearing men's clothing, this study aims to challenge the grand narratives of fashion and gender, and shed light on non-elite dress cultures. Exploring the material culture presented in the source material allows for a historical exposition of the unofficial ways of acquiring clothes in eighteenth-century Sweden. The paper argues that a widespread second-hand market, a tradition of recycling clothes, along with a supportive local community allowed for the official dress codes to be violated which opened room for various degrees of cross-dressing.

Introduction

Her outfit comprised an outer piece which consisted of a hunting jacket for women ... Her shirt was a man's shirt, and it had a collar fastened under her neck with just a needle and left the back fully open ... the shirt hung off the half-jacket, as it usually does on a man, and she showed with her arms and hands as much fabric as men are allowed to show ... Her shoes were fully male.¹

In her memoirs, the French mistress of Queen Anne of Austria, Madame de Motteville, illustrates the appearance of Queen Christina of Sweden upon her arrival in Paris in 1656. "King Christina," as she has come to be popularly called, appears to have had an undefined gender identity, which was manifested in her appearance. How contemporaries perceived Queen Christina's queer identity is, however, not representative of how gender transgressing was perceived in other levels of society. Fifteen years after Christina's time as regent, a woman was executed for having disguised herself, and lived, as a man.² The question of intention and social circumstances clearly had a crucial impact on how transgressing gender was perceived.

Social historians Dekker and van de Pol, in their book, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early-Modern Europe*, argue that female cross-dressing in this period was embedded within a widespread tradition in northwest Europe.³ A significant part of this tradition was women cross-dressing on the early-modern theatre stage. The tradition of theatre and performance, popular literature and prose, etc is undoubtedly a valuable source of information when studying cross-dressing in the early-modern period. It is filled with mythical stories of people transgressing gender boundaries, particularly witty women in male disguise or Amazonian heroines. Whether fictional or not, some of these cross-dressers appear iconic and their pictures were circulated in prints and paintings on a pan-European level throughout the eighteenth century such as the legendary cross-dresser Chevalier D'Eon (Figure 1) or Sweden's own "king/queen" Christina (Figure 2), whose mythical "queer persona" continued to be visualised long after her time.



Figure 1

Chevalier D'Éon, 1777, unknown artist, etching and line engraving, 225x142mm, National Portrait Gallery, London, England, NPG D43329.



Figure 2

Christina, Queen of Sweden, 1793, engraving after an original drawing, published by J Good, Bond Street, 200x120mm, Kungliga Biblioteket [The National Library], Stockholm, Sweden.

Although there are obvious links between the reality of cross-dressing and how it was represented in cultural media, these sources fail to explain the everyday experience of ordinary people who, for whatever reason, transgressed social boundaries in their way of dressing. Likewise, the lack of archival material that relates to ordinary people's clothes of the early-modern period has effectively led to a rather linear history of fashion and dress, which effectively permeates its reading. It is therefore generally difficult to get a sense of the everyday dress culture of ordinary people, and especially of those who did not conform to social norms.

Marjorie Garber's comprehensive work, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, examines how cross-dressing has caused anxiety in the past and the present. Garber argues that, "The anxiety about cross-dressing is manifested by authoritarian structures as a sign and symptom of the dissolution of boundaries, and of the arbitrariness of social law and customs."⁴ This argument illustrates the very essence of the primary source material that this research paper is based on, namely, trial cases of women prosecuted for wearing men's clothing. These trial records have previously been studied as a group by social historian, Jonas Liliequist, investigating the motivations behind female cross-dressing in the early-modern period, and how this crime was classified within the system of law.⁵ Approaching these records as a design historian, with an emphasis on material culture, the narratives in these records give away hints about materials, objects, skills, and techniques that contribute to the history of clothing

and dress, and especially non-elite dress that purposefully fell outside the mainstream of fashion. Indeed, it is the contention of this paper that material supports like wigs, shoes, and appropriate clothing acted as a further barrier to transgressing social norms; because cross-dressing in order to impersonate another sex or social class required no small degree of embodied skill, economic resources, and imagination. Moreover, because props were sometimes difficult to acquire, they also fixed transvestites in coded material culture that spoke directly to questions of seriousness or intentionality. Certainly, the morality of dress was highly blurred for those at the bottom of the social spectrum, which gave many labouring women a certain license when it came to adopting male roles.

Violating Dress Codes – the Feasibility of Cross-Dressing

In Sweden, sumptuary laws attempted to enforce a top-down vision of social order by regulating the purchase and use of clothing. Potentially this made cross-dressing in any way very tricky. However, we forget that the early-modern world was characterised by a number of informal and non-market modes of distribution and acquisition that allowed clothes to circulate. Dress existed on a spectrum of legitimacy, which, though ideally regulated to foster social distinction, was in practice subverted by the market and through plebeian rituals. This opened up room for various degrees of cross-dressing.

That dress was to function as a proof of identity essentially only worked if people conformed to the official dress codes. The vastly publicised sumptuary laws in eighteenth-century Sweden reveal their own inefficiency, as they were continuously modified. For instance, an enactment published in June 1720 commanded that luxury textiles, eg silk in all its forms, was strictly forbidden for wear by “all servants, in the city as well as the country, also other loose common people.” Some ten years later, it was added that “Maids and household servants can only wear silks if their housemothers have given it to them. When their service is over they can no longer wear those clothes.”⁶ As clothes were considered valuable products they were often given by households to their servants in return for their service. Effectively, this hampered the authorities’ ability to control the use of clothes and accessories among the lower ranks of society.

The second-hand market flourished through auctions, newspaper articles and cloth-makers’ networks, which made the distinction of old and new clothes unclear. A publication from June 1735 contains a decree regarding “A particular men’s fashion,” and commands that “the clothes that are already made and in use, these must be registered through the Registry Offices in the cities and the local Registry Offices in the country.”⁷ Regardless of whether this system was productive or not, this yet again reveals that clothes circulated in distribution channels beyond the control of the authorities. Being able to alter old clothes according to new trends was generally more important than acquiring new clothes, in all levels of society.⁸ Furthermore, if recycling clothes was the norm for large sections of the population, it may have acted as a good camouflage for cross-dressers who could easily blend into their scuffed, nondescript, unfashionable ranks and not be noticed.

The narratives in the trial records reveal different ways in which the female cross-dressers engaged with these informal marketplaces. The second-hand trade, which was spread out all over the country, was however, likely to be governed from the cities, as tailors, salesmen, pawnbrokers, and clothing dealers there had more or less fixed locations and were therefore easily identifiable. Maria Åhrman stated in her trial in 1799 that after she had been discovered to be a woman she had wanted to “travel to Stockholm to change her clothes, and get clothes that belonged and was consistent with her true sex.”⁹ Cities would allow someone anonymity to a greater extent than the country towns would, which may have facilitated a change of identity with a lower risk of being discovered. The urban space, or rather moving between places, were thus key strategies for accessing clothes and transitioning gender.

Other aspects central to the second-hand clothing market were sewing skills and access to tools and materials. Women were taught at an early age to mend and repair clothing and therefore played a key role in the recycling of clothes. Possessing sewing skills for mending and altering clothes enabled them to turn used clothes into wearable garments.¹⁰ Dressed as a man, Åhrman worked as an apprentice with

a tailor in Stockholm, and after she had returned to her home village she made her living out of sewing work. Other sources show similar patterns, for instance, one woman worked in a textile factory and another worked as an apprentice with a shoemaker. Possessing knowledge about textiles and other materials, along with crafting skills may thus have been to the advantage of cross-dressing women, as they could easily earn their livings by using those already developed skills. Furthermore, their profession ought to have given them access to tools, disposable textiles and garments, and possibly also to a network of clothmakers to the trade.

Gifted clothes were by far the most common way for cross-dressing women to acquire their men's clothes. Anna Eleonora Ekelöf, who initially pawned her women's clothes for money for her journey to Norway, accounted for several people who had provided her with clothes along the way:

of the runaway baker Schultz in Arboga ... a blue grey coat and trousers and a Black Satin waistcoat, a ... shirt of the Norwegian soldier Baji, and boots of Jan Fredrich Lindstedt, and a hat with a narrow golden ribbon around of a Norwegian man ... and a sword by the side that belonged to the customs officer in Magnebro.¹¹

An even more literal example of the local communities' involvement in these women's transitioning appears in Anna Johansdotter's narrative. Johansdotter accounts that she had "undressed (and) changed into men's clothing in front of those who were at the pub who had convinced her to."¹² The crowd was actively involved in her transitioning because, in her own words, "she had always worn trousers, also at that time, but other than that women's clothes."¹³ The supporting, and even encouraging, attitude of the local communities was thus an important prerequisite for the feasibility of cross-dressing.

What motivated these women to cross-dress is crucial in the understanding of their social circumstances. They were all young, unmarried, and more or less rootless, thus, life as a man changed their prospects, whether it was serving in the army or doing farm work. Karin Johansdotter explains how she decided to "dress in men's clothing to increase her chances of getting accepted into service."¹⁴ Also in Maria Johansdotter's case she always dressed "in trousers ... and thereto women's clothes" and further explains that even when she was dressed in women's clothing she always stuck to men's duties because she preferred "carrying a load of firewood back from the forest rather than washing dishes." Johansdotter may have identified with the lifestyle prescribed for the male gender and was therefore motivated to dress in men's clothing, however, as her story continues she adds that when she started wearing men's clothing she made the decision "to never love men."¹⁵ Her narrative is one among many of the others that reveal lesbian love stories and romances, which indicates the importance of sexuality as a possible driving force for women to have cross-dressed, even if this is only rather vaguely articulated in the trial records.

Whether women violating official dress codes was a matter of identity politics, sexuality, or social rank it was, as we have seen, not always in the form of a distinct disguise. Karin Johansdotter, in response to the question as to whether she had presented herself as a maid or a farm worker, replied that "people in the village calls her sometimes Karl and sometimes Karin – as they liked."¹⁶ Johansdotter was in fact known to her local community for both her male and female identity. The point of discussion in the trials was always "wearing men's clothing" which did not necessarily mean that the person disguised themselves fully to be men, identified as a man, or that people perceived them as either man or woman. Gender and gendered appearance may in fact have been a less distinctive binary than the authoritative voices of the trials suggest.

Considering the ambiguous attitude towards cross-dressing in the trials, the core issue appears to be that it threatened power structures. Cross-dressing was considered a crime against the morals of Christianity, hence it challenged a social order that was maintained by the Church.¹⁷ As concisely concluded in Maria Århman's trial in 1799, "Anna Maria Åhrman, who played this role, had many sympathisers, that praised her wit; but thinkers condemned her foolishness, especially as religion,

ceremonies and laws thereby lost their force and sanctity.”¹⁸ Thus, the anxiety about cross-dressing, that the trial records presumably represent, are in fact no more than “a sign and symptom of the dissolution of boundaries, and the arbitrariness of social law and customs” manifested by authoritarian structures.¹⁹ But how was this “sign and symptom” actually articulated in the trials and what does it say about the perception of gendered dress at the time? This calls for a closer investigation of what the actual features were that defined the female cross-dresser, hence induced the anxiety that led to prosecution.

Body Management and Self-Fashioning

Appearance that ideally functioned as a proof of identity became complex in cases of cross-dressing, as cross-dressing itself disrupted the belief that identities were stable. It is however important to acknowledge that bodies were not without agency, to follow Joanne Entwistle’s thought, “Dress, the body and the self are perceived simultaneously as a totality.”²⁰ The body and its characteristics were repeatedly commented on in the trials as body shape, posture, voice, weight, length, hair growth, etc gave notions of credibility and therefore functioned as circumstantial evidence. Åhrman’s men’s clothes, for instance, were “badly fitted to her body however [she looked] healthy and florid, and, of average growth and body strength, although her speech is womanly.”²¹ Moreover, Karin Johansdotter was “little and weak”²² and Ekelöf, who was “still dressed in men’s clothing at the day of the trial,” was “notably small and stocky in body shape.”²³ It becomes clear that the physical was taken into consideration when trying to establish “the true sex” of the accused.

Examination of the accused’s body was a necessary and prominent feature of the trials, essentially as these women sometimes manipulated their bodies to conform to the ideals of manliness. A midwife accounted for the inspection of Åhrman’s body and how she had been mistaken about her true sex due to the way in which Åhrman had simulated a penis. She explained that:

... she noticed that Åhrman was provided with a man’s character, although, Åhrman hid this away with the linen fabric... Therefore, she could not really see if everything was in its natural and right order ... the inspection had gone rather quick, because she assumed that Åhrman was a man and that Åhrman had folded the fabric so that it took the shape of a man’s character, that ... was hidden underneath she could not have known.²⁴

Previous research has found similar ways in which cross-dressing women engaged with material strategies to pass as men, eg Dekker and van de Pol, who refer to a case in which a woman told how she had urinated through a “silver tube.”²⁵ Thus, clothes and props did not only reflect a gender identity but also played a hidden role, serving as prosthetic device.

Because clothes and materials functioned as circumstantial evidence, detailed descriptions of people’s clothes were an essential part of the trial hearings in order to establish the true identity of the person behind the disguise and also to understand the amplitude of the crime. When considering the frequency of how specific elements of dress are mentioned in the trial records, it is not surprising that trousers occur as crucial evidence, acting as a central signifier for defining the cross-dresser. Coats, as well as the clear distinction between men’s and women’s shoes, were also repeatedly notified. Hence, trousers, coats, and shoes are important elements of dress to consider when examining key signifiers for gendered dress, to which scholars of fashion and dress history unquestionably have paid attention. Moreover, what is striking in these records is the significance of hair and headgear; its structure, its multiple agency and its connotations.

Dress was, in the trials, treated as a matter of morality and hair not only functioned as material evidence but also as moral condemnation. In Anna Johansdotter’s trial record it is noted that she attended court with loose hair and Karin Johansdotter states in her trial that when she attended church “she always wore a woman’s hat and a skirt; but otherwise not.”²⁶ Female hair is historically closely linked to sexuality. In their introductory chapter to the anthology, *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion Hair*, Geraldine



Figure 3

Women in a Kitchen, Pehr Hilleström, 1732-1816,
oil on canvas, 790x650mm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden, NM 4771.

Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang argue that “looseness” of female hair connotes moral looseness and uncontrolled sexuality, and contrariwise, “disciplined” hair symbolises controlled and controlling feminine sexuality.²⁷ In the painting *Women in the Kitchen*, the court painter Pehr Hilleström depicts a somewhat idealised version of a domestic scene of two middle-class women (Figure 3). From the perspective of the male gaze, the woman on the right is making herself ready for the public view, with a cloth closely wrapped around her head, tightening her stockings, making sure no part of the legs or hair are exposed. As much as wearing trousers would expose a woman’s legs, the dressing or concealment of hair was strongly connoted with a person’s sexual morality, and hence sensitive to shame and disgrace, which was the very essence of the trials themselves. In the courtroom, the simple fact that hair was on display, pointed out the cross-dressing women’s “loose” morals, which effectively had to be condemned.

The way that hair, as a key signifier for gender, informed female cross-dressing is particularly evident in Anna Ekelöf’s narrative. Interestingly, it is not just the fact that her hair was displayed in the courtroom

but rather the structure and manipulation of it. A thorough examination was given to what areas of the head had been shaved, “Anna Eleonora Ekelöf has shaved her forehead and temples almost all the way to the vertex, where she has let her blonde hair be cut off like a toupee ... but in the back plaited in a pigtail ... not very long.”²⁸ This description suggests that the way she had dressed it supported her attempt to pass as a man; whilst also the act of shaving feeds into the notions of gender transgression. The act of shaving was, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, explicitly linked to masculinity. Gunilla Harberg was asked in her trial who had cut her hair off and shaved her forehead, to which she responded that “she had cut her hair off herself and let a boatsman ... shave her forehead.”²⁹ The razor can, according to Susan Vincent, be seen as a gendered object as it needed to be handled with care and required technical tools for maintenance.³⁰ It was thus considered a dangerous tool that should not be handled by women.

Not only did the act of shaving itself feed into notions of gender transgressing but also the very reason for shaving – and it was not because men had particularly short hair. An element crucial to the idea of embodying gender and class in the long eighteenth century was the wearing of wigs, which to a man was generally connected to shaving his head. Different types of wigs required different kinds of manipulation of one’s real head hair, thus, half-wigs, toupees, and top-pieces did not require a fully shaved head.³¹ This somewhat resolves the curious haircuts of the women mentioned above. Wigs may have functioned as a useful prop for women who aimed to impersonate a man of high social rank, which in the courtroom addressed issues not only of gender but also of class.

Eighteenth-century wigs were not only an essential part of the upper-class gentleman’s sartorial display. They also had the function to conceal, to convert, and to disguise. In her PhD thesis on eighteenth-century hair and wigs, Emma Markiewicz explains their transforming agency further:

Changing the hair, or wearing a wig, had the effect of transforming an individual’s physical appearance ... and this led to the suspicion that the wearer may also have disguised or somehow transformed their inner being. This type of transformation was looked on with mistrust, as the reasons someone might wish to change their appearance were unlikely to be honest or straightforward. Those seeking to conceal for what were considered illegal or immoral reasons ... commonly used wigs to deliberately disguise their physical appearance.³²

Hair and wigs were thus objects that embodied all the anxieties that also occurred in relation to cross-dressing as, when worn inappropriately, they evoked the suspicion of dishonesty and illicit intention.

When hair was dressed, or undressed, outside of its normative order, it caused anxiety for its many ways of being intertwined with sexuality. The cross-dresser did however not only disrupt the moral dress code for one of the two genders. Equally, it destabilised the normative social characteristics of the opposite gender. In other words, women violating dress codes automatically also challenged the normative construction of gender. In that way, female cross-dressers also somewhat destabilised notions of male sexuality. Hair, with its multiple meanings and its multifaceted agency can here be seen as a disruptive element that intervened “not just the category crises of male and female, but the crises of category itself” – a woman taken for a man with an unstable masculinity and a loose female sexuality.³³

New sartorial ideals, not least in hairstyles, brought along new definitions of gendered appearance, equally in relation to concepts of space, sexuality, and everyday performance. Along with socioeconomic changes, the eighteenth century negotiated a new type of masculinity, which is essentially visible in the abolishment of wigs at the end of the century (Figure 4).³⁴ The local newspaper *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* on 12 December 1796 published an article on an event that took place in Paris, that reflects how hair, on new terms, provoked suspicion about untruthful identities and blurred distinctions between the male and female gender:



Figure 4

An Unknown Man, Jacob Axel Gillberg, 1804, silver pen/watercolour/wash drawing on ivory, 63mm high, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden, NMB 1822.

Now the current young men's courage, to comb down their hair over their forehead and ears, so that they can more easily stay unknown, the Police want to arrest those who wear their hair in such way. In fact, yesterday a Dutch Legation-Secretary was actually arrested, whilst his hairdo and dress was so womanly, that the Police Officer's first question to him was, (to ask) if he was a man or a woman, inasmuch as our women now often can be seen in men's clothes at the theatre.³⁵

This quote enhances the complex juxtaposition of gender transgressing in relation to safe and unsafe space, fiction and reality, and, male and female ideals. Cross-dressing thus intervened notions of binaries beyond concepts of gender and sexuality.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the tradition of female cross-dressing in eighteenth-century Sweden through the lens of design history. It has demonstrated how material culture can add new layers of understanding to a pre-existing academic and popular debate about social norms in the early-modern period. With an emphasis on skills and acquisition, it is argued that female cross-dressing was a form of resistance to the discourse on identity and dress driven by the fashionable elite. Furthermore, it is proposed that female cross-dressing was enabled by minor acts of resistance on a much larger scale because female cross-dressing was feasible through the widespread second-hand market, crafting skills and a supportive local community. A mainstream culture of dress permeated by unofficial markets and recycling of clothes enabled people to dress across social boundaries.

Women who appeared masculine did not just challenge the female normative dress codes but also destabilised normative constructions of gender as a totality. Eighteenth-century hair with its complex

composition with various cultural meanings, and its multiple agency, symbolised a crisis of the very notion of gender. Furthermore, the way in which material strategies, in terms of props and skills, were used to conform to ideas of manliness – to perform an identity to a very much interactive audience – threatened the social order of things and of people. Clearly, women cross-dressing was perceived differently on a grass root level than by moralists who were more concerned with keeping the authoritative institutions alive.

Endnotes

- ¹ Eva Haettner Aurelius, “Roller på livets och historiens scen – Drottning Kristinas bilder av sig själv” in Bilder av Kristina drottning av Sverige – drottning i Rom” [“Roles on the Stage of Life and History: Queen Christina’s Images of Herself”] in Per Sandin, ed, *Images of Christina: Queen of Sweden – Queen in Rome*, Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden, 2013, p 274.
Original source: Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires (1615–1666), Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires Relatifs à l’Histoire de France depuis le XIIIe Siècle jusqu’à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle*, Volume 24, Joseph-François Michaud, and Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat, eds, Paris, France, 1881, p 451.
- ² Jonas Liliequist, “Kvinnor i manskläder och åtrå mellan kvinnor – Kulturella förväntningar och kvinnliga strategier i det tidigmoderna Sverige och Finland,” [“Women in Men’s Clothing and Desire Between Women: Cultural Expectations and Female Strategies in Early-Modern Sweden and Finland”] in Eva Borgström, ed, *Makalösa kvinnor – könsöverskridare i myt och verklighet*, [Remarkable Women: Transgressing Gender in Myth and Reality], Alfabeta Anamma, Stockholm, Sweden, 2002, p 93.
- ³ Rudolf M Dekker and Lotte C van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early-Modern Europe*, Macmillan Publishers, London, England, 1989, p 40.
- ⁴ Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, Routledge, London, 1992, p 25–26.
- ⁵ Liliequist, op cit.
- ⁶ *Sammandrag Utaf Kong Maj:ts tid efter annan utgångne Rådige Förordningar och förklaringar angående Wisse Tyger och Klädebonader/Som de gemena och tjenstefolket i anledning deraf antingen är tillåtit eller förbudt at bära.* [Summary of HRH’s Time after Another Discontinued Resourceful Ordinance and Explanations Regarding Certain Textiles and Clothing that the Common and Serving People in Reason Thereof are Allowed or Forbidden to Wear], Kongl Boktryckeriet, Kungliga Biblioteket [National Library] Stockholm, Sweden, 1733.
- ⁷ *Kongl: Maj: Nådige Förordning Angående Ett Wisst MODE på Mans Klädekläder Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren den 26 Junii, 1735*, [HRH’s Gracious Ordinance Regarding a Certain Fashion on Men’s Dress Given Stockholm in the Council Chamber 26 June 1735], Kongl Boktryckeriet, Kungliga Biblioteket [The National Library], Stockholm, Sweden, 1735.
- ⁸ Pernilla Rasmussen, “Recycling a Fashionable Wardrobe in the Long Eighteenth Century in Sweden,” *History of Retailing and Consumption*, Volume 2, Issue 3, June 2016, p 211.
- ⁹ 2/8 1800 AIII:2, Urtima Court, Vaksala District, The National Archive in Uppsala, Riksarkivet, Sweden.
- ¹⁰ Rasmussen, op cit.
- ¹¹ 28/6 1765, Urtima Ting, Jösse Härad, Värmlandsarkiv, Riksarkivet [The National Archive], Sweden.
- ¹² 10/10 1705 and 13/2 1706, Svartsjö och Färentuna Häradsting, Svea Hovrättens renoverade domböcker, [Svartsjö and Färentuna District Court, Svea Court of Appeal’s restored trial books], Stockholm läns Stadsarkiv, Riksarkivet [The National Archive] Sweden.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ HRH to Åbo Court of Appeal 8/6 1726, copy in B 240; number 1259, Uppsala University Library, Sweden.
- ¹⁵ 10/10 1705 and 13/2, op cit.
- ¹⁶ Kangasala socken, Ikalis domsaga, 28–31/8 1725, Ikalis domsaga, Vol 6, Landsarkivet in Åbo (also in Justitierevisionen), [Kangasala Parish, Ikalis Juridical District, 28–31/8 1726, Ikalis Juridical

District, Vol 6, The National Archive in Åbo (also in The Justice Audit)]; Wichtis socken och Pusula Capelgield, Wanhala domsaga, 8/2 1726, Justitierevisionen, utslagshandlingar, 8 June 1726, nr 4, [Wichtis Parish and Pusula Capelgield, Wanhala Juridical District, 8/2 1726, The Justice Audit, 8 June 1726, nr 4]; Riksarkivet [The National Archive], Sweden.

- ¹⁷ Dekker and van de Pol, op cit, p 75.
- ¹⁸ 2/8 1800 AIII:2, op cit.
- ¹⁹ Garber, op cit, p 17.
- ²⁰ Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 2000, p 10.
- ²¹ 2/8 1800 AIII:2, op cit.
- ²² HRH to Åbo Court of Appeal, op cit.
- ²³ 28/6 1765, op cit.
- ²⁴ 2/8 1800 AIII:2, op cit.
- ²⁵ Dekker and van de Pol, op cit, p 15.
- ²⁶ HRH to Åbo Court of Appeal, op cit.
- ²⁷ Sarah Cheang and Geraldine Biddle-Perry, "Introduction: Thinking About Hair," in Sarah Cheang and Geraldine Biddle-Perry, eds, *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2008, p 9.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ 15/3 1721 Göta Hovrätts Renoverade Domböcker EVIIBBAA: 999a [15/3 1721 Göta Court of Appeal's restored trial books, EVIIBBAA: 999a]. Also in crime report 14/10 1721, BIIA: 28, Karlkronas Rådstuvurätt, Riksarkivet [The National Archive, Sweden].
- ³⁰ Susan Vincent, "Men's Hair: Managing Appearance in the Long Eighteenth Century," in Hannah Greig, Jane Hamlett and Leonie Hannan, eds, *Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, England, 2015, p 52.
- ³¹ Marcia Pointon, "Dangerous Excrescences: Wigs, Hair and Masculinity," in Marcia Pointon, ed, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, Yale University Press, London, England, 1993, p 107.
- ³² Emma Markiewicz, "Hair, Wigs and Wig Wearing in Eighteenth-Century England," PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, England, 2014, pp 243.
- ³³ Garber, op cit, p 17.
- ³⁴ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*, University of California Press, Oakland, United States, 2002, pp 162-163.
- ³⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, 12 December 1796, Kungliga Biblioteket [The National Library], Stockholm, Sweden, p 141.

All translations have been made by the author.

Bibliography

Published

- Cheang, Sarah and Biddle-Perry, Geraldine, "Introduction: Thinking About Hair," in Cheang, Sarah and Biddle-Perry, Geraldine, eds, *Hair: Styling, Culture, and Fashion*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2008, pp 3-12.
- Dekker, M Rudolf and van der Pol, Lotte C, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early-Modern Europe*, Macmillan Publishers, London, England, 1989.
- Entwistle, Joanne, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 2000.
- Garber, Majorie, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, Routledge, London, England, 1992.

Haettner Aurelius, Eva, "Roller på livets och historiens scen – Drottning Kristinas bilder av sig själv" in *Bilder av Kristina drottning av Sverige – drottning i Rom* ["Roles on the Stage of Life and History: Queen Christina's Images of Herself"] in Sandin, Per, ed, *Images of Christina: Queen of Sweden – Queen in Rome*, Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden, 2013, pp 264–281.

Kongl: Maj: Nådige Förordning Angående Ett Wisst MODE på Mans Klädedrägter Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren den 26 Junii, 1735, [HRH's Gracious Ordinance Regarding a Certain Fashion on Men's Dress Given Stockholm in the Council Chamber 26 June 1735], Kongl Boktryckeriet, Kungliga Biblioteket [The National Library], Stockholm, Sweden, 1735.

Kuchta, David, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850*, University of California Press, Oakland, United States, 2002.

Liliequist, Jonas, "Kvinnor i manskläder och åtrå mellan kvinnor – Kulturella förväntningar och kvinnliga strategier i det tidigmoderna Sverige och Finland," ["Women in Men's Clothing and Desire Between Women: Cultural Expectations and Female Strategies in Early-Modern Sweden and Finland"] in Borgström, Eva, ed, *Makalösa kvinnor – könsöverskridare i myt och verklighet* [Remarkable Women – Transgressing Gender in Myth and Reality], Alfabeta Anamma, Stockholm, Sweden, 2002.

Markiewicz, Emma, *Hair, Wigs and Wig Wearing in Eighteenth-Century England*, PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, England, 2014.

Pointon, Marcia, "Dangerous Excrescences: Wigs, Hair, and Masculinity," in Pointon, Marcia, ed, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, Yale University Press, London, England, 1993, pp 107–139.

Rasmussen, Pernilla, "Recycling a Fashionable Wardrobe in the Long Eighteenth Century in Sweden," *History of Retailing and Consumption*, Volume 2, Issue 3, June 2016, pp 193–222.

Sammandrag Utaf Kong. Maj:ts tid efter annan utgångne Rådige Förordningar och förklaringar angående Wisse Tyger och Klädebonader/Som de gemena och tjenstefolket i anledning deraf antingen är tillåtit eller förbudt at bära, [Summary of HRH's Time after Another Discontinued Resourceful Ordinance and Explanations Regarding Certain Textiles and Clothing that the Common and Serving People in Reason Thereof are Allowed or Forbidden to Wear], Kongl Boktryckeriet, Kungliga Biblioteket [National Library] Stockholm, Sweden, 1733.

Stockholms Post-Tidningar, 12 December 1796, Kungliga Biblioteket [The National Library], Stockholm, Sweden.

Vincent, Susan, "Men's Hair: Managing Appearance in the Long Eighteenth Century," in Greig, Hannah, Hamlett, Jane and Hannan, Leonie, eds, *Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, England, 2015, pp 49–67.

Unpublished Sources

10/10 1705 and 13/2 1706, Svartsjö och Färentuna Häradsting, Svea Hovrättens renoverade domböcker, [Svartsjö and Färentuna District Court, Svea Court of Appeal's restored trial books], Stockholm läns Stadsarkiv, Riksarkivet [The National Archive] Sweden.

15/3 1721 Göta Hovrätts renoverade domböcker EVIIBBAA: 999a. [15/3 1721 Göta Court of Appeal's restored trial books, EVIIBBAA: 999a]. Also in crime report 14/10 1721, BIIA: 28, Karlkronas Rådstuvurätt, Riksarkivet [The National Archive], Sweden.

28/6 1765, Urtima Ting, Jösse Härad, Värmlandsarkiv, Riksarkivet [The National Archive], Sweden.

2/8 1800 AIII:2, Urtima Court, Vaksala District, The National Archive in Uppsala, Riksarkivet, Sweden.

HRH to Åbo Court of Appeal 8/6 1726, copy in B 240; number 1259, Uppsala University Library, Sweden.

Kangasala socken, Ikalis domsaga, 28–31/8 1725, Ikalis domsaga, Vol 6, Landsarkivet in Åbo (also in Justitierevisionen), [Kangsala Parish, Ikalis Juridical District, 28–31/8 1726, Ikalis Juridical District, Vol 6, The National Archive in Åbo (also in The Justice Audit)]; Wichtis socken och Pusula Capelgiöld, Wanhala domsaga, 8/2 1726, Justitierevisionen, utslagshandlingar, 8 June 1726, nr 4, [Wichtis Parish and Pusula Capelgiöld, Wanhala Juridical District, 8/2 1726, The Justice Audit, 8 June 1726, nr 4]; Riksarkivet [The National Archive], Sweden.

Copyright © 2018 Lovisa Willborg Jonsson

Email: lovisa.w.jonsson@network.rca.ac.uk

Lovisa Willborg Jonsson is a design historian with a special interest in early-modern fashion and dress. She graduated in 2017 from The Victoria and Albert Museum/Royal College of Art, MA History of Design Programme, and is now an independent researcher. Her work aims to challenge traditional archiving and cataloguing processes, allowing for a multifaceted writing of history. Her MA dissertation explored the tradition of cross-dressing in the early-modern period through the lens of queer theory.

Interwoven Boundaries: Various Stylistic Influences in Romanian Court Costume

Calina Langa

Abstract

The purpose of the present study is to lay, through formal and stylistic comparisons, the contour of the less known Romanian court costume, which was subjected to constant metamorphoses due to the hectic social and political background. Between east and west, the court costume reflects temporary overlappings that mirror precisely the course of history. Before the fifteenth century the discussion revolves around the Byzantine influences, whereas the Renaissance period favours the western ones. After the Ottoman empire had conquered the Romanian states, the visible influences are preponderantly oriental and only in the second half of the nineteenth century, western aesthetics principles become again perceivable. If in the history of western costume we can easily and separately identify the baroque, rococo and empire style, in the Romanian court costumes, we come across a mix between Byzantine, Western and Oriental motifs, all being homogeneously combined with a touch of specific national vibe. It was this specific national vibe that made many travelling chroniclers historically catalogue this manner of clothing as “modum Walachorum,” in Latin, “facione valachesca,” in Italian and in German, “Wallachische Manier.”

Brief History

Until 1859, what is now called Modern Romania was a state divided into three principalities, its history marked by unrest and unpredictable events while standing at the crossroads between east and west (Figure 1). This lack of historical delineation, makes it difficult to be precise about the diverse stylistic influences referred to in the title of this work. The three principalities were: Transylvania, Moldavia and Muntenia. Transylvania was located in the central, northern and northwestern side of Romania and had been under Hungarian occupation for years followed by the Habsburg Monarchy. It, therefore, served as a bridge between the west and the other two Romanian Principalities with Moldavia being located in the northeastern side of the country and Muntenia, also known as Wallachia or Greater Wallachia (Țara Românească), situated in the southern side of the country. On 1 December 1917, now known as Great Union Day (and Romania's National Holiday), the three Principalities became united in the city of Alba Iulia, located in Transylvania. It was at this point that Romania was considered a unified and independent state.

Therefore, looking at the course of history, it can certainly be stated that the Romanian territory has always been at the intersection of great areas of western and eastern cultural influence. The Romanian principalities have acculturated by assimilating elements of occidental civilisation, in spite of the fact that the Romanian principalities have always been under the Byzantine influence owing to the fact that most Romanians belonged to the Orthodox Church.

The main subject of this paper is the intertwining of these various stylistic influences, as seen on the Romanian court costume. This cannot be viewed in isolation, however, and the wider field of the



Figure 1

Map showing Romania's position within Europe and the three principalities of Romania.

Left: http://www.istoria.md/uploaded/harti/Istoria_Romanilor/Basarabia/Hara%20principatelor%20romanesti%20sub%20Mihai%20Viteazul%201600.JPG;

Right: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Danubian_Principalities#/media/File:Rom1856-1859.png

Romanian medieval art must be considered. The analysis will briefly include the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century period, which in western Europe covered the end of the gothic period, as well as the renaissance and baroque. A completely different form of artistic and stylistic expression would take shape in the Romanian Principalities.

There are three major phases of Romanian medieval art. The first was from the fifth to the fourteenth century, a period which overlaps with the end of the barbarian migrations and the formation of the centralised states of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania (the last one being an autonomous principality, under Hungarian authority). It was at this time that the first architectural monuments were built, iconography was introduced into painting, and decorative arts and calligraphy were being developed. All these fields were strongly marked by the Byzantine culture, which was predominant on this side of Europe. The artistic features of each of the historical counties began to take shape, according to the different manner of acculturation of these influences. Therefore, unlike Moldavia and Wallachia, in Transylvania, the Hungarian conquerors and later on, the Transylvanian-Saxon colonists, who were Catholic, would promote an art of western origin which, as a result, marked the local artistic creations with distinct features. The period was marked by the consolidation of the Romanian Principalities and the development of economic life in the general context of the fight against the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and the hegemonic tendencies of Hungary and Poland.

The period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries marks the defining moment of the evolution of art and culture of the Romanian countries. This is the time when the first synthesis between Byzantine art, on one hand, and the western gothic and western renaissance, on the other, took place in Moldavia and Wallachia.

The last phase of evolution, which happened during the seventeenth and eighteenth century period, is the time when all three Romanian Principalities were vassal-states of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the eighteenth century, Transylvania came under the authority of the Habsburg Monarchy. Against the background of the post-Byzantine tradition, Moldavia and Wallachia would assimilate the Islamic artistic influences of Ottoman connection, but also western elements that were specific to the high renaissance and the baroque.

The perfect moulding of Romanian court costume to the influences abovementioned can now be discussed in context with on the developmental stages of Romanian medieval art. This, too, can be divided into three categories, the first being from the Byzantine, Oriental, and eastern background. Given the fact that a vast majority of the population was orthodox, this category relates to court costume

during the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The second category is represented by western stylistic influences, which permeated the Romanian Principalities, not only through the bloodline relations established between the courts and economic relations, but also through the crusaders' transit through these territories. These influences could be identified especially in Transylvania, but they were also discernible in the other two principalities, except for the fact that they chronologically belonged to the fourteenth century and partly to the fifteenth century. The third category relates to the permeation of Ottoman-derived elements resulting from the taking of the Romanian Principalities and their inclusion in the Ottoman Empire. Chronologically, this corresponds to the end of the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century period.

The originality of Romanian costume is derived from the way in which it combined all these styles, for example, the use of Byzantine-like decorative motifs, evident on some rich embroideries, applied to items cut and shaped along western lines. This union of influences was what made foreign travellers and chroniclers notice not only the richness of the costume, but also its different elements. They often failed to identify the Byzantine style, with which they were unfamiliar, and confused it with a Turkish one, which was also of eastern origin.

A further perspective of Romanian court costume worth considering is that of its somewhat "androgynous" feel. Women and men had similar clothes, both in terms of style and articles of clothing. The gender difference was marked by the quantity of jewels they were wearing. The amount of embroidery for feminine clothing was also far richer and more complex. The wives of voivodes (local governors) could also be distinguished by the *pandelocuri*, a type of headdress well known for its complexity and its symbolism of the crown.

The information available today concerning Romanian court costume of that period is derived from paintings that have survived in churches founded by the Romanian voivodes. The construction of numerous places of worship in the fifteenth and sixteenth century — the period coinciding with the western renaissance — was an important act of devotion and had a significant impact in the development of Moldavian monasteries, such as Arbore, Voroneț (Figure 2), Sucevița, Putna etc. They have preserved their historical pictures along with written sources such as inventory lists of the voivodes detailing extremely expensive clothing, trade registers of merchants, and the comments of foreign chroniclers who travelled through the Romanian territories. Miniatures, embroideries, and archaeological evidence from graves can also provide an overview of Romanian court costume.



Figure 2

Voroneț Monastery built in Moldavia, by Stephen the Great, 1488.

Types of Garments

Garments can be classified according to their initial provenance or according to the way in which the three major influences have been assimilated and processed by the Romanian filter.

Tunica (Doublet)

A western costume element, either straight cut or tailored, without pleats, of medium length, to the hips, with long and tight sleeves that were buttoned with tiny, spherical buttons. It accentuated the waist, by pushing up the chest (Figure 3) and is specific to the Wallachian court costume of the fourteenth century. The same French-inspired piece of clothing was worn by Transylvanian noblemen, influenced by the Hungarian aristocracy from Charles Robert's court. This type of costume can also be found on the monetary effigies of voivodes specific to the fourteenth century. The tunica was the main item of clothing of the Romanian costume, being the most richly decorated and the most luxurious in the same way as it was in the west.

Mantia (Mantle)

This represents the long version of the chlamys, a part of the state costume of the emperor, specific to the epoch of Justinian. It was richly adorned with pearls and embroideries on the side (Figure 4). The crimson mantle, an emblem of imperial authority, lasted until the fall of the empire, and was passed on to the Germanic Occident from Charles the Great's time, to the Balkans and to the Romanian principalities.

In addition to the mantle that was worn on a regular basis, there was also the ceremonial mantle which was worn under solemn circumstances, such as enthronements, acknowledgement ceremonies, consecration of churches, attendance at important holidays, and solemn life events such as weddings and funerals.



Figure 3

Mircea the Elder (detail), 1535, fresco from Curtea de Argeș Cathedral, 2240x930mm, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, F.234.



Figure 4

Family portrait of Stephen the Great, 1488, fresco from Voronet Monastery, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania.

Also in this category is the *granața*, an untranslatable word of Byzantine origin.¹ This was the richest and the most luxurious piece of clothing characterised by long loose-fitting sleeves that were supposed to reach the heels. It was worn loose by the emperors and *lapatzsas*, but with a belt that fixed the sleeves behind the back, for dignitaries.² The amplitude and the length of this piece of clothing, as well as the luxurious details and gold embroidery with pearls around the neckline and down the chest in broad vertical strips, and embroidered sleeves gave this costume a certain gravitas.

Granațas were usually made from red velvet with embroidery of the Italian Renaissance style or from other costly fabrics brought from Italy by the Venetian merchants. In areas where the Ottoman influence was stronger, access to the Italian fabric was more restricted as the Turks imposed their own oriental fabrics. In Moldavia, a *granața* was only worn by the rulers, while their wives are often depicted wearing a *caftan*, a Turkish piece of clothing. In Wallachia, a *granața* was very seldom worn in the time of Voievode Neagoe Basarab, its evolution being strictly connected to the politics of the principality which adopted western knightly costumes in the fourteenth century, therefore moving away from Byzantine court traditions.

Caftan

Its origins can be traced back to the Persians and the nomads. Nicolae Kondakov analyses the *caftan* under all aspects, especially the short, riding version, worn by the Persians and the migrants, from which certain Byzantine military costumes and the military jacket, *sharanikon*, derived.³ The origins of the long *caftan*, worn as a ceremonial mantle, are to be found in this large category of oriental items belonging to the people of the Near East that inspired both the Byzantines and the Turks. The word *caftan*, which is also mentioned in Slav documents, is of Persian origin and it was appropriated by the Turks, the Slavs and the Greeks. In the world of the Balkans, the *caftan* was worn amongst the nobility and the rich merchants, as it was in the Romanian Principalities until the late seventeenth century, it being part of the voivodes' costumes (Figure 5) shown in paintings in churches built after the Turkish conquest.



Figure 5

Neagoe Basarab's *caftan*, court garment, Venetian fabric, fifteenth–sixteenth century, 1590x73x1500mm, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, Tz 837/15618.



Figure 6

Neagoe Basarab's *caftan* (detail), fifteenth–sixteenth century, 1590x730x1500mm, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, Tz 837/15618.

There were two versions of the caftan – hilat and ala. The first one was offered only to viziers and to pashas by the sultan, while the second one was offered to pashas, Romanian rulers at the acknowledgement ceremony, and ambassadors. The caftan of the Romanian rulers is characterised by fluttering, long and tight sleeves that reached the heels and fell loose onto the back. The difference between the Moldavian, the Wallachian and the Turkish caftans is demonstrated by the way the hand emerges from the sleeve (that became an adornment) through a cleft whose length and position varies from one principality to another. The item is loose due to triangular gussets on the sides and it is kept open from top to bottom in the front. On the chest there are chenille threads that enlase the gold and silver buttons, and the jewels, forming golden knots (Figure 6).

The difference between the textures and the fabrics used can also be noticed, dated by the century during which they were worn. The Italian embroidered red velvet fabrics had been used since the fifteenth century. During the next centuries, the caftans started being made of cloth brought from the Near East during the Ottoman era. In many of the paintings in the Moldavian churches from Humor, Bălinești, and Arbore, the luxurious Italian velvet of the caftan is accurately represented. The written sources of the seventeenth century mention the golden caftans – caftan d'avor or caftans made of golden velvet.⁴ In the same period and even a little bit earlier, caftans made of serasir appeared. Serasir is a special oriental fabric consisting of silk sewn with gold threads; it is mentioned in the inventory of assets.

The caftan first appeared in Moldavia in the fifteenth and the first half of sixteenth century.⁵ It was an item available for ladies and the nobility only, being worn as an exception by the ruler. From the second half of the sixteenth century, it was shown in mural paintings of rulers as a distinctive mark, symbolising the Ottoman investiture. It maintained the same cut specific to the ceremonial mantle during the entire seventeenth century, meaning that it could only be worn along the shoulders and fastened with a clasp at the front.

Conteș

The conteș is another type of eastern mantle (Figures 7 and 8). The sleeves were wide and short to the elbow, and it was worn either under the clothes, as the Turks did or over them, in which case they were lined with wool and worn when travelling. Sometimes, the woollen padding of the conteș was used in



Figure 7

Boyar's wife's conteș, sixteenth century, serasir fabric, 1510x680mm, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, 59/10780.⁶



Figure 8

Boyar's wife's conteș, side view, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, 59/10780.



Figure 9
Stephen the Great, 1473,
miniature from the
Gospel Book of
Humor Monastery,
Putna Monastery
Museum, Romania.

tailoring vests made of steel (an exhibit of this kind, once worn by Suleiman the Magnificent, can be seen in Topkapi-Sarayı Museum).⁷ In the Romanian Principalities, the sons of rulers would wear a *conțeș* made of white silk sewn with golden thread, of velvet, of broadcloth or of threaded oriental silk as a luxury item. Fur could also be added to the *conțeș* in order for it to become a formal piece of clothing which was worn by rulers and boyars (the nobility) and their wives, having the same cut.

Short, Sleeveless Mantle

The short, sleeveless mantle with an ample opening around the arm, is another western item. Stephen the Great used to wear this type of red mantle made of Italian velvet and fur over a short tunic, embroidered with large, golden flowers, as can be seen in the miniature from the Gospel Book of Humor Monastery, kept in Putna Monastery's treasury from 1473 (Figure 9).

The Shirt

The shirt was both a masculine and a feminine item, which was worn as the first layer of the outfit, and made of linen or hemp woven at home. The boyars and the people from the royal houses had their shirts made of imported Saxon linen, Lithuanian, German fabric, or even of silk. The cut of the Romanian medieval shirt was similar to the cut of the contemporary Romanian traditional shirt. It is also known as a Romanian blouse. It is a long item, made of four pieces of fabric connected by an openwork made of gold-plated silver thread. They have long, puffed sleeves tightened with embroidered cuffs around the wrists. The embroidery has always been distributed as it is on the present day Romanian traditional costume: cuffs, collar and breastplates, which in fact, are the only parts that survive in graves due to their metal thread embroidery. In order for the shirt to be practical and easily washable, these luxurious embroidered details were removable.

The peasant blouse was long, usually worn under a dress for women, and, therefore, not so noticeable. The embroidery was more abundant in adornment and the collar could be worn bent back, or as an embroidered ribbon, fastened to chest with many spherical buttons.



Figure 10

Embroidered shirts worn by Neagoe Basarab's daughters, drawing from an icon from Ostrov Monastery, 1522.⁸

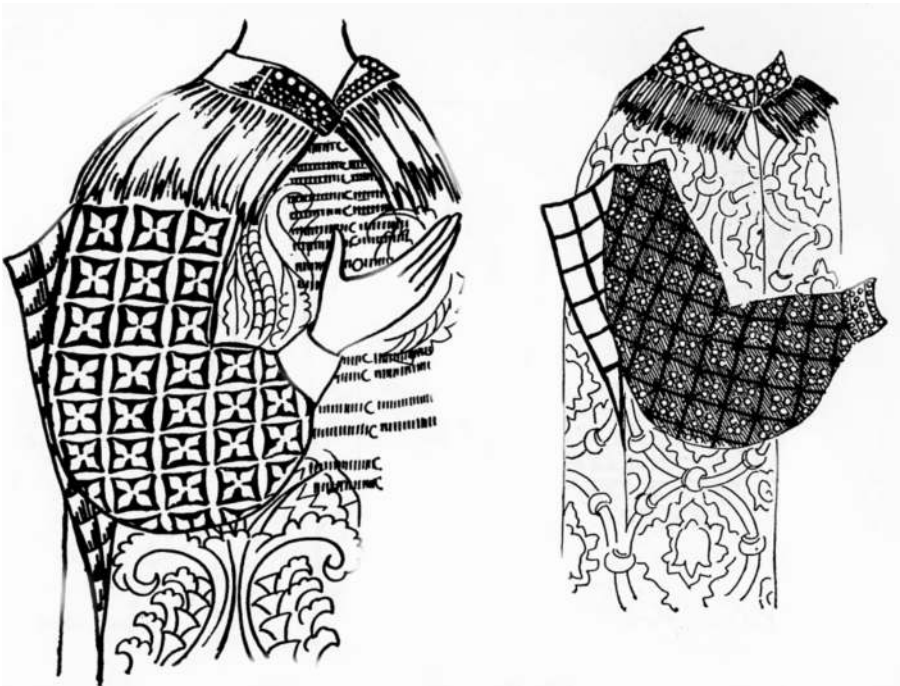


Figure 11

Embroidered shirts worn by voivodes ladies, drawings after the mural paintings from Arbore Monastery and Voroneț Monastery, end of fifteenth century.⁹



Figure 12

Embroidered shirts worn by voivodes ladies, drawings after the mural paintings from Arbore Monastery and Voroneț Monastery, end of fifteenth century.¹⁰

Depending on the cut of the sleeves, three categories of shirts can be distinguished: classic, slim and straight sleeves, with cuffs similar to the ones from Maria Mangop's funeral portrait and those of the daughters of Neagoe Basarab (Figure 10). Secondly, those with loose sleeves tightened by a tailored cuff, as seen in Wallachia, Moldavia, for example, in the votive painting of Maria-Voichita from Sucevita (Figures 11 and 12). Finally, the long-sleeved shirt cut on the bias and made in one piece of cloth, sewn with the needle, with decorations drawn in a spiral up the sleeve.

The gold-plated silver and pearl embroidery of the shirts was placed in the same way as on contemporary ones. On the *altița*, decorative details were arranged in three different registers — in horizontal rows on the shoulder; with straight or diagonal parallel strings forming geometric motifs; or from the last register down. With the *tablă*, embroidery would uniformly cover the entire visible surface of the sleeve. Apart from the sleeves and the collar, the shirt front was also embroidered, which is less visible in the portraits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Moldavia, being covered by a front-closing caftan. In Wallachia, the embroidery of the shirt front is clearly noticeable, leaving the pompous tailoring of the dress out in the open, since the caftan only covers the shoulders. The same thing happens in the seventeenth century when the *conțeș* is worn unfastened.

Anteriu

The *anteriu* is a modified version of the fourteenth century's doublet (*tunica*), different due to its greater length. It had a tailored upper half and mink-lined ends due to the addition of triangular gussets, which are specific to most of the clothing items of the epoch. Its current form was not introduced until the seventeenth century. It was worn over the shirt and was most frequently made of silk, having the same cut for men and women (Figures 13 and 14). The diversity of the style is marked by the variation of the sleeves — untailored, tightened on arms, sometimes wide and short to the elbow, leaving the shirt out in the open or wide at the top and straightened at the bottom, as in the case of the *anteriu* found in the boyar's Glicorcea's grave from Voronet. The *anteriu* was a feature of Romanian court costume until the eastern style was replaced by a western one in the nineteenth century. It was worn with a *taclit*, a belt tied around the waist, by both men and women, the women wearing it over a thin silk dress.



Figure 13

Boyar's glicorcea *anteriu*, end of sixteenth century, 1460x 650mm, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, Cst.285.¹¹



Figure 14

Feminine *anterii*, seventeenth century, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, 185T/10906 and 191 T/10912.

It is noticeable that some of the above items are common for both women and men. These include the Byzantine imperial *granața*, the eastern Ottoman *caftan*, *conțeș*, and *anteriu*. Further discussion will focus solely on the female costumes. Despite the numerous costume pieces, not all of them can be identified in pictures, since the outer garments are all that can clearly be seen. The details of clothes worn under the coat are usually visible only as details, for example, cuffs, collars or shirt fronts, all of them being richly ornamented.

Relevant examples of the the female *granața* are shown in the portraits of Empress Elena of Humor, Voroneț, in Moldavia and in Saint Mary Orlea's church in Transylvania, as well as the portraits of Romanian rulers' wives and Byzantine princesses from imperial parades. The common type of this dress is pleated lengthways to the ankles and sleeved. The coat is fastened with a clip. On the chest there is a parallelogram in the shape of a *torachinol*, adornment specific to the Byzantine imperial mantle as shown in the portrait of Lady Ruxanda from Curtea de Argeș Monastery, dated before 1526 (Figure 15).

According to the great Romanian historian, Alexandru Odobescu's description, from the overview of the female, Romanian court costume consists of, first, putting on the traditional shirt or the thin-fabric peasant shirt, embroidered along the sleeves with threaded stripes, gathered across richly ornamented cuffs.¹² Women wore the red dress, very well-tailored across the chest, under a short puckered vest, similar to the doublet only shorter and sleeveless (also known as *pieptar*) over the shirt. Below they wore a pleated skirt made of two pieces – one for the back and one for the front, similar to the peasant woman's skirt, with a threaded semi-circle on the chest held by straps, also made of threads, that go over the shoulders (Figure 16). Over of all these clothes women would wear a cloak, *dulamă*, made of floral *serasir* with a tiny fur collar and with golden buttons on top of the shoulders and under the arms.



Figure 15

Lady Ruxanda (detail), circa 1526,
mural painting from Curtea de Argeș Cathedral,
National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania.



Figure 16

Lady Stana's costume, sixteenth century,
drawing after the mural painting from
Curtea de Argeș Cathedral, Romania.¹³

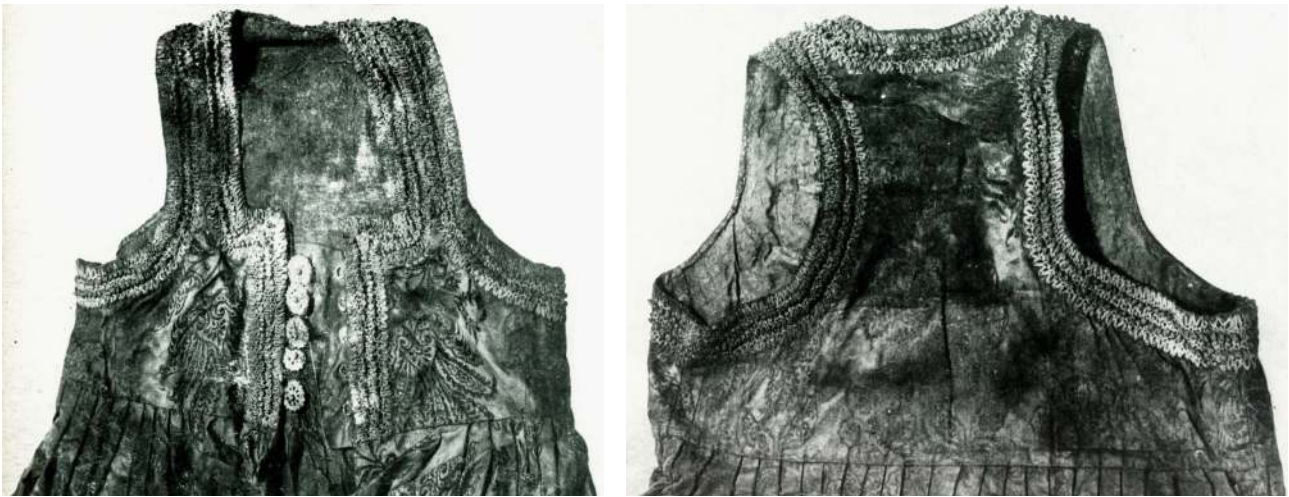


Figure 17

Boyar's wife's dress (front and back), mid-seventeenth century, Italian silk, 1390x240x1780mm, National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, Romania, Cst.297.

The *fota*, the dress or the *anteriu* was worn over the shirt. The dress can be noticed in sixteenth-century portraits, with a tailored corsage decorated with two golden strips that go below the waist, creating a semi-circle opposed to the neck cut. Similar to renaissance trends, the dress has a high waist with small, regular pleats. Since the sixteenth century, the term *fota* has regularly appeared in public documents, as an item made of an oriental striped fabric. The word is associated with the court costume from Wallachia, being used to this day, with the same meaning in Bulgarian as well. In Turkish, it refers to fabrics with coloured stripes. During the seventeenth century, the *fota*, was unquestionably one of the components of court costume. It was made of a puckered fabric and was worn with a short tailored vest around the chest that left the embroidered sleeves of the shirt visible (Figure 17).

The *șorț*, or apron, is a western item fastened around the waist with a belt. It was frequently mentioned in the lists of clothing items of the fourteenth century, while in the next century they appear in Wallachia but disappear in Moldavia. Similar aprons made of thin fabric ornamented with embroidery or lace are also part of the Transylvanian-Saxon costumes, appearing in all of the memorial portraits and in the portraits painted during the seventeenth to eighteenth century period.

The ladies and the boyar's wives would wear eastern mantles – at the beginning, the *granața* and later on the *caftan*, all of these items being versions of the male pieces of costume. The Byzantine influence appropriated by adopting the *granața* and the *caftan* were kept for a long time, until the middle of the sixteenth century when the ceremonial mantle was replaced with the loose-sleeved *conțeș*, which left the *caftan* as a distinctive sign of the rulers.

On the head, the rulers' wives wore a silk veil which was long, reaching the middle of the back and it had hems embroidered with gold and pearls. The veil almost entirely covered the hair which was parted in middle, as can just be seen in the pictures. The crown was worn over the veil and it held long adornments like earrings made out of gold necklaces with gemstones and pearls called *pandelocuri*, which hung down along the temples or the ears (Figure 18).

The hats and the veils are similar from one principality to another. Usually, the wide brimmed hat would be worn over the white veil (Figure 19). The hat could also be worn over hair snoods that pulled the hair similar to the Italian Renaissance style. The trend of this hat was specific to the German Renaissance and costumes from the Netherlands.¹⁴ The rulers would wear crowns with three, four or five-pointed clover-shaped or lily-shaped, that had an official, as well as, a symbolic significance.

Western hats, made of cloth or velvet, have been popular in Moldavia since the beginning of the fifteenth century. They were specific to the nobility of France, Italy and Flanders. The hats were made of velvet

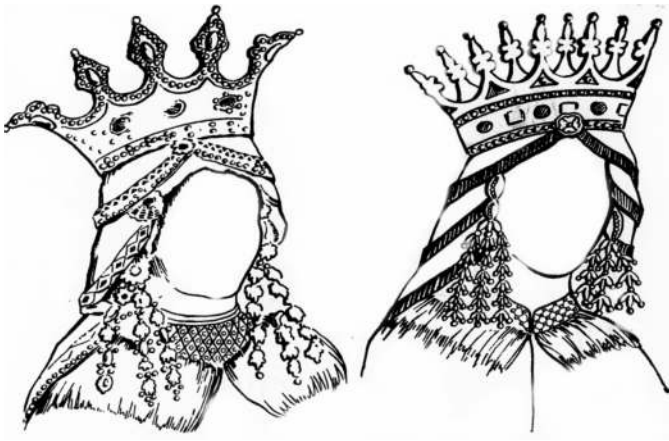


Figure 18

Lady's Maria-Voichița headdresses, drawings after mural paintings from Patrauti Monastery and Hirlau Church, Moldavia, Romania.¹⁵



Figure 19

Different types of hats worn in Moldavia, sixteenth century.¹⁶

or red broadcloth, sometimes furred and richly ornamented. The fur was the element of luxury and distinction that indicated the social status of the person wearing it.

The wearing of the *cușma/cuca*, is specific to the end of the sixteenth century in both of the principalities. It was sort of a top hat made of expensive fur, slightly twisted to the side with a *surguci* (panache) made of feathers and hooked by a jewelled clip (Figure 20). Both Transylvanian princes and Polish dignitaries wore it and it has been identified in the royal portraits since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as a mark of the Ottoman investiture.



Figure 20

Michael the Brave, Mișu Pop, 1881, oil on canvas, 1000x750mm, Art Museum, Brașov, Romania, 71.



Figure 21

Maria de Mangop, 1477, gold and silver thread embroidery,
1880x1020mm, Putna Monastery Museum, Putna, Romania.

We must also consider the important contribution of the Moldavian Embroidery School, very well known at the time, whose pattern of work was emblematic of, what could be called the Romanian style. This emerged with geometric motifs inspired by the Byzantine style combined with more traditional styles which can be identified in the embroidered portraits such as those of Maria de Mangop (Figure 21) and Ieremia Movila.

Many decorative and ritual art objects were also crafted in monasteries' ateliers. Due to their artistic value, many garments were donated by the rulers subsequently serving as objects of worship in the churches and monasteries the rulers had built. Of these, many were reconstructed into garments during the nineteenth century, such as Neagoe Basarab's caftan. This behaviour is very significant to be able to fully understand the religious beliefs of everyday life at the courts and, also, the struggle to preserve national identity under the Ottoman occupation.

Endnotes

- ¹ Corina Nicolescu, *Istoria Costumului de Curte în Țările Române*, [*The History of Romanian Court Costume*] Editura Științifică, [Scientific Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 1970, p 123. Granata is a term used by the Byzantines. Due to the fact that this garment was worn in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the only translations available are in the Slav language.
- ² Ibid, p 134.
- ³ Nicolae Kondakov, “Les Costumes Orientaux a la Cour Byzantine,” [“Oriental Costumes at the Byzantine Court”], *Byzantion*, 1, 1924, pp 7–49.
- ⁴ Image from Nicolescu, op cit, p 139.
- ⁵ Ibid, p 134.
- ⁶ Ibid, p 19.
- ⁷ Ibid, p 141.
- ⁸ Ibid, p 159.
- ⁹ Ibid, p 161.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, p 160.
- ¹¹ Ibid, p 120.
- ¹² Alexandru Odobescu, *Opere*, Volume II, 1955, Bucharest, pp 212–213.
- ¹³ Ibid, p 157.
- ¹⁴ Roger van der Weyden, *Mary Magdalene Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*, 1450, Museum of Louvre, Paris, France.
- ¹⁵ Nicolescu, op cit, p 170.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p 173.

Bibliography

Published

- Alexianu, Al, *Mode și veșminte din trecut*, [*Fashion and Clothing from the Past*], Volume I, Editura Meridiane, [Meridiane Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 1987.
- Dobianschi, Ana, *Muzeul Național de Artă al României*, [*National Art Museum*] *Ghidul Galeriei de Artă veche românească*, [*The Guide of the Old Romanian Art Gallery*], Bucharest, Romania, 2008.
- Gane, Constantin, *Trecute Vieți de Doamne și Domnițe*, [*Past Lives of Ladies and Young Ladies*] Editura Humanitas, [Humanitas Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 2014.
- Holban, Maria, *Călători străini în Țările Române*, [*Foreign Chroniclers in the Romanian Principalities*] Volume I, Editura Științifică, [Scientific Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 1968.
- Iorga, Nicolae, *Domnii români: după portrete și fresce contemporane*, [*Romanian Voivodes in Contemporary Portraits and Frescoes*], Editura Krafft & Drotleff, [Krafft & Drotleff Publishing House], Sibiu, Romania, 1930.
- Kondakov, Nicolae, “Les Costumes Orientaux a la Cour Byzantine,” [“Oriental Costumes at the Byzantine Court”], *Byzantion*, 1, 1924, pp 7–49.
- Nicolescu, Corina, *Istoria Costumului de Curte în Țările Române*, [*The History of Romanian Court Costume*] Editura Științifică, [Scientific Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 1970.
- Odobescu, Alexandru, *Opere, Vol III* [*Works, Volumes I-III*], Editura Academiei, [Romanian Academy Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 1967.

Popescu, Marin, Matei, *Podoabe medievale în Țările Române* [*Medieval Jewellery in the Romanian Principalities*], Editura Meridiane, [Meridiane Publishing House], Bucharest, Romania, 1970.

Vătășianu, Virgil, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, [*History of Medieval Art in the Romanian Principalities*], Fundația Culturală Română, [The Cultural Romanian Foundation], Bucharest, Romania, 2001.

Copyright © 2018 Calina Langa
Email: calina.langa@gmail.com

Calina Langa is a Romanian fashion and costume designer and independent scholar. She is a graduate of Fashion Design from the Art and Design University, Cluj-Napoca and her PhD thesis was entitled *Fashion: The Triumph of an Epiphenomenon*. Her designs evoke a striking feminine individuality that rejects consumerism's distorted image of perfection which is promoted by the current fashion industry. Her designs utilise costume history as an essential inspiration.

Challenging Boundaries in the Field of Traditional Russian Costume

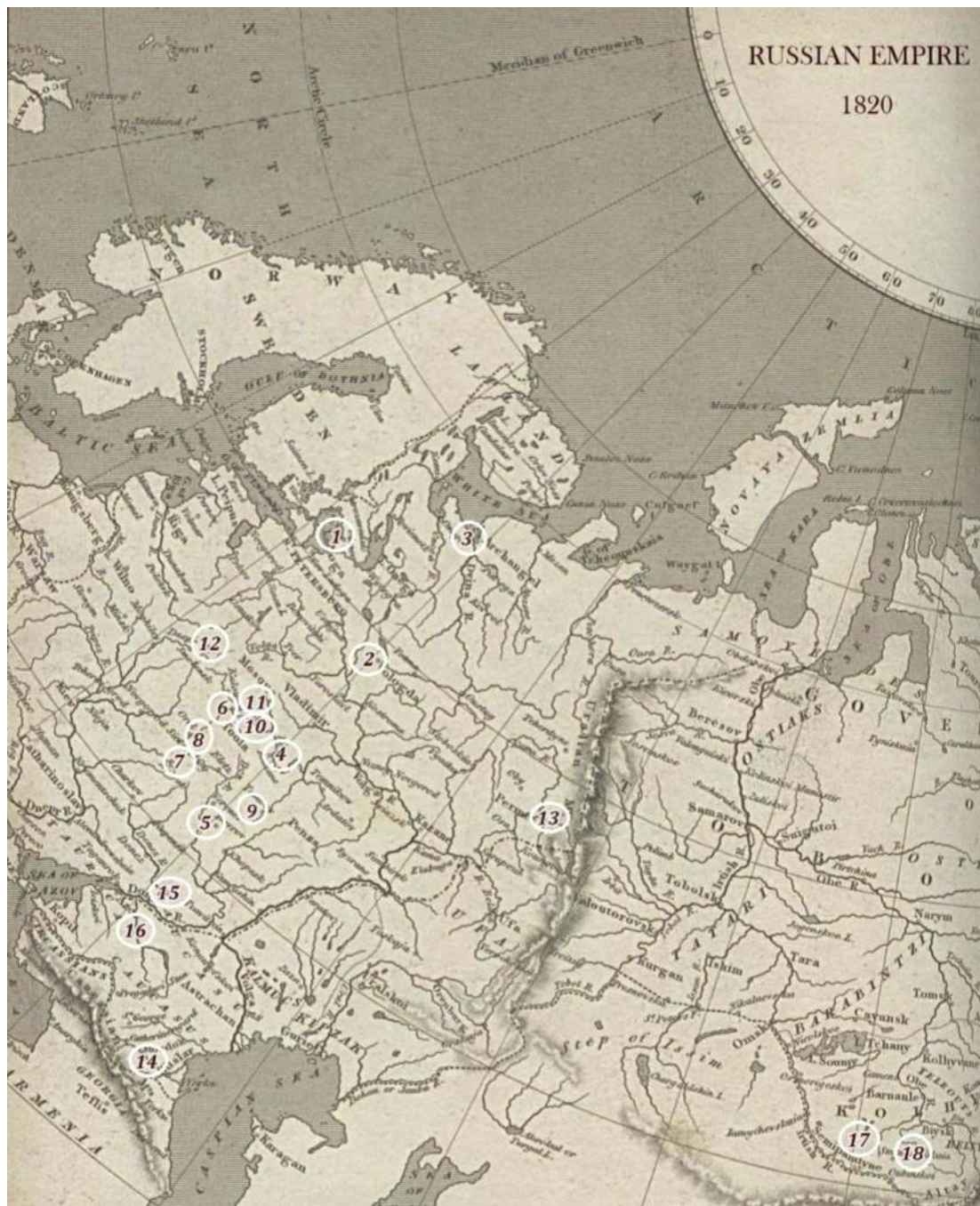
Elena Madlevskaya and Anna Nikolaeva

Abstract

In traditional culture where strict rules are applied to the wearing of clothes, there are cases where these rules have been broken. The question of challenging boundaries in the field of traditional Russian costume touches upon various different characteristics of clothes: fabric, cut, component parts, decoration, and the incorporation of details from other local cultures. There are several reasons for the breaking of strict rules, such as the process of migration, the effect of different cultural traditions, and changes in status. Also, the concept of the traditional Russian costume was commonly broken by the influence of urban styles.

A national costume is one of the most striking markers of belonging to a particular cultural tradition. In Russia, there were cases where the adoption of traditional dress was used to demonstrate the wearer's identification with Russian ethnicity. The most striking example was the determination of the German-born Empress Catherine II (1729–1796) to introduce Russian-style dress into her wardrobe. It was a consciously employed tactic to overcome the dichotomy between “us” and “them” in people's minds.¹ The Russian-style sartorial code was also obligatory for women surrounding the Empress. The details of folk costume adopted by Catherine II and her court ladies were long or hanging sleeves, a train, and fastenings in the form of hanging loops with buttons (as on a peasant sarafan) on the dress; and hanging sleeves with slits for the arms, and a kokoshnik-like headdress with a covering veil on the outer garment. A multilayered outfit was the form of traditional dress at that time. In the early nineteenth century such clothing became the coronation vestments of Russian empresses.²

The inclusion of elements of folk costume into court dress furthered the ruler's defined ideological aims, such as the consolidation of power or the encouragement of public morale. For the Russian peasantry, however, as for all bearers of traditional culture, the costume provided a distinct marker of a variety of characteristics. In the traditional consciousness, each separate costume provided a means of expressing local cohesion, an affiliation with a particular situation (ie, as a dress for every day or festive wear or for certain rituals), a marker of gender, age, and the wearer's stage in life and their material wealth. Costumes were also region specific, Figure 1 illustrates the location of the various provinces referred to below. In traditional culture there was a tendency to abide by strictly defined rules of using dress. For example, some special costume details could only be worn in specific ritual circumstances and thus took on the status of a ritual attribute. In Olonets province, the marker of a betrothed young woman was a homespun head covering which was pulled down over her eyes (Figure 2).³ In Sol'vichegodsk Uyezd (administrative district) of Vologda province, the sign of a betrothed woman was a knitted cotton kolpak, a style of soft headdress worn by young women (Figure 3) with an added decorative headband (Figure 4).⁴ In Pinega Uyezd of Arkhangelsk province, a bride put on a special shift shirt for the wedding ceremony (Figure 5). This was white (the colour of mourning dress) and made of homespun fabric.⁵ These characteristics were reflected in the local names for the dress: tseloshnitsa



- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Olonets province | 10. Tula province |
| 2. Vologda province | 11. Moscow province |
| 3. Arkhangelsk province | 12. Smolensk province |
| 4. Ryazan province | 13. Perm province |
| 5. Voronezh province | 14. Terek Host Oblast |
| 6. Kaluga province | 15. Don Host Oblast |
| 7. Kursk province | 16. Novocherkassk |
| 8. Orel province | 17. Semipalatinsk province |
| 9. Tambov province | 18. The Altai Mountain Okrug |

Figure 1

Map of the Russian Empire (detail), 1820,
with numbered key illustrating the position of the various provinces referred to in the text.

*Figure 2*

Head cover — Arkhangel'sk province, Shenkursk Uyezd,
Yakovlevsk village, circa 1800–1850,
RME (Russian Museum of Ethnography),
St Petersburg, Russia, 578–21.

*Figure 3*

Cap (kolpak) — part of the headdress for
betrothed young woman, Vologda province,
Velsky Uyezd, Steshinskaya village,
circa 1850–1900,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 192–38.

*Figure 4*

Cap with added band — headdress for
betrothed young woman, Vologda province,
Sol'vichegodsk Uyezd, Cherevkovo village,
circa 1850–1900,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 684–67.

*Figure 5*

Shirt, Arkhangel'sk province,
Pinega Uyezd, Karpogory village,
late-nineteenth century,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 11128–1.

or *istselnitsa* (in Russian, *целый*-*tseliy* meaning, “whole”), the term also incorporated the understanding of the young woman’s status as bride and virgin.

In the village of Sekirino, in the Skopin Uyezd of Ryazan province, women aged between 40 and 50 “carried shirts,” ie, before a wedding ceremony they carried a bundle of festive clothes to the groom, as well as a collection of towels and curtains for decorating the house. Certain obligatory elements were included in their costume, including a *zatkanaya* shirt, with sleeves heavily decorated with red thread embroidery, and a woollen, so-called “Turkish” shawl.⁶ Many other examples could be given to show the essential signifying role of clothes within the paradigm of traditional culture.

Every stage in a woman’s or man’s life led to a change in their clothing. Children and teenagers were dressed in second-hand and remade clothes; usually they had no overcoats or shoes. As a rule, garments for youngsters had no decoration. Only after the age of majority was attained were young women and youths allowed to wear clothes made from new fabric and to have their own garments. They acquired several ensembles of dress and this was not correlated with the wealth of the family. Changes in the age or social status of a person lead them to acquire or discard certain elements of costume.

Thus, an apron appeared in a young woman’s outfit as a compulsory detail, when her first period indicated her step into childbearing age. Before this moment, girls in southern regions wore only a long shirt and a sash, and in the northern regions girls of seven and eight years old also wore a *sarafan*. Only women who were beyond their childbearing years were allowed to discard the apron, their dress thus becoming symbolically equivalent to the children’s wear. Also, burial garments did not include aprons.⁷ In some rites the path to a new status was taken in stages. Each transformation represented a separate and unique state of being. Thus, amongst the Russian folk population, the importance of each phase in the transformation of status within the wedding ritual determined the tradition of changing festival clothes several times. As a rule, over the two or three days’ duration of the wedding ceremony, a bride completely changed her outfit three times, and in some areas, no less than six times.⁸

While tradition provided rules on the wearing of clothes, at the same time clothes could often influence the behaviour of the wearer. Thus, at the turn of the twentieth century in Pinega Uyezd in Arkhangelsk province there were two types of festive ensembles for unmarried girls. The archaic costume ensemble comprised a shirt, a *sarafan*, and a *polushubochek*, an overcoat made of brocade, just below waist length, without sleeves, falling into large folds at the back. Two or three red silk shoulder kerchiefs were the main ornamentation of the costume. The ends of the kerchiefs were threaded through the straps of *sarafan* and *polushubochek*, and then smoothed across the breast and along the sleeves. The *povyazka* was a suitable headdress for such an outfit. This was an ancient type of headgear, 20 centimetres in height, decorated with *passementerie* and embroidered with tiny beads and seed pearls. Attached to it, was a net of threaded beads or pearls which hung over the forehead. A girl who wore it was known as *povyazochmitsa*, from the name of the headdress. The costume was usually completed with many strings of amber beads and chains, and a fabric standing collar with ruffles above and below it, known as *peorlyshko*. An essential accessory for the *povyazochmitsa* dress was *shalyushka* – a substantial silk kerchief ornamented with a large floral motif. Usually a girl held it folded in her hands.⁹ In the 1920s observers noted, “Dressed like this a *povyazochmitsa* made an impression of high solemnity and significance.”¹⁰

The other type of unmarried girl’s outfit consisted of a shirt, a *sarafan*, a sash, and adornments – often several strings of necklaces. As a headdress with this costume, women usually wore a silk kerchief with textured effect. This kerchief, tied under the chin, was called *kokushka*, and a girl who wore it was known as *kokushmitsa*. During festivals youths who did not follow the old costume traditions often asked the more modern *kokushmitsas* rather than other girls to dance or to walk along the street with them. Even if nobody asked a *kokushmitsa* for a dance, she could leave a row of her companions during a festival, unlike *povyazochmitsa* girls who had to stand still and not move away. “To stand still till the end of the festival was considered as an indelible disgrace for a girl. Everybody will tease this girl.”¹¹ While youths walked around with *kokushmitsa* girls, the remaining *povyazochmitsa* girls in the row were “feeling

mortification, standing still, and choking back tears.”¹² In spite of the emotional turmoil she was experiencing, the solemn demeanour required of a povyazochmitsa girl did not allow her to depart until the festival ended, demanded great patience and dictated a sober, superior, and even remote style of behaviour.

Members of that conservative society were clearly aware of the peculiarities in costumes of various local traditions, and of the important dichotomy of “us” and “them” in this context. In the southern provinces, the differences in costume and in fine details of the design and decoration of garments were tangible from village to neighbouring village. There were some situations when a young woman, who was to marry a young man from another village, had to remake all the items in her dowry, which she had been preparing for years. This occurred because of significant differences in clothes between the two villages. In such a case the bride’s family had to buy new materials to conform to the traditions of the groom’s village. In some villages, for example in Ryazan province, locals considered every change in the dress, such as a missing or unrestricted element, the use of incorrect colours, size or shape of the decorative elements, as damaging to the integrity of the whole costume.¹³

However, in some cases in traditional culture transgressions occurred in clear breach of the rules governing dress. The matter of challenging boundaries in the field of traditional Russian costume usage touches upon various different characteristics of clothes: fabric, cut, component parts, the combination of details from different local cultures, and the peculiarity of decoration. This question will be addressed in more detail.

In Russia, the principal materials for making traditional clothes were flax, hemp, and wool. Every woman who cut homespun fabric took into account the width of the cloth (looms were usually designed to make cloth of 38 to 44 centimetres in width). Also, it was customary not to cut new fabric along the warp thread. These features determined the making of “one-size-fits-all” clothes. Thus, even before she received a marriage proposal a girl prepared wedding gifts for her potential new relatives and would have had in her dowry similar basic shirts for the groom, his brothers, and for her father-in-law. After the official marriage proposal, the bride completed the gifts and finished their decoration. Usually the bride’s friends helped her with this.

Commercial fabrics were made in varying widths and were always much larger than the homespun fabric. This feature of the machine-made fabric, unlike homespun, enabled much more freedom in terms of its cutting and in the design of an item. The use of commercial fabrics to sew traditional costumes made it possible to change the cut, allowing the construction of garments in a specific size. This was an important stage in the process of breaking rules and altering traditions.

The inclusion of essentially alien elements into the local paradigm of a costume may be illustrated with the following example. It is known that in Russian vestimentary tradition there were two main types of clothing: the archaic garment with the wrap-around skirt, poneva and the other, more recent one, with sarafan. The costume ensemble with poneva had common Slavic roots and included a shirt, a poneva, a sash (one or more), an apron and/or an overgarment, a headdress called soroka, and leather or lapti or bast shoes (Figure 6) — folk basket-like shoes made from the bark of the trees (linden or birch). In the nineteenth century, the costume of this type was widespread in the European part of Russia, throughout the more southerly provinces of Voronezh, Kaluga, Kursk, Orel, Penza, Ryazan, Tambov, and Tula, and also partly in central and western provinces, in the Moscow and Smolensk areas.¹⁴

The costume ensemble with sarafan was formed in that period of time when the Russia State was being established and developed, between the late-fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth century. This ensemble consisted of a shirt, a sarafan, a sash, a kokoshnik-like headdress usually supplemented with a kerchief, coverlet or shawl; leather shoes (Figure 7), or, more rarely, bast shoes. An apron or some kind of jacket could be used in some variants. This costume was spread throughout the northern and central parts of Russia, in provinces of the Volga and Urals regions, and in Western Siberia. After the Great Schism of the Russian Orthodox Church in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Old Believers who fled



Figure 6

Young woman's costume with poneva,
Ryazan province, mid-nineteenth century,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 104-91; 104-95;
104-96; 104-97; 104-99; 104-100; 104-101/a,
b; 104-102; 104-105; 104-106; 104-109.



Figure 7

Young woman's costume with sarafan,
Perm province, mid-nineteenth century,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 8762-2114;
8762-3216; 8762-3220; 8762-4060;
8762-4271; 8762-9582.

from persecution brought the sarafan garment to the Trans-Volga region, Eastern Siberia, Altaï, the Don, Ukraine, and the Baltic region. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a sarafan costume ensemble appeared in southern provinces of Russia, where it was worn mainly as part of an unmarried girl's dress, but in the northern Uyezds of Ryazan province such an outfit was considered to be clothes for old women. Women of other ages in this region wore the costume with poneva as before. It should be mentioned that the poneva was a distinct marker of a specific status of womanhood. The first time that a young woman put on poneva was a wedding rite (after the wedding ceremony in church) and then it was worn all the time. In the areas where the costume with poneva occurred, girls and young unmarried women wore only a shift shirt and a sash. Sometimes they added an apron and vest or jacket made of homespun woollen fabric. Sometimes an elderly woman would stop wearing poneva so that their costume became again like a girl's outfit, representing the symbolical loss of her sexuality.

Thus, the appearance of a strange element of the costume (the sarafan in particular) challenged the status displayed on the exterior of a woman who was both symbolically and literally beyond the realisation of reproductive capability. The absence of the poneva in girls' and elderly women's dress became correlated with the wearing of the sarafan. The poneva defined the wearer's function as a woman, which according to traditional codes was childbearing, and it continued to preserve its significance in this respect.



Figure 8

Young odnodvortsi woman's costume, Tambov province, mid-nineteenth century, RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 416-2; 416-7; 416-13; 416-15; 416-16; 416-17; 416-18.

One of the main reasons for the breaking of custom in the field of traditional dress was migration. This process triggered the phenomenon of contamination of details of the costume by different social and cultural traditions. The most vivid example is the costume including a striped skirt (Figure 8). In the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, this type of costume occurred in villages of Voronezh, Kaluga, Orel, Tambov, and Tula provinces. These were regions where odnodvortsi settled. Odnodvortsi was a social category of service-class people (state-owned peasants) who undertook patrol and security duties. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these people were recruited from the territories of the Byelorussian, Polish, and Lithuanian frontiers with Russia to perform this function.

The odnodvortsi brought their heritage and their appearance to the new places in which they settled. Costumes with a woollen, striped skirt could sometimes be seen in some villages of Smolensk, Arkhangelsk, and Vologda provinces. The outfit with a striped skirt was brought to these places from their lands of origin of the odnodvortsi in the west. Specific details of the costume, some accessories and the cut of individual garments came from the heritage and cultural tradition of the western regions of Russia. The shirt, an essential part of every Russian costume, was made with straight inset shoulder pieces running parallel to the weft thread of the fabric. Specific details of the shirts included a 25–30cm wide, turned-down collar, wide sleeves gathered at the wrist, with a detachable long cuff which could cover the whole hand. Shirts were mostly made of white homespun fabric, sometimes of manufactured red calico. Quite often separate collars were added to upturned collars of the same size, decorated with silk ribbons and lace along the edges. Detachable ruffled cuffs were made of the same material as collars: silk ribbons and manufactured cotton lace.

The main detail of this type of costume was a special skirt, which was different from the two original types of Russian garments, the poneva and sarafan. This skirt was made from four or eight pieces of homespun woollen fabric with vertical stripes of contrasting colours, in various tones of red, white, green

and blue. In some regions fashion-conscious wearers decorated these skirts around the hem with black plush elements: often bands of appliqué with ajoure openwork. The skirt was also ornamented with bold embroidery of geometrical, floral and anthropomorphic motifs, worked in woollen thread.

The overgarment with the striped skirt costume was a vest made of velvet known as *korsetka*.¹⁵ According to different local traditions this garment could be of various cuts: a short vest with fasteners in front or a longer one with a pleated back and fasteners at the front or on the left side. The first variant is akin to a traditional overgarment worn by Byelorussian, western Slav and Baltic women. The second is similar to Ukrainian traditional overclothes. For *korsetkas*, which were widespread among *odnodvortsy* female costumes, women used expensive manufactured fabrics: black plush, silk fabrics in red or another dark tone, and, latterly, black sateen. The front and/or the back of the *korsetka* were adorned with embroidery in multi-coloured threads, ornaments of bright narrow braid, appliqués, and buttons. The woman's costume also included a homespun woollen sash of 30cm wide, which was typical of dress from the southern provinces of Russia, and a headdress of the northern Russian type (the framed *kokoshnik*). Commonly, sashes were multi-coloured with longitudinal bright stripes of contrasting colours (such as white, red, green, yellow and lilac). The same type of sashes were used as part of the costume with *poneva*. Sometimes striped sashes included small parts of *ikat* ornament. More rarely, single-coloured sashes appeared, heavily decorated with embroidery in multi-coloured woollen threads, in the same manner as the striped skirts.

The costume could include an apron — *perednik* or *fartuk*—tied around the waist, made of manufactured cotton or woollen fabric.¹⁶ These aprons were typologically very similar to aprons which were spread throughout southern Russian territories and which were an integral part of the costume with the *poneva* in some districts, for example in Voronezh province. A headdress for the costume with striped skirt was the *kokoshnik*, constructed on a stiff frame, which was the typical headdress for the costume worn with the *sarafan*. It is notable that the *odnodvorcheskii kokoshnik* had its own unique shape, which was common for all areas where members of this group were settled. It was distinct from all other stiff-framed headdresses peculiar to various neighbouring traditions. The shape at the front appears as a solid hat which smoothly inclines from the top to the nape of the neck. It was made of *passementerie* on a stiff base, constructed from glued cloth or cardboard.

The central part of this type of *kokoshnik* was usually decorated with gold embroidery. Strips of manufactured fabric would be laid across the forehead, under the front edge of the *kokoshnik*. At the back the headdress was adorned at the nape with a small ornament made of fabric. This type of decoration was distinctive for southern Russia and was more similar to the *soroka* type of headdress than to the *kokoshnik*. The headdress was tied, along the lower edge, with a kerchief folded like a ribbon, with its ends running down the back. What was peculiar to the *odnodvorcheskii* costume type was that it integrated and combined details and elements of the costume of different regions, leading to the creation of a unique form of dress.

Another clear mechanism of the breaking of strict boundaries within traditional costume is the adoption of elements and details from neighbouring peoples. This phenomenon may be illustrated by a very specific female ensemble — the costume with *kubilek* (Figure 9). This garment was worn throughout the territory of the middle and lower Don until the first quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Particular living conditions along the river Don during the period of the formation of the Cossack group in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created the basis of the Cossacks' worldview and their culture, which "became a part of the Russian culture because of the Russian majority in Cossack society. At the same time the Don Cossacks came from Russian groups that were more open to connection with neighbouring peoples, with Middle Eastern Islamic, mainly Turkic culture."¹⁸ The effect of Turkish influence was reflected in the costume of the Cossacks. "The type of their clothes, adornments and weapons belonged to different tribes and peoples. For a long time, the Cossacks did not have their own type of clothes. Russian, Turkish, Circassian and Tatar dresses composed their diverse raiment ..."¹⁹ It is well known that the Cossacks took captured Tatar, Turkish, Circassian and Nogai women in marriage. These women kept traditional clothes from their homelands for a long time. A striking and distinctive eastern colour palette became



Figure 9
Young woman's costume
(the Grebenskie Cossacks),
Tambov province,
mid-nineteenth century,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia,
7537-1; 339-7/a, b, c.

part of the Cossacks' environment because of these clothes. This was demonstrated in specific fabrics, in colour range, in the cut and silhouette of dress, and also in separate elements and accessories.

The main characteristic element of the dress was the *kubilek* – a long vest-like dress of slim cut, without a collar, with the bodice cut separately and gathered on to a yoke. The dress had a shallow, round neckline and sleeves were gathered in ruffles on the shoulders. In some variants sleeves were straight and narrow, in others – for example, the dress of a Terek Cossack woman – sleeves widened from the elbow to the wrist. The skirt part consisted of several pieces of fabric, with a slit from waist to hem at the front. The upper part of the dress was fastened with buttons. The *kubilek* was usually made of dyed scrim, homespun black cloth or from an expensive fabric, such as brocade, velvet or silk (repp, heavy silk, satin, or Jacquard-woven). Very often the fabric had ornamental plant motifs, such as flowers, single or in bunches, leaves, and branches. Buttons were large, round or pear-shaped, made of gilded metal or silver, and decorated with gem-stones, glass or pearls. Under the *kubilek*, which was not fastened below the belt, women put on a long shirt of white scrim or fine silk fabric which was of a single colour in contrast to the colour of the dress. The shirt, with wide, straight sleeves, had an archaic tunic-like cut, which was retained in some local Russian dress traditions. The *kubilek* was pulled in at the waist with a narrow belt with a clasp. Belts were usually made of metal with large openwork links, but sometimes of velvet or other fabrics heavily embroidered with tiny beads, pearls, or pearl-like beads. Often the small metal clasp would include the initials of its owner.

A headdress for this costume was a small hat of brocatelle, a cap of bright ornamented silk and cotton blended fabric (which was considered the suitable headdress for a young married woman), a kerchief of lace, or a fabric kerchief (mainly for young unmarried women). In some regions typical Russian headdresses such as the horned *kika* with kerchief or the *povoyinik*, also known as *ochipok*, were worn. The most striking thing about this type of costume, considering Russian dress traditions, was the adoption of garments worn below the waist such as harem pants – *sharovary*. In Russian dress practice this type

of garment was strictly considered as a part of the male costume. Harem pants of the Cossack women, from the Don and northern Caucasus, were wide and ankle length. Author of the *Statistic Description of the Don Cossacks Lands*, Vasilii Sykhorukov, noted that women's "harem pants were of fine silk or cotton fabric" and explained the similarity of the main parts of this costume — kubilek and harem pants — to the clothes of Turkish and Tatar women.²⁰ According to Krasnov, in Novocherkassk during the reign of Tsar Alexander I, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, only older women wore the costume with kubilek and harem pants. Young women preferred to wear European dresses.²¹

Cases of the borrowing of clothing details from neighbouring peoples influenced by climate conditions and economic activities are known. For example, in some regions of Siberia women wore wide trousers — chembary — together with a sarafan. These pants were made of cloth with the same cut as those worn by men. The difference was that chembary were worn by women only for work. Grinkova noted some reasons why Old Believer women in Semipalatinsk province needed to protect their legs: the absence of an underskirt in the costume meant that they had to tuck their long sarafan under a belt during work in the fields in mountainous areas.²² The abundance of uncut weeds would scratch them even through the sarafan. So for field work women tucked their shirts into chembary.

Riding was a necessity everywhere. It was impossible to do this without pants because the narrow sarafan would ride up and pull the shirt with it up to the waist. Grinkova considered that the Old Believer women, who came to the new mountainous lands in the seventeenth century, had to be in the saddle all the time and they adopted the manner of wearing pants from their Kazakh neighbours — pants being an essential part of Kazakh women's dress.²³ Old Believer women used to wear such a costume while riding up until the 1910s. According to Grinkova, pants disappeared from the outfit because the cut of the sarafan changed. Semi-circular and circular sarafans became four to five metres wide at the hem, so tucking the skirt of the sarafan underneath was no longer required and it was possible to ride comfortably with shirt and legs covered up. Moreover, Old Believer women started to use underskirts, which somehow replaced pants.²⁴ It was a prominent example of how new possibilities in the context of traditional dress replaced previous adaptations such as the wearing of trousers.

Furthermore, there were cases of borrowing not only a whole garment or its details, but also the manner of wearing it. For example, among the Old Believers from the village of Sibiryachikha in the Altai, the Kyrgyz manner of tying a cashmere kerchief was spread. (By "the Kyrgyz" the Old Believers meant "the Kazakhs", with whom they were neighbours.) The Old Believer women had several methods of tying kerchiefs on to their heads, but at Maslenitsa (Butter Week, immediately before Lent) they used a special method whereby the ends of the kerchief were drawn above the forehead and tucked in, creating the effect of a large cushion on the head (Figure 10). This particular method was considered as adopted and referred to as "Kyrgyz."



Figure 10
Method of tying
kerchiefs on the head,
Altai region,
late nineteenth/early
twentieth century.²⁵



Figure 11
 Young man's costume,
 Semipalatinsk province,
 mid-nineteenth century
 RME, St Petersburg, Russia,
 8762-1735/1, 2 and 5158-24.

In the same local tradition, other borrowings from the Kazakh culture have been observed, such as some technological processes, the choice of colours and embroidered motifs. Chain stitch embroidery was worked as decoration on women's apron-like garments, such as the narukavnik (eg RME 2699-2.3) and on man's trousers (Figure 11, eg RME 5158-24). Embroidery was done in bright and multi-coloured silk and woollen threads. The chain stitch ornamentation has very clear Kazakh origins in both motifs and style. However, along with these borrowed embroidery elements, techniques that were very characteristic of Russian work, such as slanted cross stitching would appear on the same costume. The combination of these elements brought about the unique fashion of the local garment.

Sometimes borrowings from the culture of alien peoples, as considered above, are more understandable than discovering very similar phenomena in various local traditions within Russia. Thus, in the Russian Museum of Ethnography stores there is an apron, the zanaveska, from Ivlevo village, Bogoroditsky Uyezd, Tula province (Figures 12 and 13). It has a very archaic cut (tunica-like with sleeves), distinctive for the southern Russian costume with the poneva. However, the decoration of the apron is worked in the technique of Russian drawn ground embroidery, using white threads on a white cloth. A complicated grid is created by counting and withdrawing threads, surrounding large stylised floral motifs left in the solid linen. This type of design and technique were typical of the traditions of ornamentation in northern Russia – more precisely for the provinces of Olonets and, partly, Vologda (Figures 14 and 15). Such embroidery could often be seen on aprons of other kinds and on ritual towels. On the apron from Tula province such embroidery looks incongruous and strange, as does the fact that the stylised tree motif appears upside-down. The provenance for this apron is unknown. The most probable reason for such decoration appearing in a southern region of Russia could be explained by an occasional incidence of migration.

*Figure 12*

Zanaveska — apron for a married woman,
Tula province, Bogoroditskiy Uyezd,
Yvlevo village, circa 1850–1900,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 150–173.

*Figure 13*

Zanaveska — apron for a married woman (detail),
Tula province, Bogoroditskiy Uyezd,
Yvlevo village, circa 1850–1900,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 150–173.

*Figure 14*

Apron (detail), Vologda province, Velikoustyigskiy Uyezd,
Sukhona village, circa 1850–1900,
RME, St Petersburg, Russia, 508–268.

*Figure 15*

Towel (detail), Olonets province,
Povenetskiy Uyezd, Shun'ga
village, late nineteenth century,
RME, St Petersburg,
Russia, 585–50.

In conclusion, the widespread processes effecting the changing of traditional garments into new ones should also be mentioned. In the mid-nineteenth/early-twentieth centuries, under the influence of urban culture (trends in fashion, fabrics, and cut), the displacement of old traditional garments by new urban clothes began. In men's costume while the traditional kosovorotka shirt was kept, trousers with a waistband supplanted the style which were held on the waist by means of a sash. Instead of boots and bast shoes, men acquired leather shoes, leading to the cut of trouser legs becoming longer. Coats and jackets replaced kaftans, and the kartuz (men's cap) was replaced by felt hats. As a mark of foppiness or of wealth, youths and men added to their outfits such details as a waistcoat.

In women's dress in the northern and central provinces, the sarafan was replaced by a two-piece costume consisting of a skirt and blouse made of the same fabric or a dress constructed with a yoke. In southern provinces, the unmarried girl's costume changed from the traditional shirt with sash to a blouse and

skirt. Though dress practices changed, it was still the case that every local area developed their own preferences and all these types of costumes had their own features in terms of materials and decoration. In this context it is possible to speak about the creation of new forms of traditional costume with its distinct local variants. Finally, the headscarf replaced kokoshniks, sorokas and other kinds of headdress.

Under the influence of the textile industry, changes were seen even in the cut and decoration of very traditional clothes. Manufactured textiles imitated the elaborate old-fashioned hand techniques of embroidery and weaving by more simple methods, such as quilting. The wide range of haberdashery that became available to the rural population led to changes in the decorative elements of traditional costume.²⁶ Local manufacturers, responding to popular demand, created printed cotton fabrics and machine-made lace. Their designs imitated embroidered or woven bands with geometrical and ornithomorphic motifs, so it was a simple matter to decorate a dress by cutting a piece of such a band and sewing it to an apron or shirt sleeve.

Undoubtedly, the breaking of boundaries governing traditional costume contributed to the formation of new forms of original, local Russian dress, yet remaining historically authentic. However, the essential conservatism of traditional culture and, perhaps, historical circumstances were the reasons for the most archaic costume with the poneva remaining in use till the 1980s. At this time in some southern Russian regions there was a revival of interest in using the old ritual clothes for contemporary weddings. Also in some districts of Ryazan and Penza regions even today elderly women continue to wear outfits with the poneva in everyday life and especially on public holidays.

Endnotes

- ¹ Olga Goncharova, "Strakh i Volya k Vlasti v Kulturnoi Biografii Ekaterini II," ["Fear and the Will for Power in Cultural Biography of Catherine II"], in Natalia Gerasimova, ed, *Languages of Fear: Female and Male Behaviour Strategy*, State University, St Petersburg, Russia, 2004, pp 58–59.
- ² See also: Raisa Kirsanova, "Iz Istorii Kostuma Russkikh Imperatrits," ["From the History of the Russian Empresses"], in Natalia Mazour, ed, *Cultural Events in Ideological Perspective: Russia, Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries*, Ogi, Moscow, Russia, 1999, pp 71–81.
- ³ Russian Museum of Ethnography (RME) Depositories TI/1 Collection, 1741–21, 23, 24, 25.
- ⁴ *RME Inventory Recordings*: 622–21; 684–67, 68, 69, 71.
- ⁵ RME Depositories TI/1 Collection, 11128–1.
- ⁶ Elena Madlevskaya, "Novie Postuplenia Kollektzii Ryazanskogo Kostuma (Lokalnaya Variativnost, Sotsiovozrastnie Osobennosti, Sokhraneniia i Razvitiie Traditsii)" ["New Additions to the Collection of the Ryazan Costume (with Local Variations, Social and Age-Conditioned Peculiarities that Evidence the Preservation and Development of Tradition)"], in Dmitry Savinov, ed, *Museum, Tradition, Ethnicity*, Slavia, St Petersburg, Russia, Volume 1, 2012, p 120.
- ⁷ Elena Madlevskaya, "Le Tablier dans le Costume Populaire Russe du XIXe et du Début du XXe Siècle," ["Aprons in Russian Folk Costume in the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century"] in Françoise Cousin, ed, *Aprons for Men, Aprons for Women*, French Association of Studying Textile, Donjon de Gouzon, France, 2009, Memoire XXXVI – 2009, p 68.
- ⁸ Elena Madlevskaya, 2012, op cit, p 121.
- ⁹ Elena Knats, "'Metitshe' – Prazdnichnoe Gulianie v Pinezhskom Raione," ["'Metishe' – Festival in Pinega Region"], *Peasant Art in USSR: Art in North*, Committee of Sociology and Art Studies, Academia, Leningrad, Russia, 1928, pp 194–197.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, p 197.
- ¹¹ Ibid, p 198.
- ¹² Ibid, p 199.
- ¹³ More could be read in the article Madlevskaya, 2012, op cit.
- ¹⁴ Soroka is a headdress with multiple components worn by a married woman. Sorokas were usually worn in the central and southern Provinces, rarely in the Russian north (Arkhangelsk and Olonets

Provinces). The main parts of the headdress were kichka or kika (inner frame made of quilted cloth or wood), the soroka itself — a cover for the kika made of rich fabric, nape decoration — covering the neck and upper part of the back, made of fabric and/or a bead net, and braid; forehead decoration of a fabric band; a large kerchief over all. By the early twentieth century sorokas had fallen out of use.

- ¹⁵ From the Russian word, corset.
- ¹⁶ From the German word, Vortuch, meaning apron.
- ¹⁷ Peter Krasnov, *Kartini Bilogo Tikhogo Dona: Kratkii Ocherk Istorii Voiska Donskogo dla Chtenia v Semie, Shkole I Voiskovikh Chastiakh*, [Scenes from Old Tikhii Don: Sketch from the History of the Don Cossack Host Family, School and Military Unit], Reading Society Golike & Willborg, St Petersburg, Russia, 1909, p 366.
- ¹⁸ Nikolay Mininkov, *Donskoe Kazachestvo v Epokhu Pozdnego Srednevekovia (do 1671)*, [The Don Cossacks During the Late Middle Ages (Before 1671)], Rostov University Press, Rostov-on-Don, Russia, 1998, p 448. See more: Peter Krasnov, *ibid*.
- ¹⁹ *Kazachiyi Don: Ocherki Istorii*, [Cossacks' Don: Sketches on History], Rostov University Press, Rostov-on-Don, Russia, 1995, p 36.
- ²⁰ Vasilii Sykhorukov, *Statisticheskoe Opisanie Zemli Donskikh Kazakov, Sostavlennoe v 1822-1832* [Statistical Description of the Don Cossacks' Lands Catalogued in 1822-1832], Don Cossack Host Press, Novocheboksarsk, Russia, 1891, p 121.
- ²¹ Krasnov, *op cit*, p 366.
- ²² Nadezhda Grinkova, "Odejda Bukhtarminskikh Staroobyadtsev," ["Clothes of the Bukhtomir Clothes of the Bukhtomir Old Believer"], in Sergei Roudenko, ed, *Bukhtomir Old Believers*, Academy of Science USSR, Leningrad, Russia, 1930, p 344.
- ²³ *Ibid*, p 345.
- ²⁴ Olga Abramova, *Traditsionnaya Narodnaya Cultura "Polyakov" — Staroverov sela Sibiryachikha Soloshenskogo Raiona Altaiskogo Kraia*, [Traditional National Culture of "Poles" — Old Believers from the Village of Sibiryachikha, Solonshensky District, Altai Krai: Materials of Folk Expeditions] Pesnokhor-ki, Barnaul, Russia, 1999, pp 14, 21.
- ²⁵ *Ibid*, p 21.
- ²⁶ Anna Neslouchovskaya, "Galantereyinyi Tovar I ego Vliyanie na Russkii Traditsionnyi Kostum XIX - Nachala XXV," ["Haberdashery and its Influence on Russian Traditional Costume in Nineteenth - Early Twentieth Century"], *Materials of the Fourteenth International Ethnographic Conference*, SPGUTD Press, St Petersburg, Russia, Volume 14, 2015, pp 225-230.

Bibliography

Published

- Abramova, Olga, *Traditsionnaya Narodnaya Cultura "Polyakov" — Staroverov sela Sibiryachikha Soloshenskogo Raiona Altaiskogo Kraia*, [Traditional National Culture of "Poles" — Old Believers from the Village of Sibiryachikha, Solonshensky District, Altai Krai: Materials of Folk Expeditions] Pesnokhor-ki, Barnaul, Russia, 1999.
- Goncharova, Olga, "Strakh I Volya k Vlasti v Culturnoi Biografii Ekaterini II," ["Fear and the Will for Power in Cultural Biography of Catherine II"], in Gerasimova, Natalia, ed, *Languages of Fear: Female and Male Behaviour Strategy*, State University, St Petersburg, Russia, 2004.
- Grinkova, Nadezhda, "Odejda Bukhtarminskikh Staroobyadtsev," ["Clothes of the Bukhtomir Clothes of the Bukhtomir Old Believer"], in Roudenko, Sergei, ed, *Bukhtomir Old Believers*, Academy of Science USSR, Leningrad, Russia, 1930.

- Kazachiyi Don: Ocherki Istorii*, [*Cossacks' Don: Sketches on History*], Rostov University Press, Rostov-on-Don, Russia, 1995.
- Kirsanova, Raisa, "Iz Istorii Costuma Russkikh Imperatrits," ["From the History of the Russian Empresses"], in Mazour, Natalia, ed, *Cultural Events in Ideological Perspective: Russia, Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries*, Ogi, Moscow, Russia, 1999.
- Knats, Elena, "'Metitshe' — Prazdnichnoe Gulianie v Pinezhskom Raione," ["'Metishe' — Festival in Pinega Region"], *Peasant Art in USSR: Art in North*, Committee of Sociology and Art Studies, Academia, Leningrad, Russia, 1928.
- Krasnov, Peter, *Kartini Bilogo Tikhogo Dona: Kratkii Ocherk Istorii Voiska Donskogo dla Chtenia v Semie, Shkole I Voiskovikh Chastiakh*, [*Scenes from Old Tikhii Don: Sketch from the History of the Don Cossack Host Family, School and Military Unit*], Reading Society, Golike & Wilborg, St Petersburg, Russia, 1909.
- Madlevskaya, Elena, "Novie Postuplenia Collectsii Ryazanskogo Kostuma (Lokalnaya Variativnost, Sotsiovozrastnie Osobennosti, Sokhraneniia i Razvitie Traditsii)" ["New Additions to the Collection of the Ryazan Costume (with Local Variations, Social and Age-Conditioned Peculiarities that Evidence the Preservation and Development of Tradition)"], in Savinov, Dmitry, ed, *Museum, Tradition, Ethnicity*, Slavia, St Petersburg, Russia, Volume 1, 2012.
- Madlevskaya, Elena, "Le Tablier dans le Costume Populaire Russe du XIXe et du Début du XXe Siècle," ["Aprons in Russian Folk Costume in the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century"] in Cousin, Françoise, ed, *Aprons for Men, Aprons for Women*, French Association of Studying Textile, Donjon de Gouzon, France, 2009, Memoire XXXVI - 2009.
- Mininkov, Nikolay, *Donskoe Kazachestvo v Epokhu Pozdnego Srednevekovia (do 1671)*, [*The Don Cossacks During the Late Middle Ages (Before 1671)*], Rostov University Press, Rostov-on-Don, Russia, 1998.
- Nesloukhovskaya, Anna, "Galantereyiniy Tovar I ego Vliianie na Russkii Traditsionniy Kostum XIX - Nachala XXV," ["Haberdashery and its Influence on Russian Traditional Costume in Nineteenth - Early Twentieth Century"], *Materials of the Fourteenth International Ethnographic Conference*, SPGUTD Press, St Petersburg, Russia, Volume 14, 2015, pp 225-230.
- Russkiyi Prazdnik: Prazdniki i Obryadi Narodnogo Zemledelcheskogo Kalendarya: Illustrirovannaya Enciklopedia*, [*Russian Festivals: Festivals and Rites of the Rural Agricultural Calendar: Illustrative Encyclopedia*], Iskustvo-SPB, St Petersburg, Russia, 2002.
- Sykhonukov, Vasiliy, *Statisticheskoe Opisanie Zemli Donskikh Kazakov, Sostavlennoe v 1822-1832* [*Statistical Description of the Don Cossacks' Lands Catalogued in 1822-1832*], Don Cossack Host Press, Novochebassk, Russia, 1891.

Unpublished Sources

The Russian Museum of Ethnography (RME) Inventory Recordings, 622-21; 684-67, 68, 69, 71.

Copyright © 2018 Elena Madlevskaya and Anna Nikolaeva
Email: madlevska@mail.ru and annikolaevs@gmail.com

Elena Madlevskaya holds a PhD in Russian philology where she researched traditional Russian costume. She works in The Department of Ethnography of Russian Peoples at The Russian Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg, Russia. Elena is the author of many exhibition catalogues and books on traditional Russian costume, including *The Russian Traditional Costume* in The Foundation Pierre Bergé; Yves Saint Laurent (<http://www.fondation-pb-ysl.net/en/Le-costume-populaire-russe-513.html>); *The Russian Traditional Costume* (January–March 2012, National Museum of Traditional Arts and Crafts, Rome, Italy); *The Russian Costume: From the Tradition to the Scenic Evocation* (October–December 2014, Crumlin Road Gaol, Belfast, Northern Ireland), with The Museum of Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow) *Beauty Beyond the Time*; and *The Museum of Antiquities of Natalia Shabelskaya* (October–December 2016, Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade, Serbia).

Anna Nikolaeva holds an MA in Curatorial Studies. She works in The Department of International Relations at The Russian Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg, Russia. Anna studied dress history and is the author of several articles in the journal, *Fashion and Design: Historical Impact – New Technologies* (Issues 2012, 2013, and 2018, published in Russian). Anna was assistant curator on several exhibitions, including *The Russian Costume: From the Tradition to the Scenic Evocation* (October–December 2014, Crumlin Road Gaol, Belfast, Northern Ireland), with The Museum of Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow, and *The Thirteenth Festival of Contemporary Art in the Traditional Museum* (September–October 2015, St Petersburg, Russia).

Their Dress is Very Different: The Development of the Peruvian Pollera and the Genesis of the Andean Chola

James Middleton

Abstract

The dress of today's full-skirted, bowler-hatted Andean chola, or Mestizo woman, began as an elite style worn by Peruvian women in preference to the international styles of the day. Their rejection was not the result of isolation. The men of colonial Peru wore clothing in the latest European styles. Women, however, participated in a cultural exchange involving the appropriation of native elite dress by Spanish women, producing a distinctive fashion style reinforced by indigenous attitudes that celebrated the social value of fine textiles. Using evidence from portraits, and the textual and visual chronicles of travellers, this paper illustrates a striking example of sartorial mestizaje in the eighteenth-century world.

"Their dress is very different from the European, which the custom of the country alone can render excusable; indeed, to Spaniards at their first coming over it appears extremely indecent."¹

The words are those of the Spanish geographers, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, who had travelled to South America during 1735–1744 as part of a scientific expedition.² They were dismayed by the dress of the women they saw there, which consisted of merely a white linen blouse, loose bodice, and full, calf-length skirt. This skirt, the pollera, was the namesake of the entire ensemble; although, as shall be discussed in this paper, two distinct skirt types were associated with the style.³

Today, the little-known eighteenth-century art produced in Spain's American colonies is having a moment. A spate of recent exhibitions and publications have revealed fascinating images that challenge Anglo-American assumptions about the nature of colonialism.⁴ In addition to exhibitions and publications, museums are acquiring Spanish Colonial works, which aid in understanding colonialism in the Americas. One of these acquired works of art (Figure 1), offers a near-contemporary illustration of the "very different" sartorial ensembles worn by the women of eighteenth-century Lima, Peru.⁵

In 1717, the French traveller, Amédée François Frézier, noted that the style of dress was "not very susceptible to changes of fashions."⁶ Proving him correct, the pollera ensemble today remains the preferred dress of Indian and mestiza (also called chola) women of the Andean highlands from Ecuador to Bolivia.⁷ In the eighteenth century, however, the pollera ensemble was high fashion, and represented a conscious rejection of hegemonic international style on the part of the women of western South America. While New Spain (Mexico) was, by the eighteenth century, somewhat known in Europe, Peru remained a byword for the exotic unknown. Perhaps this is due to the relative distance from Europe of the two realms; perhaps because Peru had retained its quasi-mythical connection with stupendous mineral wealth, even as silver production had actually fallen off.⁸

For whatever reason, the spate of travel books published in the eighteenth century focusing on Peru and the south (rather than on Mexico) contributed to the general impression. This was strongly reinforced by descriptions of dress. These books, of which Juan and Ulloa's is a prime example, were illustrated.



Figure 1

A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rimac, artist unknown, circa 1800,
Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, United States, 2012.41.

As the books were translated into other languages, their illustrations were reproduced (with diminishing faithfulness to the original plates). Together with copious descriptions of the curious dress of the inhabitants, these books helped to cement the idea of the “foreignness” of Peru in the European mind.

In the history of dress, there have been few fashions so universally accepted as the French-influenced clothing worn by eighteenth-century women in Europe and its colonies. From Moscow to Mexico City, women of every class wore the period’s characteristic V-shaped bodices and distended skirts (Figure 2). The exception to this universal mode was found in western South America, in a region comprising parts of the present-day nations of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile, roughly coterminous with the former Inca Empire.

From 1532 to 1824, these territories, collectively known as the Viceroyalty of Peru, were governed from Lima by a viceroy appointed by the Spanish Crown. Due to the silver mines of Upper Peru (today’s Bolivia), the elites of viceregal Peru were among the richest people in the world. This wealth found expression in a strongly local brand of material culture marked by luxury, fine craftsmanship, and audacity of form. Great wealth has habitually expressed itself in luxurious dress, and numerous records exist attesting that eighteenth-century Peruvians spent staggering amounts of money on clothing. Juan and Ulloa noted that:

They all greatly affect fine cloths, and it may be said without exaggeration, that the finest stuffs made in countries, where industry is always inventing something new, are more generally seen at Lima than in any other place; vanity and ostentation not being restrained by custom or law. Thus the great quantities brought in the galleons and register ships, notwithstanding they sell



Figure 2

Robe à la Française, France or England, circa 1760–1765, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, United States, M.56.6a–b.



Figure 3

Lady of Peru, F R Ingouf after J Dávila, Paris, 1774, The British Museum, London, England, 1917.1208.4121.

here prodigiously above their prime cost in Europe, the richest of them are used as cloths, and worn with a carelessness little suitable to their extravagant price...⁹

The writers go on to note that, “... in this article the men are greatly exceeded by the women, whose passion for dress is such as to deserve a more particular account.”¹⁰ The women of western South America apparently rejected international style, favouring a looser combination of skirt, chemise, and waistcoat, adorned with a variety of accessories (Figure 3). The women’s dress seems to have been equally derived from the informal dress of upper-class Spanish women and from the dress of Andean elites.

It is curious, and indeed unique in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, that the women of viceregal Peru chose to reject hegemonic international style, and to spend their money instead on the home-grown alternative that so shocked Señor de Ulloa. Scholars who have written on this style of dress have rightly noted its extreme luxury, finding a plenitude of American self-fashioning in the mode’s extravagance. What has not generally been noted, however, is the ensemble’s startling difference from elite women’s dress elsewhere in the European sphere.¹¹ Even in Mexico, whose elite women dressed with comparable luxury, there was no style of dress to be found that so intentionally flouted the prevailing international mode (Figure 4).

The Description of Dress

This rejection of international style was not the result of cultural isolation. It took between five and seven months to reach Lima from Spain (not 20 years) and wealthy Peruvians were avid consumers of the new. The record of images shows that Peruvian men *did* wear international-style clothing (Figures 1 and 5), and that such clothing was not limited to the wealthy. Juan and Ulloa confirm this:



Figure 4

A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rimac (detail), artist unknown, circa 1800, Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, United States, 2012.41.

The usual dress of the men differs very little from that worn in Spain, nor is the distinction between the several classes very great; for the use of all sorts of cloth being allowed, everyone wears what he can purchase, so it is not uncommon to see a mulatto, or any other mechanic dressed in tissue equal to any thing that can be worn by a more opulent person.¹²

It stands to reason that Peruvian women had the same access as men (and as their Mexican sisters) to international styles, so it seems that their rejection must have been conscious. It is tempting to invoke regional pride to explain this rejection in proto-nationalist terms, but this seems unlikely: If national feeling were a factor, men would also have adopted similar regional-style garments, which (with the exception of the poncho for country wear) they did not.¹³ A further argument against incipient nationalist feeling is that once South American republics achieved independence in the 1820s, elite women wholeheartedly adopted French and English styles, leaving the pollera mode to the lower classes.

The French traveller, Amédée François Frézier, first described the basic form of this dress for European readers in 1717, with titillating references to the “private” places which, in a European gown, would not be visible.

Tho' the make of their habit be of itself plain enough, and not very susceptible to changes of fashions, they love to be richly dressed, whatever it costs, even in the most private places. Even their very smocks, and fustian waistcoats they wear over them, are full of lace; and their prodigality extends to put it upon socks and sheets. The upper petticoat they most commonly wear, called *faldellín*, is open before and has three rows of lace, the middlemost of gold and silver, extraordinary wide, sewed on silk galloons, which terminate at the edges. Their upper waistcoat, which they call the *jubón* is either rich cloth of gold, or, in hot weather, of fine linen, covered with an abundance of lace, confusedly put on. The sleeves are large and have a pouch hanging down to the knees.¹⁴

Thirty-four years later, as if to prove its unsusceptibility to change, in 1746, Juan and Ulloa provided a similar, but much more thorough, description of the same basic garment. This consisted of, "... a shift [chemise], a petticoat of dimity, an open petticoat, and a jacket, which in summer is of linen, in winter of stuff. To this some add a mantelette [shawl], that the former [jacket] may hang loose..."¹⁵

The primary loci of decoration on this set of garments were the outer ("upper") petticoat and the voluminous sleeves of the chemise ("shift"):

The upper petticoat, which is of velvet, or some rich stuff, is fringed all round, and not less crowded with ornaments than those described elsewhere in this work. But be the ornaments what they will, whether of fringe, lace, or ribands, they are always exquisitely fine. The shift sleeves, which are a yard and a half in length, and two yards in width... are covered with rolls of laces, variegated in such manner as to render the whole truly elegant.¹⁶

The "rolls of laces" mentioned above, different from anything being worn in Europe at the time, can be seen in a Lima School painting, circa 1770 (Figure 5), that is part of a Peruvian *casta* series.¹⁷



Figure 5

Quarterón de Mestizo y Español Producen Quinterón de Mestizo
[Mestizo Quadroon and Spaniard produce Mestizo Quintero], artist unknown,
Lima School, Peru, circa 1770, Museo Nacional de Etnología, Madrid, Spain.

Juan and Ulloa described the dress in that over the chemise was worn:

... the jacket, the sleeves of which are excessively large, of a circular figure, and consist of rows of lace, or slips of cambric or lawn with lace disposed betwixt each, as are also the shift sleeves, even of those who do not affect extraordinary ornament. The body of the jacket is tied on the shoulders with ribands fastened to the back of their stays; and the round sleeves of it being tucked up to the shoulders, are so disposed together with those of the shift, as to form what may be termed four wings. If the jacket be not buttoned or clasped before, it is agreeably fastened on the shoulders; and indeed the whole dress makes a most elegant figure. They also use a close vest, fasten it with clasps, but wear over it the loose jacket already described.¹⁸

The ensemble would be completed with a variety of accessories:

In the summer they have a kind of veil, the stuff and fashion of which is like that of the shift and body of the vest, of the finest cambric or lawn, richly laced: but in winter, the veil worn in their houses is of bays; when they go abroad full dressed, it is adorned like the sleeves. They also use brown bays, finely laced and fringed, and bordered with slips of black velvet. Over the petticoat is an apron of the same stuff as the sleeves of the jacket, hanging down to the bottom of it. From hence, some idea may be formed of the expense of a dress, where the much greater part of the stuff is merely for ornament; nor will it appear strange, that the marriage shift should cost a thousand crowns, and sometimes more.

[Their] shoes are always fastened with diamond buckles, or something brilliant in proportion to the ability of the wearer, being worn less for use than ornament; for the shoes are made in such a manner that they never loosen of themselves, nor do the buckles hinder their being taken off. It is unusual to see these buckles set with pearls, a particular to be accounted for by only from their being so lavish with them in the other ornaments of their dress, as to consider them of too little value. The shoemakers, who are no strangers to the foible of the sex, take great care to make them in a manner very little calculated for service. The usual price is three half-crowns a pair, those embroidered with gold or silver cost from eight to ten crowns. The latter, however, are but little worn, the encumbrance of embroidery being suited rather to enlarge than diminish the appearance of a small foot.¹⁹

Juan and Ulloa continue to cite examples of the clothing-related New World self-fashioning that was the despair of colonial officials, the shocking idea that in the Americas, it was difficult to gauge a person's social position by his/her dress:

The lower classes of women, even to the very negroes, affect, according to their abilities, to imitate their betters, not only in the fashion of their dress, but also in the richness of it. None here are seen without shoes as at Quito, but they are made of so small a size, in order to diminish the natural bigness of the feet, that they must give infinite uneasiness in the wearing. A desire of being distinguished by an elegant dress is universal. Their linen is always starched to a great degree, in order to display the costly patterns of their laces. After this universal passion, their next care, and indeed a much more commendable one, is cleanliness; of which the uncommon neatness of their houses are sufficient instances.²⁰

The question remains: why did the elite women of western South America, who until approximately 1700 had worn conventionally Spanish versions of European dress, suddenly begin to wear a style of

clothing that was radically different from styles worn elsewhere in the European sphere, including Spain's other American colonies.⁹ The author of this paper believes the pollera ensemble to be the product of a collision between the informal, at-home dress of elite seventeenth-century Peruvian women and the dress of elite pre-Hispanic women.

The great misperception about the style is that, because of its superficial resemblance to "peasant garb," the pollera ensemble was derived from the dress of workers. But the clothing of early-modern working-class women was not actually different from that of elite women: it consisted of the same basic building blocks of shift, skirt, and jacket, which were worn by all, but these, the undergarments of the rich, were the only garments of the poor. The crucial difference resided in the preciousness of the materials, and fineness of workmanship.²¹

Informal and/or Indigenous

Beyond the tiny world of the viceregal court, Peruvian women had little occasion to wear Spain's formal, corseted styles, and seem to have spent their days in luxurious undress. Two informal seventeenth-century garments, the jubón jacket and faldellín skirt, led the way for the pollera ensemble. These, as described here by Frézier, can be seen in the illustration to Frézier's 1717 *Rélation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud* (Figure 6) and in the portrait, circa 1740, of the Marquesa of Torre Tagle (Figure 7).



Figure 6

Spanish ladies in indoor dress, Gerard Jean Baptiste Scotin, engraving, in Frézier, 1717, op cit, plate xxxvi.



Figure 7

Rosa Juliana Sánchez de Tagle, Marquesa of Torre Tagle, Cristóbal de Aguilár, circa 1730-1740, Palacio de Torre Tagle, Lima, Peru, 02000698001.

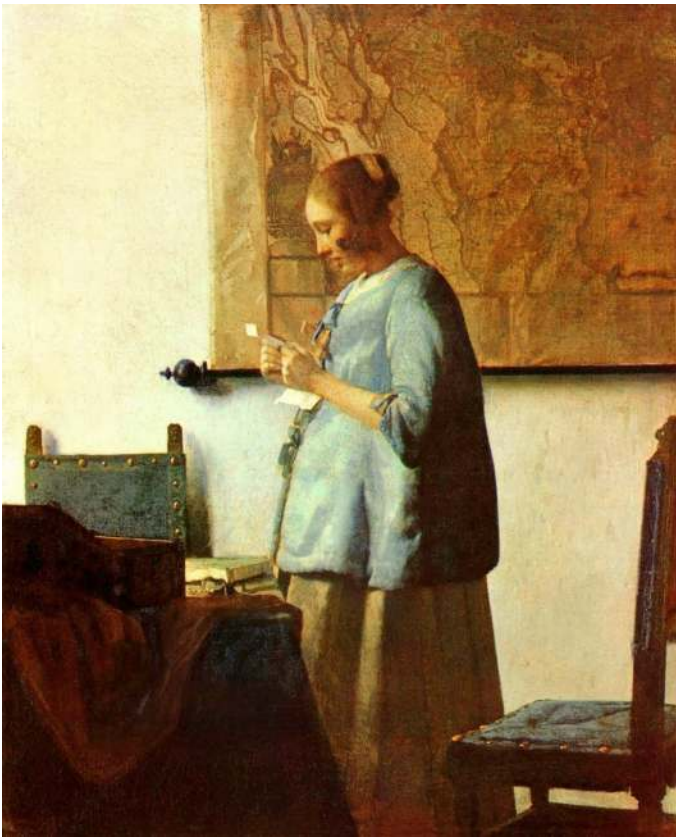


Figure 8

Woman in Blue, Johannes Vermeer, circa 1663-1664, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Holland, SK-C-251.



Figure 9

A Female Martyr, anonymous, Cuzco (?), circa 1680, Huber Collection, New York, United States.

Their waistcoat, which they call the jubón is either rich cloth of gold, or, in hot weather, of fine linen, covered with an abundance of lace, confusedly put on. The petticoat they most commonly wear, called faldellín, is open before under which is another close [petti]coat of coloured silk call'd pollera.²²

The jubón and the faldellín which both gave their names to elements of the mature pollera ensemble, were worn as an informal alternative to corseted and hooped formal dress by Peruvian women who spent their leisure time in a space called the estrado, where women sat on cushions on the floor in a remnant of Islamic practice (Figure 5).²³ Clearly, it would have been extremely uncomfortable to spend one's days on the floor in a corset and hoops, and it is especially interesting to note in this regard that the estrado began to go out of use in Mexico in the early eighteenth century while it persisted in Peru: Mexican women were firmly committed to the boned bodice.

The jubón was related to the informal jackets worn in the Netherlands, as those seen in Vermeer's paintings of middle-class women (Figure 8). There was a lively trade between Spanish-ruled Flanders and South America, especially in textiles.²⁴ A late seventeenth-century Peruvian painting of a martyred saint from the Huber Collection (Figure 9) shows an elaborate jubón worn by a clearly Caucasian women in combination with an indigenous-textile skirt. While this skirt does not show the faldellín's side-front aperture, the painting clearly suggests that Spanish women did not disdain local textiles.

This jacket, either with a matching or a contrasting skirt can be seen in many of the large-scale painting cycles of biblical or saintly stories that were the principal decoration of many monastic houses. As in numerous European paintings of the early-modern era (and the image of the martyred saint mentioned above), people from remote historical periods are often shown wearing contemporary, local dress. In this case, Abigail (the third wife of King David), along with her servants, wore a more formal version of the jacket-and-skirt combination, composed of matching elements (Figure 10).²⁵



Figure 10

Abigail and David, Leandro Flores and workshop, 1684, Church of San Barlolomé, Cohoni, Bolivia.

The faldellín, a wrapped skirt, circular in cut, began its life as an undergarment of a rather intimate character in Spain: in the early seventeenth century, it was, “The first garment that women put on over the camisa. ... Only in the most absolute intimacy, when no stranger might see them, did women dress themselves in a faldellín alone.”²⁶ The faldellín was worn as an outer garment by some early-seventeenth century Spanish workers, and this origin has been proposed for the Andean faldellín.²⁷ However, the notion of a working-class derivation for this elite garment is troubling. It has been shown that the faldellín was acceptable at-home wear, but the associations in the genteel mind of the faldellín (when worn in public) with low-status workers like kitchen maids would have been insuperable without some mitigating influence. How did such an intimate garment become a highly decorative outer garment? It is proposed that it must have been the faldellín’s fortuitous resemblance to the pre-Hispanic anacu/acsu skirt that helped to make the intimate faldellín acceptable to the ladies of Peru as a high-status outer garment.²⁸

The earliest post-conquest images of indigenous women show them in anacu/acsu skirts that have been subtly accommodated to Spanish style: in a drawing made in about 1600, the anacu/acsu assumes the conical shape of a vertugade hoop (Figures 11 and 12), and, in an early eighteenth-century canvas is even furnished with a European lace underskirt (Figure 13).



Figure 11
Spanish Scullery Maid,
Tobias Oelhafen von Schellenbach,
Nürnberg, circa 1620,
British Library, London, England,
Egerton 1269, f. 70PL Code 7291.



Figure 12
The Sixth Quya, Cuci Chinbo Mama Micay,
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Cuzco,
from *Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno*,
Drawing 44, circa 1580–1615, Kongelige
Bibliotek, Copenhagen, British Library,
London, England, GKS 2232 4^o.



Figure 13
The Wedding of Don Martín de Loyola and Doña Beatriz Clara Coya, details,
artist unknown, circa 1680–1700, Church of la Compañía, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 14

Principal Lady with her Black Slave, Quito, Vicente Albán, 1783,
Museo de América, Madrid, Spain, 00073.

The idea of indigenous influence on a Spanish garment is strongly rejected by some scholars, but it seems logical that two such similar garments, worn in close geographic proximity, would have cross-fertilised.²⁹ In this regard, it also seems significant that the pollera mode flourished in the former Inca territory, and not elsewhere.

The fully developed eighteenth-century faldellín can be seen in the 1783 painting of a “principal lady” of Quito (Figure 14), its shortness, its character as a wrapped garment, and its bizarre accessories are indeed “very different” from the dress of other women in the Atlantic world. Her attendant, as much an accessory to set off the lady’s racial purity as she is a servant, wears a similar ensemble. The jewellery worn in the painting is similar to that described by Frézier in 1717:

They add to the beads they wear about their necks some *habillas*, being a sort of sea chestnut, and another sort of fruit of the like nature, resembling the shape of a pear, called a *chonta*, with nutmegs, and other such things to preserve themselves against witchcraft and infectious air. The ladies wear amulets about their necks, being medals without any impression, and a little jet hand, a quarter of an inch long, or else made of fig tree wood, and called *higa*, with the fingers closed, but the thumb standing out ... these preservatives are made larger for children ... I do not speak of extraordinary ornaments of pearls and jewels; there must be many pendants, bracelets, necklaces and rings, to reach the height of fashion, which is much the same as the ancient mode of France.³⁰

The Late Eighteenth Century

The style, in its full late eighteenth-century splendour, can be seen in several paintings that have recently come to light. The Brooklyn Museum's, *A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rimac*, (Figures 1 and 4), shows a group of aristocratic revelers with their servants on the bank of the Rimac river which marks the northern boundary of Lima's historic centre. Today, the Rimac district is a site of troubling urban decay, but in the eighteenth century it was Lima's first upscale suburb. The painting was the property of a noble Peruvian family resident in Spain, where it may have been taken as a reminder of high life on the banks of the Rimac.³¹ Here we see forcefully represented the difference between the up-to-date men's clothes, which would fit well in a Goya painting, and the women's strongly local dresses.

Pedro José Díaz's circa-1790 *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Figure 15), is a spectacular example of late eighteenth-century portraiture. The painting, its luxurious textiles rendered in the sharp-focus detail that is one of the hallmarks of The Lima School, shows an elegant young lady dressed in the pollera mode's most formal version; with a fitted bodice, and composed of matching elements, perhaps a ball dress or party frock.³² A further painting, recently published for the first time, shows a luxurious daytime pollera ensemble with a front-laced, fitted bodice, worn by a Potosí lady in about 1800, showing a strong resemblance to an early nineteenth-century mural from Cuzco province (Figures 16 and 17).³³

The structured bodices of these upper-class polleras (Figures 14–16) show increasing resemblance to mainstream fashion. This makes some sense, since the “French” styles worn by women of the Lima viceregal court were decidedly inflected by pollera style (Figure 18), as in this not-quite correct version of a robe à la polonoise, circa 1780 (its brocade textile rendered in almost microscopic accuracy) worn with Lima-style shoes, jewels, and hair.³⁴



Figure 15

Portrait of a Young Lady, Pedro José Díaz (attr), circa 1790, Davis Museum, Wellesley College, Wellesley, United States, 2011.17.



Figure 16

Juan Jose Segovia Liendo and his wife Manuela del Riso y Agorreta, artist unknown, circa 1800, 940x720mm, Casa de la Libertad, Sucre, Bolivia.



Figure 17

Tadeo Escalante, detail, mural, early nineteenth century, Iglesia de Huaró, Cuzco Province, Peru.



Figure 18

Doña Mariana Belsunse y Salazar, José Joaquín Bermejo (attr), circa 1780, oil on canvas, 1984x1272mm, Brooklyn Museum, New York, United States, 1992.212.

The Fall from Fashion

The final years of the eighteenth century marked the high point of the pollera mode as an elite style. While the pollera had easily accommodated the eighteenth century's taste for full, wide skirts, it proved rather less adaptable to the high-waisted empire style, as is attested by these early nineteenth-century fashion victims of Sucre, in today's Bolivia (Figure 19).

It was a bad time for fashion. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, wars of independence disrupted trade and curtailed luxury expenditure at its source by virtually stopping silver production. Once independence was achieved, a second wave of European influence swept South America, which, this time, was enthusiastically accepted. A French traveller noted in 1841 that, "... one sees a number of shops where the silks and jewels of France shimmer alongside all of the products of Britannic industry; and nearly everywhere the modes of France are met with, along with those of England."³⁵

Paradoxically it was the pollera's transition from an elite to a plebeian garment that would preserve it into the twenty-first century. Today, the Andean pollera has, perhaps inevitably, become festival garb (Figures 20 and 21). Women who may not wear the garment in their daily lives sport over-the-top renditions of the style that have a strong resemblance to luxurious eighteenth-century polleras. But the dress also remains in use in daily life, worn both by campesinas just in from the country as well as by urban women who now favour fabrics imported from Korea, a curious echo of eighteenth-century garments made from Asian silk.³⁶ Recently, the pollera has become a symbol of political activism as a number of left-leaning female "parlamentarias de la pollera," wear the garment in the Peruvian and Bolivian legislatures.



Figure 19

Women of La Plata, artist unknown, circa 1810, Museo Soumaya, Mexico City, Mexico.



Figure 20

Carnival de Oruro, 2012, Oruro, Bolivia, Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 21

El Alto, 2014, Bolivia, Juan Karita, AP, USA Today, 3 May 2014,
<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/05/23/neo-andean-architecture/9477955/>.

The pollera ensemble was created by South American women as an alternative to the French-inspired fashions that dominated female dress in the rest of the Atlantic world. A confluence of influences; an abundance of luxury goods, the intersection of Spanish and indigenous modes of display, and, most importantly, that ancient alchemy which causes styles to come into being, created the right conditions for one of fashion history's most curious episodes. Today, Andean people continue to find unique and compelling ways of being modern. Some of these expressions, like the astonishing architectural style called "Neo Andean," may seem as "indecent" to us as the pollera seemed to early travellers.³⁷ But, like the eighteenth-century pollera, these styles are at once fully of their own time, and strikingly original.

Endnotes

- ¹ Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America, Describing at Large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c on that Extensive Continent: Undertaken by Command of the King of Spain, 1748*, John Adams, trans, J Brookdale, London, England, 1806, p 56. The original reads as follows: "La moda del trage, bien diferente del de Europa y que le hace tolerable el uso de aquel país por más que a los Españoles parezca al principio poco decoroso," Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación Hstórica del Viaje Hecho de Orden de su Majestad a la América Meridional*, A Marín, Madrid, 1748, Hermanos García Noblejos, Madrid, Spain, 1990, v 1, p 72.
- ² Known as the French Geodesic Expedition, or the Condamine Expedition after its leader, it was charged with determining the earth's circumference at the equator, to establish whether the earth is a true sphere or oblate.
- ³ Pollera literally means "chicken keeper" (from pollo, "chicken"). The skirt was so called because it resembled the baskets in which chickens were kept in the early-modern Atlantic world. See Nicolaes Maes, "The Poulterer's Shop," <https://www.dorotheum.com/en/auctions/current-auctions/kataloge/list-lots-detail/auktion/11131-old-master-paintings/lotID/57/lot/1861417-nicolaes-maes.html>, accessed 5 September 2015.

- ⁴ The discipline of Colonial Art History is so young that any new information is apt to rock the field a bit. The groundbreaking exhibition, *Painted in Mexico, 1700–1790: Pinxit Mexici*, was held, in Los Angeles, from 19 November 2017–8 March 2018 and at New York’s Metropolitan Museum, from 24 April–22 July 2018 following on from Cristóbal de Villalpando: Mexican Painter of the Baroque (25 July–15 October 2017). The very recent publication of Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt’s *The Art of Painting in Colonial Bolivia*, St Joseph’s University Press, Philadelphia, 2017 never-before-published images of Bolivian painting have proven a marvellously helpful eleventh-hour addition to this study.
- ⁵ Juan and Ulloa, op cit.
- ⁶ Amédée François Frézier, *Rélation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud aux Cotes du Chili, de Perou et du Bresil Fait Pendant les Annees 1712, 1713 et 1714*, Paris, France, 1716, published the next year in London as, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714*, Bowyer, London, England, 1717.
- ⁷ The word cholo/chola has been used in American Spanish since the early colonial era to indicate mestizo (mixed-race) status. It is first recorded and defined by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, in *Commentarios Reales de los Incas*, 1609; “The child of a Negro and Indian is called a mulato or mulata. The children of these are called cholo; it is from the language of the Windward Islands. It means dog, not pure-bred but a mongrel; and the Spaniards use it in infamy and anger.” [“Al hijo de negro y de india, o de indio y de negra, dicen mulato y mulata. A los hijos de éstos llaman cholo; es vocablo de la isla de Barlovento; quiere decir perro, no de los castizos (raza pura), sino de los muy bellacos gozcones; y los españoles usan de él por infamia y vituperio”]. In South America it has become a benign term and has even been appropriated by mestizo people as a badge of honour. In Mexico and the Chicano communities of the United States it is less acceptable, and connotes outlaw status.
- ⁸ For New World silver production in the colonial era, see Peter Bakewell, *A History of Latin America to 1825*, third edition, Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, United States, 2010, pp 353–354.
- ⁹ Juan and Ulloa, op cit, Volume 2, p 56.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Alone among these, Isábel Crúz de Amenábar has noted the ensemble’s singularity in the eyes of contemporary writers: “the chroniclers consider all similar to those of the ‘kingdoms of Peru’ and very different from that worn in Spain and in the rest of Europe at one time...”, Isabel Cruz de Amenábar, “El Traje Barroco en el Virreinato del Perú 1650–1800: Una Metáfora del Cuerpo,” [“Baroque Dress in the Viceroyalty of Peru: A Metaphor for the Body”] in Rafael Zafra and José Javier Azanza López, eds, *Emblemata Aurea: La Emblemática en el Arte y la Literatura del Siglo de Oro*, [Golden Emblems: The Emblematic in the Art and Literature of Spain’s Golden Century], Ediciones AKAL, Madrid, Spain, 2000, p 121.
- ¹² Juan and Ulloa, op cit, Volume 2, p 55.
- ¹³ While they were unacceptable garments for town, a number of spectacular ponchos exist that were made in Asia specifically for the Peruvian market, like this example from Chile’s Museo Historico Nacional: http://www.museohistoriconacional.cl/618/articles-28593_imagen_01.jpg, accessed 5 September 2015.
- ¹⁴ Frézier, 1717 cited in Irving A Leonard, *Colonial Travellers in Latin America*, Knopf, New York, United States, 1972, pp 170–172.
- ¹⁵ Juan and Ulloa, op cit, Volume 2, p 55ff.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p 55.
- ¹⁷ Casta paintings were the first uniquely American painting genre produced by Europeans in the New World. Meant to catalogue and explain the bewildering ethnic mixtures found in the Americas, they were executed in series of twelve to sixteen pictures, each showing a mixed-race couple and their mestizo offspring.
- ¹⁸ Juan and Ulloa, op cit, Volume 2, pp 196–198.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid.

- ²¹ It is a mistake to confuse plebeian Indian dress with elite Indian dress: “1572, Some forty years after the conquest, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo prohibited the wearing of ‘native dress’ in an effort to eliminate all memory of the Inka. The plan was to replace indigenous dress — region by region — with Spanish peasant clothing. Subsequently, in response to a series of indigenous rebellions, a stronger decree was issued in 1780 to insist that the Indians wear the foreign clothes. The result was a melding of the two forms, with the natives adopting elements of the Spanish dress that suited them. Most women began wearing to wear a skirt, blouse and sometimes also a short jacket. The natives, however, continued weaving and wearing their indigenous accessories, and these prehispanic-style items are still in evidence today — women’s shawls and carrying cloths, bags used for carrying personal items, and belts and sashes worn by all.” Patricia Reiff Anawalt, *The Worldwide History of Dress*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2007, p 465. See also Elena Phipps, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, 2004, p 27.
- ²² Frézier, op cit, p 259.
- ²³ On the custom of the estrado see Jorge F Rivas-Pérez, “Domestic Display in Spanish Overseas Inventories,” *Behind Closed Doors*, exhibition catalogue, Brooklyn Museum, Monacelli Press, Brooklyn, United States, 2012.
- ²⁴ Neil de Marchi and Hans J Van Migroet, “The Flemish Textiles Trade and New Imagery, in Colonial Mexico,” in Juana Gutierrez Haces, *Painting of the Kingdoms: Shared Identities: Territories of the Spanish Monarchy, Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries*, Banamex, Mexico City, Mexico, 2009, v 3, pp 878–924.
- ²⁵ The jubón is key to understanding later developments in Spanish and colonial women’s clothing, as the informal jacket, see James Middleton, “Reading Dress in New Spanish Portraiture: Clothing the Mexican Elite, 1695–1805,” in Pierce, Donna, ed, *New England/New Spain: Portraiture in the Colonial Americas, 1492–1850, Papers from the 2014 Mayer Centre Symposium*, Denver Art Museum, Denver, United States, 2016.
- ²⁶ Carmen Bernis, *El Traje y los Tipos Sociales en el Quijote*, [Dress and Social Types in Don Quixote] Ediciones el Viso, Madrid, Spain, 2001, p 211; “La primera prenda que se ponían las mujeres sobre la camisa,” p 212: [“Solamente en la más absoluta intimidad, cuando ningún podría verlas, las mujeres se quedaban con solo el faldellín.”]
- ²⁷ Ann Pollard Rowe and Lynne A Meisch, eds, *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador*, University of Texas Press, Austin, United States, 2011, p 175.
- ²⁸ Both terms indicate the same garment: anacu is the term in the Quechua of Cuzco, while acsu was used in the Quito region, *ibid*, p 172.
- ²⁹ An earlier version of this paper was objected to by one of the cited authors, who informed me that I had not read her work. In fact, I had, but I disagreed with it. The kernel of the problem is our construction of what elite Peruvian ladies “would never have done:” her argument is that they “would never” have accepted an indigenous garment, mine that they “would never” have accepted a plebeian garment. It’s a conundrum, but this is my article.
- ³⁰ Frézier 1717, cited in Leonard, op cit, pp 160–161.
- ³¹ The picture descended in the family of the counts of Guaqui, who sold it to Derek Johns Ltd, from whom the Brooklyn Museum acquired it. The first count of Guaqui, José Manuel de Goyeneche y Barreda, was born in Arequipa, Peru and educated in Spain. He returned to Peru during the wars of independence as a royal official, and military commander, gaining his title from a royalist victory at Huaqui (Guaqui) in (present day) Bolivia. He returned permanently to Spain in 1814. It is surmised but not established that the picture was his property.
- ³² This picture has a strange history, having spent many years in the Warner Brothers props department. It is believed to appear in a Bette Davis movie, but this has not yet been corroborated.
- ³³ Stratton Pruitt, op cit.
- ³⁴ Kendra Van Cleave and Welborn Brooke, “Very Much the Taste and Various are the Makes: Reconsidering the Late–Eighteenth–Century Robe à la Polonoise,” *Dress*, 39, No 1, May 2013, pp 1–24.

- ³⁵ Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny, *Voyage Pittoresquedans les deuxAmériques*, Furne et cie, Paris, France, 1841, p 380, James Middleton, trans, ["... on voit pourtant un certain nombre de magasins oùbrillent les soieries et la joaillerie française à côté de tous les produits de l'industrie britannique; presque partout les modes de France se rencontrent mêlées à celles d'Angleterre."]
- ³⁶ Gonzalo Iñiguez Vaca Guzman, *La Chola Paceña*, Producciones Cima, La Paz, Bolivia, 2002, p 56: "The campesina who comes as a migrant from the countryside to the city for domestic service and generally wears homespun outfits, gradually changing their attire in the city andwith fabrics imported from Korea, and whose economic power is well known."
- ³⁷ Jeanne Kim, "Bolivia's 'Spaceship Architecture' Showcases the New Wealth of Indigenous People," Quartz, 2015, <https://qz.com/338877/flamboyant-spaceship-architecture-in-bolivia-makes-sure-indigenous-people-keep-their-traditional-culture/>, accessed 5 September 2015.

Bibliography

Published

- Anawalt, Patricia Reiff, *The Worldwide History of Dress*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2007.
- Bakewell, Peter, *A History of Latin America to 1825*, third edition, Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, United States, 2010.
- Bernis, Carmen, *El Traje y los Tipos sociales en el Quijote*, [*Dress and Social Types in Don Quixote*] Ediciones el viso, Madrid, Spain, 2001.
- Cruz de Amenábar, Isabel, "El Traje Barroco en el Virreinato del Perú 1650-1800: Una Metáfora del Cuerpo," ["Baroque Dress in the Viceroyalty of Peru: A Metaphor for the Body"] in Zafra, Rafael, and Azanza López, José Javier, eds, *Emblemata Aurea: La Emblemática en el Arte y la Literatura del Siglo de Oro*, [*Golden Emblems: The Emblematic in the Art and Literature of Spain's Golden Century*], Ediciones AKAL, Madrid, Spain, 2000, pp 111-126.
- Dessalines d'Orbigny, Alcide, *Voyage Pittoresquedans les deuxAmériques*, Furne et cie, Paris, France, 1841.
- Frézier, Amédée François, *Rélation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud aux Cotes du Chili, de Perou et du Bresil Fait Pendant les Annees 1712, 1713, et 1714*, Paris, France, 1716.
- Frézier, Amédée François, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714*, Bowyer, London, England, 1717.
- Iñiguez Vaca Guzman, Gonzalo, *La Chola Paceña, su Dinamica Social*, Producciones Cima, La Paz, Bolivia, 2002.
- Juan, Jorge and Ulloa, Antonio de, *Relación Histórica del Viaje Hecho de Orden de su Majestad a la América Meridional*, A Marín, Madrid, 1748, Hermanos García Noblejos, Madrid, Spain, 1990.
- Juan, Jorge and Ulloa, Antonio de, *A Voyage to South America, Describing at Large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c on that Extensive Continent: Undertaken by Command of the King of Spain 1748*, Adams, John, trans, J Brookdale, London, England, 1806.
- Leonard, Irving A, *Colonial Travellers in Latin America*, Knopf, New York, United States, 1972.
- Marchi, Neil de and Van Migroet, Hans J, "The Flemish Textiles Trade and New Imagery, in Colonial Mexico," in Gutierrez Haces, Juana, *Painting of the Kingdoms: Shared Identities: Territories of the Spanish Monarchy, Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, Banamex, Mexico City, Mexico, 2009, v 3, pp 878-924.

- Middleton, James, "Reading Dress in New Spanish Portraiture: Clothing the Mexican Elite, 1695-1805," in Pierce, Donna, ed, *New England/New Spain: Portraiture in the Colonial Americas, 1492-1850, Papers from the 2014 Mayer Centre Symposium*, Denver Art Museum, Denver, United States, 2016.
- Phipps, Elena, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, 2004.
- Rivas-Pérez, Jorge F, "Domestic Display in Spanish Overseas Inventories," *Behind Closed Doors*, Brooklyn Museum, Monacelli Press, Brooklyn, United States, 2012.
- Rowe, Ann Pollard and Meisch, Lynne A, eds, *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador*, University of Texas Press, Austin, United States, 2011.
- Stratton-Pruitt, Suzanne, ed, *The Art of Painting in Colonial Bolivia*, St Joseph's University Press, Philadelphia, United States, 2017.
- Van Cleave, Kendra and Welborn, Brooke, "Very Much the Taste and Various are the Makes: Reconsidering the Late-Eighteenth-Century Robe à la Polonoise," *Dress*, 39, No 1, May 2013, pp 1-24.
- de la Vega, Garcilaso, *Commentarios Reales de los Incas*, [*Royal Commentaries of the Incas*], 1609.

Internet Sources

- Kim, Jeanne, "Bolivia's 'Spaceship Architecture' Showcases the New Wealth of Indigenous People," Quartz, 2015, <https://qz.com/338877/flamboyant-spaceship-architecture-in-bolivia-makes-sure-indigenous-people-keep-their-traditional-culture/>, accessed 5 September 2015.
- Maes, Nicolaes, "The Poulterer's Shop," <https://www.dorotheum.com/en/auctions/current-auctions/kataloge/list-lots-detail/auktion/11131-old-master-paintings/lotID/57/lot/1861417-nicolaes-maes.html>, accessed 5 September 2015.
- Museo Historico Nacional: http://www.museohistoriconacional.cl/618/articles-28593_imagen_01.jpg, accessed 5 September 2015.

Copyright © 2018 James Middleton
Email: jasmidm@gmail.com

James Middleton is a historian who specialises in the material culture of colonial Latin America (1521-1821), especially dress. This reflects his long-standing interest in American Baroque art, and his work as a director-designer, specialising in early opera. His publications include "Aurora's Spicy Bed" in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music* (Second edition, Indiana University Press, 2012), and "Reading Dress in New Spanish Portraiture: Clothing the Mexican Elite circa 1695-1805," essay in *Mayer Centre Studies in Spanish Colonial Art* (Denver Art Museum, September 2016). James Middleton earned an MA in Latin American Colonial Culture at The Gallatin School, New York University, 2012; his dissertation was titled, *Dress in Early-Modern Latin America: 1518-1840*. He lectures internationally on colonial dress and historic theatre practice.

Fashion Victims: Dressed Sculptures of the Virgin in Portugal and Spain

Diana Rafaela Pereira

Abstract

In the Christian context, the practice of clothing statues of saints seems to date back to the thirteenth-century Virgen de los Reyes from the Cathedral of Seville, Spain. It is clear from different sources since the sixteenth century that the clothes of sacred images were often targeted for not showing decorum or not being consistent with the saints' lives, following contemporary and profane trends instead. However, despite the continuous disapproval, this custom prevailed. The following paper will analyse several Iberian dressed images of the Virgin, while considering written sources which debated the "dressing issue" until the twentieth century.

The Practice of Clothing Saints

It may be surprising for anyone acquainted with Christian iconography, to know that the Virgin Mary was once represented as a naked woman dressed only with red stockings. This was the case, however, with the Madonna from the Church of San Biagio in Cannara (Perugia), as well as with others attributed to the workshop of Nero Alberti, born in Sansepolcro in 1502 and active there until his death in 1568. As most of his production, which has been studied by Cristina Galassi since 2002, his naked representations of the Virgin and other saints, can only be explained because they were created to be dressed with textile clothes, as the articulations on the elbows indicate.¹ It is, nonetheless, unusual even for this kind of sculpture, which rarely portrays the naked anatomy explicitly. Except for the images of the Infant Jesus, traditionally dressed at least since the fifteenth century, the majority of sub-typologies within the phenomena of dressing saints usually shows simplified bodies, structures or garments with only perfectly carved heads, hands, and feet (Figures 1, 2, 3).² In reality, it is more common to find an image with sculpted and polychrome clothes underneath the textile garments, than actual nudity. Nevertheless, the practice of dressing and undressing saints, especially the statues of Our Lady, was always surrounded with controversy as it often crossed the border between sacred and profane. Although it is usually associated with the baroque theatricality and the Mediterranean religiosity, this phenomena has strong roots in medieval times and is spread all across Catholic Europe.

In 1902, Josep Gudiol i Cunil (1872–1931), under the pseudonym of Just Cassador, published an article in which he verified, through a 1364 inventory of the Monastery of Pedralbes (Barcelona), the early existence of mantles and other garments utilised to dress sculptures of the Virgin.³ In 1993, Riccarda Pagnozzato suggested the sculpture of a Madonna in trono col Bambino [Madonna enthroned with the Child] from the Church of Santa Maria in Camuccia (Todi, Perugia) and attributed to the twelfth century, was created considering the addition of real clothes, because it was made with a detachable head, hands together with the Infant Jesus.⁴ More recently, Valeria Genovese has confirmed how the custom of dressing saints was also present in fourteenth-century Tuscany through the existence of several articulated sculptures. In addition, inventories from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries prove the extensive and



Figure 1

Christ, eighteenth century, wooden mannequin lined with fabric, 750mm, Archdiocese of Évora, Portugal, EV.AN.2.009 esc. DRCA.



Figure 2

Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, seventeenth century, wood sculpture with “roca” structure, 1310mm, Museum of Évora, ME 1171. DRCA.



Figure 3

Saint Louis of Toulouse and Saint Daniel, eighteenth century, wooden sculptures, 530mm and 590mm, Museum of Évora, ME 1155 and ME 1157. DRCA.

consolidated presence of various garments belonging to Our Lady's images in Venice.⁵ The earliest known dressed sculpture is the thirteenth century Virgen de los Reyes from Seville, where the practice of clothing saints is still very much alive today. It is a seated wooden mannequin, with the infant Jesus on the lap, which King Fernando the Saint (1199–1252) placed in the city's cathedral after his victory over the Moors (Figure 4). According to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, traditionally attributed to his son, Alfonso, the Wise (1221–1284), King Fernando used to dress the sculptures of Our Lady, with “rich golden fabrics of noble craft” and adorned their foreheads with “splendorous crowns of precious stones.”⁶

The Virgen de los Reyes and the infant Jesus were not only created to be dressed, but also to perform gestures such as genuflections and bows allowed by their articulated limbs and by an internal mechanism



Figure 4

Virgen de los Reyes, first half of the thirteenth century, articulated wooden mannequin, Cathedral of Seville, Spain.

of toothed wooden cogs and pulleys, that made their heads move. These gestures would happen during processional moments, for instance in encounters with other sculptures like in the Visitation to Santa Ana from Triana, and probably during the staging of the Adoration of the Magi.⁷ Besides the clothes and movements, other elements provided them a hyperrealist character, such as the Virgin's hair made of countless golden silk threads, and the coating of their bodies with vellum.⁸

Susan Webster notes, with regard to the Virgen de los Reyes, that if the sculptures were clothed by queens and kings, it was natural that they adopted secular and contemporary regal fashions.⁹ However, the adornment with real garments generated a closer proximity to the profane and brought the figures closer to believers, particularly through the clothing ritual. This obviously triggered some red flags, as according to the Synod's constitutions from Orihuela in 1600, those clothes induced "not piety, but lasciviousness and lust."¹⁰ Not even Seville escaped the reproof, as it is clear from its Synod's directives four years later:

... whether in their processions or altars, the Images of Our Lady and other saints, must be dressed with their own clothes, decently made for them; and when they do not have their own garments, the Sacristans must dress them with honesty, and never adorn them with copete, curls, supportasse or indecent gowns.¹¹

The copete may refer to a quiff or high comb, or to a hair adornment used by Spanish women between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, very common, for example, in the portraits of Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria (1566–1633). In fact, the Synod's constitutions attempted to control the practice of dressing saints in the Iberian Peninsula, at least since 1536, for those of Toledo.¹² As cited above, one of the earliest concerns was the fact that the images were being adorned with the women's own clothes which would later return to them, a fact also perceptible in Cartagena's Constitutions from 1583.¹³ These advised the sacristans and priests to dress the sculptures with clothes purposely made for them, a recommendation repeated two years later in Porto's Constitutions: "... do not clothe them with borrowed dresses that may later serve in profane use, and make them in shapes and colours in which no indecency is noticed."¹⁴

The instructions from Cádiz in 1591, besides requiring the exclusion of "oils, headdresses, and ruffs," added that the images should not be taken out of the Church to be adorned.¹⁵ This was still a concern in 1719 in Bahia:

From now on the free-standing images must be made with full bodies, painted and adorned in a way they do not need dresses, because this is more convenient and decent. ... and the Sculptures will not leave the churches to be taken to private houses to be dressed, nor will be dressed with borrowed clothes or ornaments, that would later serve again in profane uses.¹⁶

On the other hand, as noted by Pacheco Ferreira and Albert-Llorca, some constitutions like the ones from Portalegre in Portugal (1632) and Vic in Catalonia (1628), promoted the use of the mantle on the Virgin's sculptures, in an attempt to fit this practice to a more "sacerdotal look."¹⁷ However, even when adopting an ascetic appearance, it seemed inevitable to use the richest fabrics. The dressed images of Our Lady of Mount Carmel for instance, usually wear the Carmelite habit composed of a white mantle and a brown tunic and scapular, but made of fine brocades or exhibiting silver and golden embroidery (Figure 5).

The addition of female jewellery offered by believers would obviously change the sacerdotal look of the images, into a much more regal and profane one. This was the case with the missing sculpture of Nossa Senhora do Carmo from Lisbon, which is known only by engravings. One of them shows the surviving bodice jewel or stomacher that features a generous flower bouquet, which according to Luísa Penalva was probably offered by Queen Mariana Vitória (1718–1781), as it follows the stylistic characteristics



Figure 5

Virgen del Carmen, unknown date,
Church of San Vicente, Seville, Spain.



Figure 6

Stomacher, 1775–1799,
silver, chrysoberyl, topaz, amethyst, garnet, quartz, and beryl,
324x204mm, National Museum of Soares dos Reis,
Porto, Portugal, 211 Our MNSR.

she favoured in her own jewels (Figure 6).¹⁸ It is common to see the sculptures adorned with a bejewelled peitilho, pecherín or stomacher, purposely made for them (or at least preexistent), or assembled at some point with selected individual jewels offered through the years, either stitched on fabric, or combined by goldsmiths.

The World's Vanity

Throughout the several Synod's directives, hairstyles were one of the most debated issues. In Spain, the Inquisition also had a say on what should be forbidden. Besides disapproving of the petticoats, panniers, garters, and "other similar abuses with which the indiscreet piety" clothed the saints, it condemned the aforementioned copete and guedejas.¹⁹ This was a hairstyle featuring large tufts of hair covering the ears, worn by Iberian women between the 1630 and 1660 and very usual, for instance, in portraits of Luísa de Gusmão (1613–1666). In Portugal, the Synod's Constitutions from Lamego in 1683, demanded the exclusion of wigs, quiffs and coiffures that "the world's vanity" invented, because it offended God and discredited the saints' modesty.²⁰

In sculpture, just like in painting, it was customary to cover the Virgin's head with coifs and wimples during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nowadays however, most of the Portuguese dressed Virgins wear wigs beneath a mantle or a simple veil. As in most cases there are no reliable depictions of surviving dressed sculptures, there is no way of knowing how their hair was styled throughout their existence, and as easily changeable elements, most of the wigs employed today are most certainly not the originals.

The Holy Family from the former Convent of Madre de Deus in Guimarães and dated from 1748, is one of the best of its kind produced in Portugal, with the advantage that it preserves its gigantic wardrobe



Figure 7

Holy Family, former Convent of Madre de Deus, Guimarães, 1748, wood sculptures, blue silk garments, nineteenth/twentieth century, Church of Nossa Senhora da Consolação e Santos Passos, Guimarães, Portugal, photograph by Manuel Correia and Xavier Antunes.



Figure 8

Virgin wearing purple silk garments from the eighteenth century (detail), former Convent of Madre de Deus, Guimarães, 1748, Church of Nossa Senhora da Consolação e Santos Passos, Guimarães, Portugal.

composed of gowns from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (Figure 7). Commissioned in Lisbon by none other than the Chaplain of King João V (1689–1750), Luís António da Costa Pego (1710–?), it clearly reflects the proximity to the court, not only on the quality of the sculptures (although their author is unknown), but also in the fashionable dresses, some of which were allegedly embroidered by the princesses themselves.²¹ Besides the Virgin's choker, what is most striking is her long and curled red blonde wig, probably made of tow (Figure 8). Although we cannot confirm whether this is the original wig, it certainly follows the first model which appears already in an eighteenth century engraving, along with a veil.²²

Throughout the ten volumes of *Santuário Mariano* written by Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria between 1707 and 1723, the wigs' decency is often questioned and even described as an "exaggeration of human vanity," imposed by the believers to the sacred representations.²³ The sculpture of Nossa Senhora do Rosário from the former Convent of Chagas in Vila Viçosa, wore a wimple "as in old times," because "the vanity of wigs on miraculous images" had not yet appeared there.²⁴ This was only a matter of time, as this convent, built right next to the Ducal Palace of the House of Braganza, was destined to house the tombs of the Duchesses or receive the single ones who wished to become nuns.

Unfortunately the sculpture of Nossa Senhora do Rosário is now missing. Another surviving one, however, which belonged to the Convent of Santa Cruz in the same town, seems to preserve a quite aged wig, carefully arranged with short curls, similar to hairstyles worn around the second and third decades of the nineteenth century (Figures 9–10). Located in Évora, a region prolific in dressed Virgins, Vila Viçosa is also home of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, named Patroness and Queen of Portugal in 1646 by King João IV (1604–1656), and allegedly dressed by the Duchesses of Braganza during his reign, along with other sculptures nearby. Therefore, the courtier look of the untitled sculpture should not be surprising, and the hairstyle can also be found in other Virgins in the region such as Nossa Senhora da Graça from the former Convent of Saint Augustine or Nossa Senhora do Rosário from Bencatel.



Figures 9 and 10

Virgin (and detail), former Convent of Santa Cruz, Vila Viçosa, eighteenth century (?), wood sculpture with “roca” structure, Sacred Art Museum of Vila Viçosa, Évora, Portugal.

Another peculiar example from Vila Viçosa, is a Pietà from the Ducal Palace itself, of unknown origin and provenance, but possibly Italian and attributed to the second half of the eighteenth century (Figure 11). The silk dress with vertical and horizontal stripes, garlands and silver lace is very damaged, but together with the blonde wig of large curls, it almost erases the Virgin's tears and Christ's death body (Figure 12). One wonders if these clothes and hairstyle made it easier for the dukes and duchesses to connect and identify with the suffering portrayed, or if these features were purely decorative.



Figures 11 and 12

Pietà (and detail), second half of the eighteenth century (?), wood sculpture and silk garments, Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa, Évora, Portugal.



Figure 13
Santa María de África,
end of fourteenth/beginning
of fifteenth century, wood
sculpture adorned with
twentieth century mantle and
golden crowns,
Sanctuary of Santa María de
África, Ceuta, Spain.

The imposition of metal crowns and textile veils and mantles, and subsequently wigs, would have a real impact on the sculpture's materiality. It was the case with the wooden sculpture of Santa María de África, from Ceuta, when, at an unknown date, Mary's sculpted veil and Christ's crown of thorns were mutilated and replaced with golden crowns. Additionally, the use of dresses covering the Virgin's body and sculpted garments, hid the expressiveness of its verticality for centuries (Figure 13).

Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria gives a wide variety of explanations for why sculptures started to be clothed even though they did not need it.²⁵ Firstly, this practice granted enormous iconographic flexibility allowing the use of different colours according to the liturgical calendar, which explains why some statues were only adorned with mantles during special festivities. Following this logic, it answered the need for iconographic and stylistic renovation of preexistent medieval and renaissance sculptures.

The enrichment of the sculptures with textiles and jewellery was also a way of manifesting devotion towards the saints, as well as a way to pay or thank them for granted favours. Therefore, in many cases, the practice of clothing saints derives from their miraculous power. Finally, there were also more practical reasons, like the concealment of any damage the sculptures might have had, including the adaptations to remove weight and facilitate their transportation during processions.

Naturally, to be able to dress the statues with full and complex gowns, they were severely mutilated. Their bodies were caged in pyramidal structures called roca, candelero or bastidor, not only to provide volume to the skirts, but also to make them seem taller. This would obviously add to the criticism and antagonism towards this phenomena amongst intellectuals, making it an undesirable case for study until very recently.

In an article dated from 1893, Murcia's patron and the intellectual, Javier Fuentes y Ponte (1830–1903), criticised how clothes did nothing more than “disguise the Virgin's image,” forcing believers to “worship an execrable, deformed, monstrous and strange figure, which far from exciting the spirit, lead to the ridicule and the mockery.”²⁶ In 1917, the priest and historian Fortián Solà i Moreta (1876–1948) had the same opinion saying that the adornment of Virgin's statues with jewels was so excessive and ridiculous, that it seemed to have “the intention of drawing more attention to them than to the image itself.”²⁷ In the 1950's, the disapproval continued, as is shown in the condemning words of the art historian Elizabeth Weismann (1907–1989), when she stated the dressing phenomena was “the end of sculpture,” adding:

Your image is a doll: nothing is needed but a head, a pair of hands, and preferably adjustable arms. Expression is reduced to the face, all the classic eloquence of the human form, the nobility of posture, and the fall of garments are lost.²⁸

Nevertheless, the dressed sculptures had an enormous popularity amongst believers, as they allowed new, appealing, and versatile solutions.

Indecorous, Indecent and Impure

Seville, again, was the birth place of a new Marian devotion in the beginning of the eighteenth century, whose attractive iconography quickly resonated with believers. It was Friar Isidoro de Sevilla (1662–1750), a Franciscan Capuchin, who had the idea to create a new invocation for Mary in 1703, naming her Holy Shepherdess of Souls. He immediately commissioned a painting by Alonso Miguel de Tovar (1678–1758), for which he gave the exact specifications: the Virgin should be seated on a rock below a tree, with a red dress covered with a sheepskin tight to the waist, a blue mantle crossed on her left shoulder, a shepherd's hat, and a crosier or staff on her right side; she should carry roses on her left hand and lay her right hand over a lamb (amongst other details). Two months later, the Friar asked the artist to add two angels holding an imperial crown in their hands, as if to place it over the Virgin's head, thus converging the mystery of the Assumption with that of the Holy Shepherdess.²⁹ Believers were so moved by this new representation, that a new brotherhood was immediately created and, in 1704, Francisco Antonio Ruiz Gijón (1653–1720) made a sculpture similar to the original painting (Figure 14).



Figure 14

Divina Pastora, 1704, wooden sculpture, dressed for Advent,
Francisco Antonio Ruiz Gijón, Primitiva Hermandad de la Divina Pastora y Santa Marina, Seville, Spain.

Although it was rapidly accepted by devotees, this new title was not easily established amongst all Capuchins, as many feared it would depose the Immaculate Conception, the Franciscans' main tenet. Many of the disgruntled claimed the Holy Shepherdess' clothes were "indecorous, indecent and impure," and this devotion was not officially approved until 1795.³⁰ It quickly spread in Andalusia and wherever there were Capuchins, and became very popular in Latin America. This acceptance was explained by the increasing attraction of the bucolic, which was widely diffused by literature and opera already in the seventeenth century.³¹ According to Sánchez López, the success of this iconography was the result of its conciliation of "picturesque and aristocratic, rustic and Arcadian, the everyday life and the extraordinary ... the coexistence of the 'erudite' and the 'popular.'" But its wide and easy propagation would, in his words, be triggered by the sculpture, which was much more expressive to Andalusians, than the "frigidity of the painting."³²

Today, its prevailing appeal is the richness of its adornments. Most garments are dated from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, created by the best embroiderers of Seville. Each gown comprises a skirt (worn over several underskirts), a stomacher, large sleeves and tight sleeves, and completed with a sheepskin, lace cuffs, and a mantle (Figure 15). In addition to several silver and gold lace hats, topped with colourful flowers, the sculpture is surmounted by crowns and diadems. These can be complemented by the use of veils, brooches or pins decorating the hair, which allows the display of long earrings (Figure 16).

The jewellery is typically located on the chest and lap, discretely on ordinary days, and more abundantly on important celebrations, like the procession in September or the day of the Immaculate Conception (Figures 17 and 18). The jewels are not always used for their intended purpose, but to the taste of the vestidor, Álvaro Martín. For instance, the earrings are often utilised as brooches, the blue enamel and silver necklace is sometimes used to adorn the belt, and the red brooch is usually used on the chest or lap, but sometimes adorns the silver crown (Figure 18). The collection includes: a set of silver earrings and brooch which tradition says were offered by Queen Isabel de Farnesio (1692–1766); a bow brooch, said to have been given by Friar Isidoro himself; a seventeenth-century gold brooch with forty emeralds, which is the oldest piece; and a golden butterfly with Murano crystals offered by Gabriel Solís Carvajal, a member of the brotherhood.³³

In Portugal, the Marian title was not widely diffused. There is, however, an interesting painting by an unknown artist in the parish church of Alpiarça (Santarém), and attributed to the third quarter of the eighteenth century, which followed most of the directions of Friar Isidoro de Sevilla, but interpreted the Virgin's clothes much more freely.³⁴ The blue mantle is obviously mandatory and folds on her left arm with a fluttering that contributes to the scenic effect and perfectly frames Mary's delicate face and golden hair. However, the shepherd's hat is missing, as is the sheepskin. Most strikingly, contrary to most paintings of this iconography, and especially the ones by Tovar, the Virgin does not wear a simple tunic. She is clothed with a significantly low-necked bodice, a jacket with ermine fur on the borders, and a wide white skirt, making this the true *rocaille* climax of this iconography in keeping with any of Fragonard's shepherdesses.

Conclusion

Profane elements often invaded the saint's portrayals either in painting, engraving or traditional sculpture. With regard to dressed images, the regular exchange of real clothes and adornments, from underwear to jewellery, naturally seemed inappropriate and raised natural concerns. In spite of the criticism, this practice prevails to this day. Despite being a decadent phenomenon in Europe (with the exception of Andalusia), it has shown some signs of recovery in the past decades due to the appearance of new studies which promote its understanding and demystification, as well as the work of fashion designers who create new readings and possibilities for it. In 2001, Ann Demeulemeester created a truly ascetic and ethereal dress for the sixteenth century image of Our Lady of Victory from the Church of Sint-Andries in Antwerp, proving modernity and tradition are not incompatible. Eight years later, Jean-Charles de Castelbajac reinterpreted one of the many sides of the Virgin Mary, creating a camouflaged "battle dress"



Figure 15
Divina Pastora, dressed for the day of the
Immaculate Conception,
without jewellery and hairdressings, 2016.



Figure 16
Divina Pastora, on the day of the Immaculate Conception,
2016.



Figure 17
Divina Pastora adorned for Advent (detail),
2016.



Figure 18
Divina Pastora adorned for the day of the
Immaculate Conception (detail), 2016.

for Notre-Dame la Daurade from Toulouse. In conclusion, the survival of this practice derives from the versatility it allows to catholic worship, whether in the eighteenth-century Iberian Peninsula or twenty-first-century China, as the image of Our Lady as Empress, made by Antonio Jesús Yuste Navarra in 2014 for the Cathedral of St. Ignatius in Shanghai, clearly shows.

Endnotes

- ¹ Cristina Galassi, "Arte e Serialità nella Bottega di Nero Alberti a Sansepolcro," ["Art and Seriality in the Workshop of Nero Alberti in Sansepolcro"] in Cristina Galassi, ed, *Sculture "da vestire": Nero Alberti da Sansepolcro e la Produzione di Manichini Lignei in una Bottega del Cinquecento*, [Nero Alberti of Sansepolcro and the Production of Wood Mannequins in a Sixteenth Century Workshop] Electa Editori Umbri Associati, Umbria, Italy, 2005, p 16.
- ² Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Les Saintes Poupées: Jeu et Dévotion dans la Florence du Quattrocento" ["The Holy Dolls: Game and Devotion in Fifteenth-Century Florence"], in Philippe Ariès and Jean-Claude Margolin, eds, *Les Jeux à la Renaissance: Actes du XXIIIe Colloque International d'Étude Humanistes, Tours 1980* [The Games at the Renaissance: Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference of Humanist Studies], Librairie Philosophique J Vrin, Paris, France 1982, pp 65–79; Diana Pereira, "A Imaginária de Vestir: Reflexões em torno do seu Estudo e Inventariação em Portugal," ["Dressed Sculptures: Thoughts About Their Study and Inventory in Portugal"] *Revista de Artes Decorativas*, No 6, 2012–2014, pp 158–160.
- ³ Just Cassador, "Una Qüestió Iconològica: Les Imatges Vestides," ["An Iconological Issue: The Dressed Images"] *Revista de la Asociación Artístico Arqueológica Barcelonesa*, Volume 3, 1901–1902, p 447.
- ⁴ Riccarda Pagnozzato, "Profilo Storico del Simulacro Ligneo 'da Vestire'," ["Historical Profile of the Wooden Dressed Statues"] in Riccarda Pagnozzato, ed, *Madonne della Laguna: Simulacri "da Vestire" dei Secoli XIV–XIX*, [Our Ladies of Laguna: Dressed Sculptures of the Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries], Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Regione del Veneto, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Rome, Italy, 1993, p 103.
- ⁵ Valeria Genovese, *Statue Vestite e Snodate: Un Percorso* [Dressed and Articulated Statues: A Journey] Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa, Italy, 2011, pp 146–148, 173–176.
- ⁶ Andrew Casson, "Cantigas de Santa Maria for Singers," 2015, <http://www.cantigasdesantamaria.com/csm/295>, accessed 23 October 2017.
- ⁷ Joaquín Arquillo Torres, *Aspectos Socio-Religiosos en la Conservacion de las Representaciones Escultóricas Marianas. Influencia en Tres Imagenes Medievales Representativas*, [Social and Religious Aspects in the Conservation of Marian Sculptures: Its Influence in Three Paradigmatic Medieval Images] PhD Thesis in Fine Arts, University of Seville, Spain, 1989, pp 28–37, 62–79. Susan Webster, "Shameless Beauty and Worldly Splendour: On the Spanish Practice of Adorning the Virgin," in Erik Thunø and Wolf Gerhard, eds, *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, L'Erma di Bretschneider, Rome, Italy, 2004, pp 264–266.
- ⁸ Ibid, pp 68–74.
- ⁹ Webster, op cit, pp 266–269.
- ¹⁰ Constituciones Synodales de Orihuela, 1600, cited in Palma Martínez-Burgos García, "Las Constituciones Sinodales y la Imagen Proceional. Normas Para la Fiesta del Siglo XVI," ["The Synod's Constitutions and the Processional Image: Rules for the Sixteenth Century Festival"] *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, [Space, Time and Form] Series VII, No 2, 1989, p 89.
- ¹¹ "... que las Imágenes de Nuestra Señora o de otras santas, que se hubiesen de sacar en procesiones o tener en los altares de las iglesias, se aderecen com sus proprias vestiduras hechas decentemente para aquel efecto; y, quando no las tuvieren proprias, los Sacristanes las vistan com honestidade; y en ningún caso las toquen com copete, ni rizos, ni arandelas, ni con hábito indecente," Constituciones Synodales del Arzobispado de Sevilla, 1603, cited in Jesus Palomero Paramo, *Las Virgenes de la*

Semana Santa de Sevilla, [The Virgins of the Holy Week in Sevilla] Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1983, p 21.

¹² García, op cit, pp 81–92.

¹³ Constituciones Synodales de Cartagena, 1583, cited in ibid, p 89.

¹⁴ “... nem se vistam, & ornem com vestidos emprestados que ajam de tornar a servir em usos profanos, & que nam sejam de feição, & cor em que se possa notar indecência agua.” *Constituições Synodales do Bispado do Porto Ordenadas Pelo Muyto Illustre & Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Frey Marcos de Lisboa* [Synod’s Constitutions of the Bishopric of Porto ordered by the Most Illustrious and Reverend Dom Friar Marcos of Lisbon], Antonio de Mariz, Coimbra, Portugal, 1585, f 89 v.

¹⁵ Constituciones Synodales de Cádiz, 1591, cited in Palomero Paramo, op cit, pp 19–20.

¹⁶ “E mandamos que as Imagens de vulto se fação daqui em diante de corpos inteýros pintados, & ornados de maneyra que se escusem vestidos, por ser assim mais conveniente, & decente. ... E não serão tiradas as Imagens das Igrejas, & levadas a casas particulares para nella serem vestidas, nem o serão com vestidos ou ornatos emprestados, que tornem a servir em usos profanos,” *Constituições Primeyras do Arcebispado da Bahia Feitas e Ordenadas Pelo Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor D. Sebastião Monteiro da Vide*, [First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia Made and Ordered by the Most Illustrious and Reverend D Sebastião Monteiro da Vide], Officina de Pascoal da Sylva, Lisbon, Portugal, 1719, p 269.

¹⁷ Marlène Albert-Llorca, “Des Vierges Vêtues Comme des Femmes?,” [“Virgins Dressed as Women?”], in Christine Aribaud, ed, *Destins d’Étoffes. Usages, Ravaudages et Réemplois des Textiles Sacrés, XIVe-XXe Siècle*, [The Fate of the Textiles. Uses, Repairs and Re-Uses of Sacred Textiles, Fourteenth–Twentieth Centuries], Framespa, Toulouse, France, 2006, pp 82–84; Maria Pacheco Ferreira, *Os Têxteis Chineses em Portugal nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (Séculos XVI–XVIII)* [The Chinese Textiles in the Decorative Options for the Sacred Trappings in Portugal (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)], PhD Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto, Portugal, 2011, pp 139–140.

¹⁸ Luísa Penalva, “As Jóias da Virgem do Carmo,” [“The Jewels of the Virgin of Carmel”] *Revista de História da Arte da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, No 2, 2006, pp 236–241.

¹⁹ Letter from the Spanish Inquisitors to the Inquisition Court of Palermo–Sicily, 1640 (?), cited in María Torquemada Sánchez and Juan Alejandro García, “Vestir Santos (un Assunto de Inquisición y su Reflejo en Sicilia)” [“Clothing Saints: An Inquisition Matter and its Reflection in Sicily”], *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, No 8, 2001, pp 259–269.

²⁰ Constituições Sinodais do Bispado de Lamego, 1683, cited in Ferreira, op cit, p 139.

²¹ Isabel Fernandes, *Nossa Senhora Madre de Deus de Guimarães: Alfaias*, [Our Lady, Mother of God from Guimarães: Religious Vestments] Civilização Editora, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Consolação e Santos Passos, Museu de Alberto Sampaio, Guimarães, Portugal, 2004, pp 25–29; 31–32.

²² *Nossa Senhora Madre de Deus de Guimarães*, Jean Baptiste Michel Le Bouteux (1682– after 1764), eighteenth century, engraving, Sociedade Martins Sarmento, No 1295.

²³ Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Santuário Mariano, e Historia das Imagens Milagrosas de Nossa Senhora, E Milagrosamente Aparecidas* [Marian Sanctuary, and History of the Miraculous and Miraculously Appeared, Images of Our Lady], Tome VII, Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, Lisbon, Portugal, 1721, pp 74–75.

²⁴ Ibid, pp 550–552.

²⁵ Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria, op cit, Tomes I–VII.

²⁶ Javier Fuentes y Ponte, *Memoria Sobre Indumentaria de las Imágenes de la Santísima Virgen en las Diferentes Épocas de la Historia*, [Memory About the Clothing of the Images of the Holy Virgin in the Different Times of History] Imprenta Mariana, Lérida, Spain, 1893, p 56.

²⁷ Fortián Solà I Moreta, *Las Imágenes Marianas de Talla y los Yestidos Postizos* [The Marian Sculptures and the Artificial Dresses], Imprenta Mariana, Lérida, Spain, 1917, p 20.

- ²⁸ Elizabeth Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture, 1521-1821*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1950, p 178.
- ²⁹ Juan Sánchez López, "Iconografía Dieciochesca en Málaga. Interpretaciones Escultóricas del Tema de la Divina Pastora," ["Eighteenth Century Iconography in Málaga: Sculptural Interpretations of the Theme of the Holy Shepherdess"] *Baetica. Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia*, 18, 1996, pp 42-43.
- ³⁰ Ibid, pp 47-48.
- ³¹ Ibid, p 39.
- ³² Ibid, p 44.
- ³³ Juan Martínez Alcalde, *Apuntes Históricos y Artísticos de la Primitiva Hermandad de la Divina Pastora y Santa Marina*, [Historical and Artistic Notes about the Brotherhood of the Holy Shepherdess and Saint Marina], Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Spain, 2006, pp 264-268.
- ³⁴ Tiago Moita, "A Divina Pastora. Uma Pintura Rococó na Igreja Matriz de Alpiarça" ["The Holy Shepherdess. A Rococo Painting in the Parish Church of Alpiarça"], *Invenire. Revista de Bens Culturais da Igreja*, No 3, July-December 2011, pp 34-37.

Bibliography

Published

- Albert-Llorca, Marlène, "Des Vierges Vêtues Comme des Femmes?" ["Virgins Dressed as Women?"], in Aribaud, Christine, ed, *Destins d'Étoffes. Usages, Ravaudages et Réemplois des Textiles Sacrés, XIVE-XXe Siècle* [The Fate of the Textiles: Uses, Repairs and Re-Uses of Sacred Textiles, Fourteenth- Twentieth Centuries], Framespa, Toulouse, France, 2006, pp 79-88.
- Arquillo Torres, Joaquín, *Aspectos Socio-Religiosos en la Conservacion de las Representaciones Escultoricas Marianas. Influencia en Tres Imagenes Medievales Representativas* [Social and Religious Aspects in the Conservation of Marian Sculptures: Its Influence in Three Paradigmatic Medieval Images], PhD Thesis in Fine Arts, University of Seville, Spain, 1989.
- Cassador, Just, "Una Qüestió Iconològica: Les Imatges Vestides" ["An Iconological Issue: The Dressed Images"], *Revista de la Asociación Artístico Arqueológica Barcelonesa*, Volume 3, 1901-1902, pp. 445-458.
- Constituiçoens Primeyras do Arcebispado da Bahia Feitas e Ordenadas Pelo Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor D Sebastião Monteiro da Vide* [First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia Made and Ordered by the Most Illustrious and Reverend D Sebastião Monteiro da Vide], Officina de Pascoal da Sylva, Lisbon, Portugal, 1719.
- Constituições Synodales do Bispado do Porto Ordenadas Pelo Muyto Illustre & Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Frey Marcos de Lisboa* [Synod's Constitutions of the Bishopric of Porto ordered by the Most Illustrious and Reverend Dom Friar Marcos of Lisbon], Antonio de Mariz, Coimbra, Portugal, 1585.
- Fernandes, Isabel, *Nossa Senhora Madre de Deus de Guimarães: Alfaías*, [Our Lady, Mother of God from Guimarães: Religious Vestments] Civilização Editora, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Consolação e Santos Passos, Museu de Alberto Sampaio, Guimarães, Portugal, 2004.
- Ferreira, Maria Pacheco, *Os Têxteis Chineses em Portugal nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (Séculos XVI-XVIII)* [The Chinese Textiles in the Decorative Options for the Sacred Trappings in Portugal (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)], PhD Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto, Portugal, 2011.

- Fuentes y Ponte, Javier, *Memoria Sobre Indumentaria de las Imágenes de la Santísima Virgen en las Diferentes Épocas de la Historia* [*Memory About the Clothing of the Images of the Holy Virgin in the Different Times of History*], Imprenta Mariana, Lérida, Spain, 1893.
- Galassi, Cristina, “Arte e Serialità nella Bottega di Nero Alberti a Sansepolcro” [“Art and Seriality in the Workshop of Nero Alberti in Sansepolcro”], in Galassi, Cristina, ed, *Sculture “da Vestire”: Nero Alberti da Sansepolcro e la Produzione di Manichini Lignei in una Bottega del Cinquecento* [*Nero Alberti of Sansepolcro and the Production of Wood Mannequins in a Sixteenth Century Workshop*], Electa Editori Umbri Associati, Umbria, Italy, 2005, pp 15–104.
- García, Palma Martínez-Burgos, “Las Constituciones Sinodales y la Imagen Procesional. Normas Para la Fiesta del Siglo XVI,” [“The Synod’s Constitutions and the Processional Image: Rules for the Sixteenth Century Festival”] *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, [Space, Time and Form] Series VII, No 2, 1989, pp 81–92.
- Genovese, Valeria, *Statue Vestite e Snodate. Un Percorso* [*Dressed and Articulated Statues: A Journey*], Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, Italy, 2011.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, “Les Saintes Poupées: Jeu et Dévotion dans la Florence du Quattrocento” [“The Holy Dolls: Game and Devotion in Fifteenth Century Florence”], in Ariès, Philippe, and Margolin, Jean-Claude, eds, *Les Jeux à la Renaissance: Actes du XXIIIe Colloque International d’Étude Humanistes, Tours 1980* [*The Games at the Renaissance: Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference of Humanist Studies*], Librairie Philosophique J Vrin, Paris, France, 1982, pp 65–79.
- Maria, Friar Agostinho de Santa, *Santuário Mariano, e História das Imagens Milagrosas de Nossa Senhora, E Milagrosamente Aparecidas* [*Marian Sanctuary, and History of the Miraculous and Miraculously Appeared, Images of Our Lady*], Tomes I-VII, Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, Lisbon, Portugal, 1721–1723.
- Martínez Alcalde, Juan, *Apuntes Históricos y Artísticos de la Primitiva Hermandad de la Divina Pastora y Santa Marina* [*Historical and Artistic Notes about the Brotherhood of the Holy Shepherdess and Saint Marina*], Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Spain, 2006.
- Moita, Tiago, “A Divina Pastora. Uma Pintura Rococó na Igreja Matriz de Alpiarça” [“The Holy Shepherdess. A Rococo Painting in the Parish Church of Alpiarça”], *Invenire: Revista de Bens Culturais da Igreja*, No 3, July–December 2011, pp 34–37.
- Pagnozzato, Riccarda, “Profilo storico del simulacro ligneo ‘da Vestire’” [“Historical Profile of the Wooden Dressed Statues”], in Pagnozzato, Riccarda, ed, *Madonne della Laguna. Simulacri “da Vestire” dei Secoli XIV–XIX* [*Our Ladies of Laguna: Dressed Sculptures of the Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*], Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Regione del Veneto, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Rome, Italy, 1993, pp 97–120.
- Palomero Paramo, Jesus, *Las Virgenes de la Semana Santa de Sevilla* [*The Virgins of the Holy Week in Sevilla*], Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Spain, 1983.
- Penalva, Luísa, “As Jóias da Virgem do Carmo” [“The Jewels of the Virgin of Carmel”], *Revista de História da Arte da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, No 2, 2006, pp 236–241.
- Pereira, Diana, “A Imaginária de Vestir: Reflexões em Torno do seu Estudo e Inventariação em Portugal” [“Dressed Sculptures: Thoughts About Their Study and Inventory in Portugal”], *Revista de Artes Decorativas*, No 6, 2012–2014, pp 151–176.

Sánchez López, Juan, "Iconografía Dieciochesca en Málaga. Interpretaciones Escultóricas del Tema de la Divina Pastora," ["Eighteenth Century Iconography in Málaga: Sculptural Interpretations of the Theme of the Holy Shepherdess"], *Baetica. Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia*, 18, 1996, pp 37-62.

Solá I Moreta, Fortián, *Las Imágenes Marianas de Talla y los Yestidos Postizos* [*The Marian Sculptures and the Artificial Dresses*], Imprenta Mariana, Lérida, Spain, 1917.

Torquemada Sánchez, María and Alejandro García, Juan, "Vestir Santos (un Assunto de Inquisición y su Reflejo en Sicilia)" ["Clothing Saints: An Inquisition Matter and its Reflection in Sicily"], *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, No 8, 2001, pp 257-270.

Webster, Susan, "Shameless Beauty and Worldly Splendour: On the Spanish Practice of Adorning the Virgin," in Thunø, Erik and Gerhard, Wolf, eds, *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, L'Erma di Bretschneider, Rome, Italy, 2004, pp 249-273.

Wisemann, Elizabeth, *Mexico in Sculpture, 1521-1821*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, England, 1950.

Internet Sources

Andrew Casson, "Cantigas de Santa Maria for Singers," 2015, <http://www.cantigasdesantamaria.com/csm/295>, accessed 23 October 2017.

Copyright © 2018 Diana Rafaela Pereira
Email: dianarafaelapereira@gmail.com

Diana Rafaela Pereira is a PhD candidate in History of Portuguese Art at the University of Porto, Portugal, with a project about dressed sculptures of the Virgin. Her doctoral studies are financed with a scholarship granted by Foundation for Science and Technology, Portugal with funds from the European Social Fund and the Portuguese Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education, under the Human Capital Operational Programme. She is a researcher at CITCEM -Transdisciplinary Research Centre (Culture, Space and Memory), holds a BA in History of Art (2012) from the University of Coimbra, Portugal, and an MA in History of Portuguese Art from the University of Porto, Portugal (2014).

Adopted and Adapted: The Cross-Cultural Appropriation of the Eighteenth-Century Blanket Coat (or Capote) in North America

Michael Ballard Ramsey

Abstract

This paper is part of a project to reinterpret certain fashions at The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, United States, and will explore the design of blanket coats (also known as capotes) in the Chesapeake Bay region of the United States, 1750–1790. The blanket coat had humble origins but would prove indispensable in the harsh climates and terrains of North America. Throughout the eighteenth century, the use of the blanket coat spread from France’s colonial holdings throughout North America. This paper explores the diverse cultural groups that adopted this garment and seeks to understand the different ways these coats were adapted through the various design details seen in the historic record.

Costuming a living history museum, such as The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, United States, can be a difficult task, particularly when introducing new garments that have sparse evidence in the historic record. This paper is a regional exploration of the design of blanket coats (also known as capotes) in the area surrounding the Chesapeake Bay or more specifically, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. The blanket coat is an outer garment worn to provide protection from the elements. It has a long history that predates the early-modern era, but by the seventeenth century the blanket coat was found in a variety of European cultures. While French habitants in eighteenth-century North America wore the blanket coat, evidence suggests this garment was appropriated by almost all cultures in North America. While there is no known extant blanket coat that survives from this period, there are several works of art depicting late-eighteenth-century French-Canadian examples of the blanket coat. This leads to many questions: Do blanket coats have a universal aesthetic and construction method? If not, did geography, climate, culture, or individual preference play a role in determining alterations to the garment?

Nowhere has this garment’s history been more deeply explored than in its occurrence among the French, particularly those who settled in the North American colonial holdings of France. It is probable that this thorough examination of the Canadian blanket coat is due in part to the fact that blanket coats have persisted as an icon of the national costume of Canada throughout that country’s history. Scholars such as Francis Back, André Gousse, and Gail DeBuse Potter have clearly illustrated the history and the evolution of the blanket coat within the Canadian historic context.^{1,2&3} They explain the garment’s evolution from a voluminous “hooded gown or coat worn by sailors”⁴ and fishermen to a coat that is cut more like a “justaucorps, [with sleeves that are] narrow and close,”⁵ which was the fashionable French men’s coat of the early eighteenth century.

These early- and mid-eighteenth-century blanket coats were, like their nautical forebears, often kept closed with a woven “belt or sash, sailor’s style”⁶ and sometimes with a “native sash decorated with porcupine quills.”⁷ During the middle of the eighteenth century, the blanket coat further evolved. These

later coats incorporated a trim of “ribbon, and [were] fastened at three places extending down the front to the waist with ... the same ... ribbon.”⁸ In 1778, Friedrich Von Germann produced a series of military and civilian watercolours. One of those images is *Ein Canadischer Bauer* or a Canadian Farmer (Figure 1), which perfectly illustrates the blanket coat of the second half of the eighteenth century, as described by Back, Gousse, and Potter.



Figure 1

Ein Canadischer Bauer, Friedrich Von Germann, 1778, watercolour,
The Miriam and Ira D Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection,
The New York Public Library, New York, United States, ps_pn_cd22_318.



Figure 2

Genre Studies of Habitants and Indians, artist unknown, circa 1780, watercolour over pencil, 1900x3170mm, Royal Ontario Museum, Canada, ROM2003_616_2.

Additional art from the late eighteenth century shows that this design of blanket coat was not singular in its form. Variations of this garment among the French habitants can be seen in another Canadian watercolour from only a few years later. *Genre Studies of Habitants and Indians* shows at least three figures (most likely habitants) wearing varieties of the blanket coat (Figure 2). Although the sash is still common among them, two of the men wearing blanket coats have cut them quite short to the length of a jacket or straight-bodied waistcoat. There are additional ties across the front to keep the coat closed, and two of the three coats feature pockets.

French colonists and habitants did not exclusively use blanket coats. These coats, along with a wide variety of textiles and other ready-made garments, were often used in the diplomatic and trade relationships between European colonists and the indigenous peoples of North America. In fact, the blanket coat proved to be very popular among the Native American tribes.⁹ Francis Back writes that blanket coats made for the native trade in the French Colonies came in a variety of colours, sizes, and textiles (the list includes melton, serge, and cadis in addition to blanketing).¹⁰ However, the French were not the only European power trading these garments with the indigenous population. The English also exploited the popularity of the blanket coat among native tribes.

Just like their French counterparts, the English made blanket coats from various textiles. One of the textiles produced in England that became popular for native trade was stroud. Stroud (or sometimes stroud cloth) was a heavy woollen, most often dyed scarlet or deep blue, and it commonly featured a black or white stripe along the selvage.¹¹ This textile is commonly seen on inventories of trade goods being sent to various woodland tribes in North America. One particular shipment of goods sent to the Cherokee in 1753 included not only twelve strouds listed as plain, but also “42 Robed Strouds.”¹² Designating the larger quantity of strouds as robed suggests that it is a shipment of robe-like garments or blanket coats.

There are additional references to natives having or using blanket coats with no indication of the nation from which the textiles originated. In 1781, Alexander McConnell stole a number of items from a native,

as he escaped his captivity. One of the items was “the Indians cappa [sic], blue” because he wanted to remain concealed during the dark of night.¹³ The colour of the blanket coat indicates that it was likely not made from blanketing, which was typically white. Instead, it was perhaps made from stroud that was a “dark deep blue colour” as was the trade cloth ordered for the trading post at Fort Pitt, at the head of the Ohio River.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that native peoples may be unique among the North American cultures who wore blanket coats. This is especially evident in the after-market decoration added to the garments. Popular adornment for blanket coats worn by natives included laces, braids, and beading.¹⁵ The popularity of these motifs was recorded several times in the written record and in drawings of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁶ Coupling that evidence with the adornment seen on the extant garments from the early nineteenth century suggests that decoration was present in the late eighteenth century as well, particularly since it is commonly seen in varying levels of intricacy on other native garments from that time.

The English did not relegate the manufacture of the blanket coat only to the trading partnerships with indigenous natives. Considering the various terrains and climates of Colonial America it seems the English military saw the usefulness of the blanket coat for their own soldiers. In September 1758, Adam Stephen wrote to Colonel George Washington that, “Blanket coats would suit better than any that can be got for your Regiment.”¹⁷ This advice did not fall on deaf ears for in December of that same year a blanket coat was recorded among Washington’s possessions delivered to his winter quarters.

The following January, General Forbes ordered that each man of Washington’s regiment receive a blanket “to be made up into a coat to guard them from the inclemency of the season.”¹⁸ It seems clear General Forbes saw the usefulness of this garment. Although Forbes ordered blanket coats to be given to all the Virginia troops under Washington, that order only extended to the rank and file of the army. On Forbes’ campaign in 1758 against Fort Duquesne, Thomas Barton recorded in his diary that “Orders are issued that no officer for the future shall appear in a Blanket Coat.”¹⁹ It seems likely that due to its coarse appearance, General Forbes thought the garment unbecoming of the officer class.

The issuance of blanket coats was common throughout both the British Army and their provincial militias in North America. The garment’s popularity continued as those former colonists formed the Continental Army in the American War for Independence. Throughout that conflict there are a number of references promoting use of the blanket coat for the rank and file. This is evidenced by Major General Stirling writing to then General Washington that “a good blanket coat besides a blanket to lodge in” are among the articles necessary to undertake a winter campaign against British-held Philadelphia.²⁰

In August 1783, General Washington wrote that a corps of 500 men was needed and the privates and non-commissioned officers should be furnished with a “blanket great coat, or good watch coat.”²¹ The wording of this order is particularly interesting as the use of the two terms suggests that those are two separate garments instead of two interchangeable terms. The blanket great coat is likely a close-bodied coat that displays elements of other blanket coats, such as tie closure or a hood (Figure 3). The watch coat, on the other hand, is likely more akin to the billowy white coats worn by two figures in *The Passage of the Delaware* (Figure 4). The coats worn by two men in this painting feature high turned-up collars without hoods and they appear to be made from “English Matchcoating, commonly called black headed shags.”²² They appear shapeless in their construction, further suggesting that these are watch coats because they are meant to be rotated between many members of a unit during their watch duty and must fit over a variety of equipment and different body types.

Possibly the most enlightening information on blanket coats in the American Army comes from the Virginians stationed at Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi River. The Quartermaster’s Book recorded in 1780 that the materials issued to the interpreter James Sherlock, for making a blanket coat were “three and ½ yards grey cloth, 7/8 [of a yard] wide; six yards silk ferret for binding” along with silk and linen threads for construction.²³ It appears that these silk trimmed grey blanket coats were fairly common



Figure 3
Ein Britischer Soldat auf dem Posten, in der Canadischen Winter Kleidung, Friedrich Von Germann, 1766, watercolour, The Miriam and Ira D Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library, New York, United States, 5488699.



Figure 4
The Passage of the Delaware, Thomas Sully, 1819, oil on canvas, 3721x5258mm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, United States, 03.1079.

among the Continental soldier posted at Fort Jefferson as this same allotment of textiles and trimmings appears several times in the records, but it is never otherwise so clearly stated.

Military account books and ledgers are not the only place to find the issuing and purchasing of textiles for constructing or ready-made blanket coats. The merchant ledgers and other papers of Bayton, Wharton, and Morgan have several references to blanket coats being sold to the military forces and agents of the Indian Department serving along the Ohio River Valley. Also, recorded in those papers is the sale of blanket coats to individuals working in the backcountry, such as hunters, traders, and men working riverboats.²⁴ Not only do these ledgers pinpoint specific members of a Frontier society who are using these garments, but they can also shed some light on the economics of blanket coats. In the ledger book of Ephraim Douglass and Devereaux Smith (competitors of Bayton, Wharton, and Morgan) the merchants were paying three shillings for the making of each blanket coat, yet the ready-made coats were being sold for one pound fifteen shillings. This does not account for the price paid by the merchants for the original blanket, but it does show the vast difference between the pricing for making up the garment versus the price passed on to the consumer.²⁵

Unfortunately, not every store ledger survives from the eighteenth century and those that do seldom list the smaller details of the garments sold. However, runaway servant and military desertion advertisements of the eighteenth century sometimes share specific design details of clothing including blanket coats. These advertisements document many different members of society, from free men under service contracts to the military to the voluntarily indentured and apprenticed to the forced servant population of the enslaved and the criminally transported. Most of the blanket coats noted in the runaway advertisements of the late eighteenth-century Chesapeake are recorded as simply a blanket coat, blanket jacket, or a blanket great coat/surtout. However, several of the advertisements illuminate details of some of the features of these coats.

The detail most commonly described is the blanket itself, usually described in one or two words. Unfortunately, these terms that were commonplace in the eighteenth century are not so today. Many advertisements that include textile description name the blankets as witney or duffel. Florence Montgomery defines witney and duffel as “a heavy, loose woollen cloth ... with a nap made at Witney in Oxfordshire.”²⁶ There are several runaway advertisements that list duffel either worn or stolen by the fugitives. Two enslaved men, Will and Romaine, ran away in 1769 with “coats made of [duffel] blankets.”²⁷ Additionally, an enslaved man named Sancho, who escaped in 1774, with both a “blue [duffel] coat and blanket” is another example.²⁸

Throughout the eighteenth century duffel was sold as cheap blankets and cloth for outer garments. The textile’s inexpensiveness is evidenced by a price list for goods being sold to natives in 1732. The list shows that a blanket would sell for either five buckskins or ten doeskins, whereas a blanket of blue “Duffels [sold for] 3 [buckskins] or 6 [doeskins].”²⁹ The reduced price suggests that the duffel blankets were of lesser quality when compared to a typical blanket, but the specifics of that inferiority is unknown. Duffel was offered in a variety of colours including red, blue, and green.³⁰

Some blanket names indicated a specific design such as a “Dutch blanket.”³¹ In a German merchandise lexicon dating to 1839, Dutch blankets are described as “white, woollen ... twilled blankets with colourful stripes at the edges.”³² Blankets similar to these were listed in a number of runaway advertisements. For example, an enslaved man named Peter fled in 1772 wearing a “Dutch Blanket Coat,”³³ or in 1775 six English servants ran away, stealing new blanket jackets with the “stripes [going] round” the body.³⁴

One of the better descriptions concerning the textile’s design appeared in May of 1777 when Bartholomew Ring deserted in “a blanket coat, with black and blue stripes ... [cut] very short.”³⁵ These stripes are most likely always placed near the hem of the garments and perhaps on the cuffs of the sleeves as in the Von Germann watercolours (Figures 1 and 3). While this description clearly indicates the colour of the stripes, it is not sufficient evidence to say that every Dutch blanket had stripes of blue and black. In fact, it is unclear whether or not there was a specific or consistent pattern and colour selection to the strips of Dutch blankets.

Many Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century show blankets with a variety of striping styles that fit the German definition and could be representative of Dutch blankets of the late eighteenth century. One such example is Jan Steen's, *Woman at her Toilet* (Figure 5). Among the bedclothes on which the painting's subject is sitting is a blanket featuring a series of yellow, red, and dark (either blue or black) stripes. In addition, Esaias Boursse's *Interior with Woman Cooking* (Figure 6) illustrates another striping pattern of wide red stripes bordered by thin black stripes on the blanket cascading off the bed in the background. Regardless of the colours used, both of these paintings feature blankets that fit the description recorded in 1839.

Dutch blankets were not the only blankets to feature stripes at either end. The runaway advertisements from throughout this region of the colonies include men wearing blanket coats made from matchcoat blankets. The Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan papers state that they carried in their stores both French



Figure 5

Woman at her Toilet, by Jan Havicksz Steen, 1655-1660,
oil on panel, 370x275mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands, SK-A-4052.



Figure 6

Interior with Woman Cooking, Esaias Boursse, 1656,
oil on canvas, 510x578mm, The Wallace Collection, London, England, P166.

matchcoating with narrow stripes in light blue, deep blue, or deep purple and English matchcoats with single broad black stripes.³⁶ It is unfortunate that swatch samples are not included among the records left by Bayton, Wharton, and Morgan, but paintings can give some indication of what form the two styles of matchcoating took. The French matchcoats offered for sale in the Pittsburgh store may be very much like the blanket draped over the shoulders of the central paternal figure in Julius Caesar Ibbertson's *A Gypsy Family* (Figure 7). Additionally, the English matchcoating sold by the merchant firm is likely similar to the blankets that make up the two watch coats in the *Passage of the Delaware* (Figure 4).

The colour of the stripes on the matchcoat blanket coats in the runaway advertisements is rarely detailed, but in 1779 an enslaved African man named George ran away wearing a "matchcoat blanket surtout, with brown and black striped [sic]."³⁷ Of course, not all blanket coats bore stripes. Some men would run wearing solid "white blanketing jacket[s]."³⁸ Additionally, at least one man ran away wearing a "blanket great coat dyed black."³⁹ This suggests that some blanket coats were dyed post-production versus those made of the coloured duffel blankets.

In addition to being made of blanketing material, there are three very distinct features of the blanket coat previously discussed and illustrated. Those elements are the front of the garment being tied closed, the presence of silk or wool trim, and the addition of a hood on the garment. The runaway advertisements



Figure 7

A Gypsy Family (detail), Julius Caesar Ibbetson, circa eighteenth century, pen and ink watercolour on paper, 182x153mm, Leeds Museums and Galleries, Leeds, England, LMG100041.

from the area surrounding the Chesapeake illustrate that there are a variety of closure methods used on blanket coats. These options included methods of tying, such as the blanket surtout stolen in 1780 that had “three sets of strings to tie it [closed] with.”⁴⁰ However, several advertisements describe men running away in blanket coats that are closed with cloth covered buttons,⁴¹ thread covered buttons,⁴² leather buttons,⁴³ or even metal buttons.⁴⁴

The purpose of the runaway advertisements was to capture a fugitive. It is surprising to find that full descriptions of blanket coats are not usually given, particularly of elements such as trims that are visually drawing when contrasting to the colour of the coat. In fact, trims of these coats are often not mentioned at all. It is possible that if it were not mentioned, the trim was not present or at the very least the trim was of the same colour as that of the body of the garment. This idea is further supported by advertisements that do include description of trim on blanket coats. Some advertisements give little more information than a trim’s colour such as a “blanket coat with yellow binding”⁴⁵ or one “bound with red tape.”⁴⁶ Some of the descriptions, however, are more informative such as the advertisements for William Watts, a runaway in 1770 wearing a “Blanket coat, bound with brown Linen”⁴⁷ or a blanket coat that was “bound with light brown ferreting”⁴⁸ that was reported stolen in 1780.

The final element to consider is the frequency of hoods on blanket coats in the Chesapeake Bay region. In the runaway advertisements, the evidence of what, if anything, is above the neck opening of a blanket coat is sparse at best. It could be argued that the lack of mention indicates that there is nothing at all or that there is a visual commonality among blanket coats of this region and time period that allows it to go unmentioned. Unfortunately, without further documentation, that may never be determined.

The evidence that is in the record is varied. On the one hand, there are descriptions of coats that break completely with the image of the Canadian blanket coat, such as the man that fled in 1766 with a “surtout coat, of whitney, with a cape.”⁴⁹ It is important to note that in the nomenclature of eighteenth century fashion, the term cape refers to both a small cape that can extend to the shoulders, but it also refers to collars of various shapes and sizes.⁵⁰ An enslaved fugitive, named Philip ran in 1782 wearing a “short blanket ... coat, with a red cape, and red basket buttons.”⁵¹ Considering the terminology used, this advertisement illustrates a man wearing a garment constructed from a blanket that could almost be confused for a coarse style of frock coat.

One the other hand, there are examples that are near copies of the garment worn by Von Germann’s *Ein Canadischer Bauer*, such as the previously referenced coat that was stolen in 1780 that was “bound with ... ferreting [and having] three sets of strings to tie it with, a cap also.”⁵² This example is clearly an archetypical Canadian blanket coat as described by Back, Gousse, and Potter. The use of the term cap in place of hood may cause some confusion until one considers that in 1769 a man fled wearing a “blanket coat, with a blue cap to the cape of it, and bound with red tape.”⁵³ This advertisement more clearly illustrates that the cap is attached to the coat and, in fact acts as a hood.

These examples show that there is not one single design to the blanket coats worn by the various peoples that either lived in, or interacted within, the Chesapeake Bay area. Whether they were originally made with such variety or they experienced after-market modification is sometimes unclear. Since there is no document that describes a standardised pattern of this garment in its exactness, it is most likely that some of the variation was applied during the making up process while others were post-purchase alterations. Although there is no evidence that geography played a role in the design of blanket coats, culture, climate, and individual preference certainly did. Once the details of this garment are teased out by combining the written record, historic images, and information gleaned from later extant garments, the appearance of cross-cultural appropriation becomes evident.

Endnotes

- ¹ Francis Back, “The Canadian Capot (Capote),” *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3, 1991, pp 4–15.
- ² André Gousse, “À la Canadienne: Clothing in Eighteenth-Century New France,” in *Tidy’s Symposium Papers: Back to Our Roots II, Investigations into the Influences of Immigration and Trade on the Development of Eighteenth-Century American Dress*, University of Delaware, Delaware, United States, 1999.
- ³ Gail DeBuse Potter, ed, *The Encyclopaedia of Trade Goods, Volume 4: Clothing and Textiles of the Fur Trade*, Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, United States, 2014.
- ⁴ Ibid, p 100.
- ⁵ Back, op cit, p 6.
- ⁶ Gousse, op cit, p 7.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Potter, op cit, p 105.
- ⁹ Back, op cit, pp 8–10.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Florence M Montgomery, *Textiles in America: 1650 -1870*, W W Norton and Company, New York, United States, 1984, p 353.
- ¹² Amohkali Creek: Information and Resources from the Eighteenth Century Southeast, “1753-Goodssent up the River Kentucky (for the Cherokee),” 17 March 2011, <http://amohkali.com/?p=116>, accessed 19 July 2017.
- ¹³ Dale Payne, *Frontier Memories II – Rev John Dabney Shane Interviews as Taken from the Draper Manuscripts*, Dale Payne, North Kansas City, United States, 2007, p 4.
- ¹⁴ Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, Manuscript Group 19, William and Mary SWEM Library Microforms, HF3025.B39, Roll No 7, The Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, United States.
- ¹⁵ Back, op cit, p 8.

- ¹⁶ Ibid, pp 8–12.
- ¹⁷ Adam Stephen, “George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence: Adam Stephen to George Washington, 13 September 1758,” manuscript/mixed material, The Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mgw442986/>, accessed 18 June 2017.
- ¹⁸ George Reese, ed, *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia 1758 – 1768, Volume 1, 1758–1760*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, United States, 1980, p 162.
- ¹⁹ William A Hunter, “Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 95, Number 4, 1971, p 477.
- ²⁰ Major General Stirling, “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 3 December 1777,” Founders Online, The National Archives, Washington, DC, United States, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-12-02-0491>, accessed 30 March 2017.
- ²¹ George Washington, “George Washington Papers, Series 3, Varick Transcripts, 1775 to 1785, Subseries 3B, Continental and State Military Personnel, 1775 to 1783, Letterbook 16: 1 December 1782–11 June 1785,” manuscript/mixed materials, The Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/mgw3b.016/>, accessed 18 June 2017.
- ²² Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, op cit.
- ²³ Kenneth C Carstens, *The Calendar and Quartermaster Books of General George Rogers Clark’s Fort Jefferson Kentucky 1780 – 1781*, Part II, Heritage Books, Westminster, United States, 2007, p 72.
- ²⁴ Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, op cit.
- ²⁵ Darlington Digital Library, “Smith and Douglass Ledger, 1771–1777,” University of Pittsburgh, http://www.historicpittsburgh.org/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735066223268/from_search/dceb746ef3729d0e2953213e47bb5938-2, accessed 13 August 2017.
- ²⁶ Montgomery, op cit, p 375.
- ²⁷ Geography of Slavery in Virginia, “Virginia Gazette (Rind), Williamsburg, 13 July 1769,” http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg69.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1769070394, accessed 7 June 2017.
- ²⁸ Geography of Slavery in Virginia, “Virginia Gazette (Rind), Williamsburg, 17 March 1774” http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg74.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1774031071, accessed 8 June 2017.
- ²⁹ Amohkali Creek: Information and Resources from the Eighteenth Century Southeast, “1732 – Prices of Goods, South Carolina,” <http://amohkali.com/?p=143>, accessed 1 November 2017.
- ³⁰ Ibid, p 228.
- ³¹ Geography of Slavery in Virginia, “Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), Williamsburg, 28 September 1769,” http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?Source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg69.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1769090357, accessed 13 August 2017.
- ³² “Dutch Blankets,” *Of Sorts for Provincials*, <http://ofsortsforprovincials.blogspot.com/2011/05/Dutch-blankets.html>, accessed 10 August 2016.
- ³³ Geography of Slavery in Virginia, “Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), Williamsburg, Virginia, 19 March 1772,” http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg72.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1772030710, accessed 8 February 2017.
- ³⁴ Joseph Lee Boyle, *“Sly and Artful Rogues:” Maryland Runaways, 1775–1781*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2014, p 3.
- ³⁵ Joseph Lee Boyle, *“He Loves a Good Deal of Rum...:” Military Desertions during the American Revolution, 1775–1783, Volume One: 1775–30 June 1777*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2009, p 307.
- ³⁶ Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, op cit.
- ³⁷ Boyle, 2014, op cit, p 395.
- ³⁸ Boyle, 2009, Volume 1, op cit, p 163.
- ³⁹ Ibid.

- ⁴⁰ Boyle, 2009, Volume 1, op cit, pp 224-225.
- ⁴¹ Boyle, 2009, Volume 2, op cit, p 248.
- ⁴² Joseph Lee Boyle, *"Very Impudent when Drunk or Sober:" Delaware Runaways, 1720-1783*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2014, pp 363-364.
- ⁴³ Ibid, p 174.
- ⁴⁴ Geography of Slavery in Virginia, "Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter), Williamsburg, 27 December 1776," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/vg1776.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1776122101, accessed 8 February 2017.
- ⁴⁵ Joseph Lee Boyle, *"When Drunk Is Very Bold:" White Maryland Runaways, 1763-1769*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2011, p 306.
- ⁴⁶ Boyle, 2014, Delaware Runaways, op cit, pp 209-210.
- ⁴⁷ Joseph Lee Boyle, *"Drinks Hard, and Swears Much," White Maryland Runaways, 1770-1774*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2010, p 36.
- ⁴⁸ Boyle, 2009, Volume 2, pp 224-225.
- ⁴⁹ Boyle, 2011, p 137.
- ⁵⁰ Linda Baumgarten and John Watson with Florine Carr, *Costume Close-Up: Clothing Construction and Pattern, 1750-1790*, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, United States, 1999, p 104.
- ⁵¹ Boyle, 2014, Delaware Runaways, op cit, pp 363-364.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid, pp 209-210.

Bibliography

Published

- Back, Francis, "The Canadian Capot (Capote)," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3, 1991, pp 4-15.
- Baumgarten, Linda and Watson, John with Carr, Florine, *Costume Close-Up: Clothing Construction and Pattern 1750-1790*, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, United States, 1999.
- Boyle, Joseph Lee, *"He Loves a Good Deal of Rum...:" Military Desertions During the American Revolution, 1775-1783, Volume One 1775-30 June 1777*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2009.
- Boyle, Joseph Lee, *"He Loves a Good Deal of Rum...:" Military Desertions during the American Revolution, 1775-1783, Volume Two, 30 June 1777-1783*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2009.
- Boyle, Joseph Lee, *"Drinks Hard, and Swears Much:" White Maryland Runaways, 1770-1774*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2010.
- Boyle, Joseph Lee, *"When Drunk Is Very Bold:" White Maryland Runaways, 1763-1769*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2011.
- Boyle, Joseph Lee, *"Sly and Artful Rogues:" Maryland Runaways, 1775-1781*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2014.
- Boyle, Joseph Lee, *"Very Impudent when Drunk or Sober:" Delaware Runaways, 1720-1783*, Clearfield Company, Baltimore, United States, 2014.

Carstens, Kenneth C, *The Calendar and Quartermaster Books of General George Rogers Clark's Fort Jefferson, Kentucky 1780-1781*, Heritage Books, Westminster, United States, 2007.

Gousse, André, "A la Canadienne: Clothing in Eighteenth-Century New France," *Tidy's Symposium Papers: Back to Our Root II, Investigations into the Influences of Immigration and Trade on the Development of Eighteenth-Century American Dress*, University of Delaware, Delaware, United States, 1999.

Hunter, William A "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 95, Number 4, 1971.

Montgomery, Florence M, *Textiles in America 1650 -1870*, Winterthur, W W Norton and Company, New York, United States, 1984.

Payne, Dale, *Frontier Memories II – Rev John Dabney Shane Interviews As Taken From The Draper Manuscripts*, Dale Payne, North Kansas City, United States, 2007.

Potter, Gail DeBuse, ed, *The Encyclopaedia of Trade Goods, Volume 4: Clothing and Textiles of the Fur Trade*, Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, United States, 2014.

Reese, George, ed, *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia 1758 - 1768, Volume 1, 1758 - 1760*, The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, United States, 1980.

Unpublished Sources

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, Manuscript Group 19, William and Mary SWEM Library Microforms, HF3025.B39, Roll No 7, The Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, United States.

Internet Sources

Amohkahi Creek: Information and Resources from the Eighteenth Century Southeast, "1732- Prices of Goods, South Carolina," <http://amohkali.com/?p=143>, accessed 1 November 2017.

Amohkali Creek: Information and Resources from the Eighteenth Century Southeast, "1753-Goods sent up the River Kentucky (for the Cherokee)," <http://amohkali.com/?p=116>, accessed 19 July 2017.

"Dutch Blankets," Of Sorts for Provincials, <http://ofsortsforprovincials.blogspot.com/2011/05/dutch-blankets.html>, accessed 10 August 2016.

Darlington Digital Library, University of Pittsburgh, "Smith and Douglass Ledger, 1771-1777," http://www.historicpittsburgh.org/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735066223268/from_search/dceb746ef3729d0e2953213e47bb5938-2, accessed 13 August 2017.

Geography of Slavery in Virginia, "Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter), Williamsburg, 27 December 1776," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/vg1776.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xsl&ad=v1776122101, accessed 8 February 2017.

Geography of Slavery in Virginia, "Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), Williamsburg, 28 September 1769," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg69.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xsl&ad=v1769090357, accessed 13 August, 2017.

Geography of Slavery in Virginia, "Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), Williamsburg, Virginia, 19 March 1772," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/

slavery/ads/rg72.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1772030710, accessed 8 February 2017.

Geography of Slavery in Virginia, "Virginia Gazette (Rind), Williamsburg, 13 July 1769," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg69.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1769070394, accessed 7 June 2017.

Geography of Slavery in Virginia, "Virginia Gazette (Rind), Williamsburg, 17 March 1774," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/rg74.xml&style=/xml_docs/slavery/ads/display_ad.xml&ad=v1774031071, accessed 8 June 2017.

Stephen, Adam, "George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence: Adam Stephen to George Washington, 13 September 1758," manuscript/mixed material, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mgw442986/>, accessed 18 June 2017.

Stirling, Major General, "To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 3 December 1777," Founders Online, The National Archives, Washington, DC, United States, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-12-02-0491>. [Original source: "The Papers of George Washington," *Revolutionary War Series, Vol 12, 26 October 1777-25 December 1777*, Grizzard, Frank E, Jr, and Hoth, David R, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2002], accessed 30 March 2017.

Washington, George, "George Washington Papers, Series 3, Varick Transcripts, 1775 to 1785, Subseries 3B, Continental and State Military Personnel, 1775 to 1783, Letterbook 16: 1 December 1782-11 June 1785," manuscript/mixed materials, The Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/mgw3b.016/>, accessed 18 June 2017.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend a special thank you to Nathan Kobuck, Jim Mullins, and Mark Hutter, whose blog posts and/or conversation laid the groundwork for this research and inspired me to further illuminate the blanket coat as it pertains to the areas surrounding the Chesapeake Bay, United States.

Copyright © 2018 Michael Ballard Ramsey
Email: mramsey@cwf.org

Michael Ballard Ramsey is a historic costume and accessories specialist in the Costume Design Centre of Colonial Williamsburg, a historical landmark, eighteenth-century living history museum, and foundation in Williamsburg, Virginia, United States. He is also owner of Michael B Ramsey, Historic Tailoring and Consulting. His specialty is in the accurate reproduction of tailored garments and accessories. In addition to Colonial Williamsburg, he has professional experience at a number of local museums and historic sites, including Belle Meade Plantation in Nashville, Tennessee, a circa 1807 educational resource dedicated to the preservation of Tennessee's Victorian architecture and history.

Redressing Japonisme: The Impact of the Kimono on Gustav Klimt and Fin de Siècle Viennese Fashion

Svitlana Shiells

Abstract

The kimono's simple forms and exuberant decoration exerted a strong impact on western modern art. However, while for some modernist artists the kimono was just an exotic motif, for Gustav Klimt it was one of the main stimuli behind his formal experimentations and ultimately some stylistic changes, which appeared at the end of the 1890s. Placing the kimono in the historical and cross-cultural context of fin de siècle Vienna, this paper illustrates that the Japanese garment profoundly influenced not only Klimt's art but also stimulated his and Emilie Flöge's cutting-edge experimentations in fashion. Klimt's innovative garments – painted and designed – indicate that the essential ideas inherent in the kimono were revitalised and deeply engrained in Viennese culture.

The simple shape, straight lines, and extravagant decoration of the kimono “captured the imagination of western cultures as no other garment has done.”¹ In the twentieth century, the word “kimono” (literally, thing to wear) became used as a generic word that identified traditional Japanese garments or, as Yoko Woodson elaborates, “It means Japanese-style clothing, in contrast to western-style dress.”² From the late sixteenth century the kimono, secured at the waist with a sash (obi) became the chief garment of both sexes and all classes (Figure 1). Due to the heavy standardisation, the kimono can fit anybody since its length can easily be adjusted by folding the extra fabric under an obi. In order to individualise the strait-seamed garment, Japanese artisans turned to the decoration of the kimono's fabric, performing



Figure 1
Night Fête, Kitagawa Utamaro, Plate
IH from *Le Japon Artistique* [*Artistic*
Japan], 1888, No 8, Volume II,
The Library of the Freer Gallery of
Art and Arthur M Sackler Gallery,
The Smithsonian Institution,
Washington DC, United States.



Figure 2
Long-sleeved kimono,
eighteenth century, Nagao Art
Museum, Kamakura, Japan.
Plate 1 from Ken'ichi
Kawakatsu, *Kimono*.

unique ingenuity and creating sophisticated patterns and designs (Figure 2). Haruo Shirane points out that kimono masters even “embed a waka (thirty-one syllable classical poem) in the form of scattered writing (chirashi-gaki) in the design of a kosode, the predecessor of the kimono. Often only several characters were sprinkled across the robe, leaving the rest of the poem to be recalled by the discerning viewer.”³ Thus, unlike the western dress with its focus on cut and construction, the kimono’s cut was heavily standardised, elevating the surface of the garment to the level of a canvas and ultimately making it a fertile field for decoration.

In 1853–1854, the Americans led by Commodore Perry conducted two decisive visits to Edo (Tokyo), which subsequently ended more than two centuries of the isolation of Japan. During the second visit to Edo, carefully observing the inhabitants of the archipelago and their customs, Commodore Perry writes that Japanese “women were barefooted and barelegged, dressed very much alike in a sort of dark nightgown secured by a broad band passing round the waist.”⁴ “The costumes of the various classes are as unchangeable in fashion, cut, and colour as are unchangeable their laws and customs, and the rank and condition of the wearer are known by their dress.”⁵ Perry’s unflattering account of the staple of Japanese fashion did not prevent the west from its obsession with the kimono. After Japan opened its ports, major western powers immediately started active trade with the Japanese. The kimono was one of the most desirable items among the diverse assortment of Japanese artefacts which started to flow to the west.

An exotic Far Eastern souvenir, the kimono exerted a strong influence on western art and fashion. By the end of the nineteenth century, as Siegfried Wichmann emphasises, “Every fashionable wardrobe contained a kimono. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edgar Degas, James Tissot, and Gustav Klimt all owned and wore them: Klimt even had a collection of them, all of the highest quality.”⁶ The plethora of literature on the kimono as well as on Japonisme sometimes mentions the kimono’s impact on Klimt’s art and Viennese fashion, however, it never examines these issues in depth. Thus, discussing Japonisme in Klimt’s oeuvre, Japanese scholars Koichi Koshi and Akiko Mabuchi briefly analysed the kimono’s influence on the development of Klimt’s distinctive style.^{7&8} Julia Krejsa and Peter Pantzer provide a brief investigation of the kimono’s presence on the Viennese cultural stage.⁹ Wolfgang G Fischer,¹⁰ providing a comprehensive overview of the creative collaboration between Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge, acknowledges that some of Klimt’s dresses appear to be “loose kimono-type” gowns, although he does not analyse this issue further.¹⁰ Many scholars such as Angela Völker, Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alfred Weidinger, Clare Rose, Hanek Koeck, Mary L Wagener, Tag Gronberg, and others discuss

Klimt's experimentations in fashion, however, without considering the influence of the kimono on such processes.¹¹⁻¹⁶ Thus, placing the kimono in the historical and cross-cultural context of fin de siècle Vienna, this paper examines its impact on Gustav Klimt's art and his collaboration with Emilie Flöge in the field of fashion. The paper argues that the kimono not only inspired Klimt's sartorial experimentation but also was one of the most powerful stimuli behind some of the stylistic changes that occurred in his art around the 1900s.

On Foreign Soil: The Kimono's Impact on the West

The kimono's emergence onto the Western cultural scene was a source of both excitement and appropriation. In the new context, the garment, "divorced from its social, economic and political meaning," took "on a new life."¹⁷ The most enthusiastic promoters of the kimono were modernist artists, who started to utilise the kimono as an exotic motif and portray their models wearing it. In the second part of the nineteenth century, it became popular to depict a female nude body covered not with a fur, as had been favoured by the old masters, but with the shining silk of the kimono. Western artists such as James Abbott McNeill Whistler, James Tissot, Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, William Merritt Chase, Henri Matisse, Andre Derain, and many others repeatedly portrayed their models clad in sumptuous kimono. While Tissot, for example, treated the kimono as a casual robe, Whistler presented it as a fashionable garment of higher classes. In artists' hands, as Rebecca Stevens accentuates, the kimono,

became an important element in creative expression when ... artists responded to its symbolic associations rather than to its form as a garment. These associations were varied and often contradictory. For some artists, the kimono symbolised the exotic allure of the Orient; for others, it was proof of artistic taste.¹⁸

It is important to underscore that the craze for Japanese art was stimulated not only by the trade but also by the numerous Expositions Universelle. Thus, in the wake of the Exposition Universelle 1873 in Vienna, the forceful wave of Japonisme exploded onto the Viennese stage. Peter Pantzer points out that in Vienna "Japonisme was encountered in almost every living room, an exotic spice which had become an integral part of almost every area of domestic and social life ... from ball-dresses à la kimono to postcards," etc. Moreover, "out of this emerged, in its own radical and independent potency, the art of the Viennese Secession, or of a Gustav Klimt, and went on to attain an overriding significance; all this came from the same soil and humus, the intensive cultivation of the fashion for things Japanese."¹⁹ Shortly after the Exposition Universelle, Hans Makart, the leading and most celebrated Viennese artist of his time, following the Impressionists, inaugurated the advent of Japonisme into the Austrian visual arts with the painting *The Japanese Woman* (1875). Reflecting the Viennese interest in the exotic Japanese garment, Makart portrayed a half-naked model, dressed in a kimono and Japanese pins in her hair. The Viennese museums and individuals became enthusiastic collectors of "things Japanese" and exhibitions of Japanese art were frequently present in the Austrian cultural realm. In 1883, Baron Raimund von Stillfried, who for number of years lived in Japan and was considered the best photographer in East Asia, returned to Vienna with an abundance of documented visual material and stories about the Land of the Rising Sun. Stillfried's photographs were important "windows" on Japan and its culture, including on the kimono. A significant role in promoting the interest in Japanese culture was played by another Viennese, the famous and influential collector Adolf Fischer. Later, the fire of Japonisme was passionately picked up by the Vienna Secession, led by Gustav Klimt. However, as Frank Whitford emphasises, while "all the Secessionist artists designed monogram signatures in frank imitation of Japanese signature seals and the posters for Secession exhibitions until around 1914 show many Japanese qualities ... none of the Secessionist absorbed Japanese features into their work as completely as Gustav Klimt did."²⁰ It is well known that Klimt had a large collection of Far Eastern art, including Japanese prints and Chinese and Japanese robes. Moreover, Klimt not only amassed an impressive collection of Japanese artefacts but he also studied Japanese art, including the kimono, with unmatched zeal.²¹



Figure 3
Portrait of Emilie Flöge, Gustav Klimt, 1902/04, oil on canvas, 1810x840mm, Wien Museum, Vienna, Austria, 45677.



Figure 4
Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I (detail), Gustav Klimt, 1907, oil on canvas, 1380x1380mm, Neue Galerie, New York, United States, 2006.04.

Creation via Ruination: The Impact of the Kimono on Gustav Klimt's Painting

The kimono exerted a profound influence on Klimt's art, first of all, on his rendition of models' dresses. Instead of utilising the kimono as an exotic motif, as was customarily done by his contemporaries, Klimt was focused on the kimono's rich decoration, its symbolic associations, and its forms. Consequently, Klimt dressed his models not in genuine kimono but in kimono-inspired garments. In 1913, the Japanese artist Kijiro Ohta briefly visited Klimt in his studio. During that impromptu meeting, Klimt displayed to the foreign guest some of his paintings. Ohta recalls that in one painting "there are three ladies dressed in gowns that look like kimono."²² In other words, the Japanese artist immediately noticed the link between the kimono and Klimt's execution of models' garments. The mesmerising character of the kimono is present within Klimt's depiction of the dresses in many of his portraits as, for instance, in Portrait of Emilie Flöge (Figure 3).

For centuries, in western art, the model's attire was telling an additional, often significant, story about its wearer: it ultimately exposed the social status of a model, the person's taste, character, erudition, temperament, and much more. Well aware of this "traditional baggage," Klimt, nevertheless, frequently "stripped" his subjects of their original dresses and substituted his own idiosyncratic creations as, for instance, in Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I (Figure 4). Such a carefully calculated step permitted the artist not only to take away the pressure from questions like what kind and what quality of clothes his model was wearing but, more importantly, to provide a fertile field for his formal experimentations,



Figure 5

The Kiss (detail), Gustav Klimt, 1908, oil on canvas, 1800x1800mm, Belvedere, Vienna, Austria, 912.



Figure 6

The Dancer, Gustav Klimt, 1917, oil on canvas, 1800x900mm, private collection.

which he commonly confined within the boundaries of a dress: Portrait of Emilie Flöge, The Kiss (Figure 5), etc.

The kimono also stimulated Klimt's interest in Japanese patterns. The wide range of Far Eastern patterns that can be observed in Klimt's paintings indicates that the artist scrutinised all available sources, investigating the subject, notably authentic kimono, in his own and other Viennese collections, as well as depictions of Japanese women wearing kimono in nishiki-e (polychrome woodblock prints). Furthermore, depicting models' dresses, Klimt in many cases disregards, or rather eliminates, any tailoring measurements, forms, or lines, and constructs exuberant combinations of different patterns, which surround his models like secret codifications. Thus, in the Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I and The Dancer (Figure 6), being deeply preoccupied with the abstract beat of diverse patterns (eastern and western), Klimt customarily occludes any folds and creases and designs a garment that functions as seemingly an independent idiosyncratic entity. Additionally, the utilisation of the varieties of patterns, primarily within the boundaries of a dress, allowed Klimt to create reinvigorated garments for his subjects and consequently shift the focus from a model to her dress. Thus, Klimt's novel dresses, carefully engineered via a diverse typology of patterns permanently place his models within an abstract, impersonal two-dimensional world, crafted by the artist. This characteristic was retained in most of Klimt's paintings during the last two decades of his career and became one of the staples of his new style, for example, The Virgin (1913).

While western artists traditionally created special settings for kimono-clad models, bringing into their compositions diverse exotic props, including Japanese decorative objects, Klimt typically placed his subjects against a flat abstract background as, for instance, in Portrait of Emilie Flöge or Portrait of Adele

Bloch-Bauer I. (Interestingly, the combination of the different patterns behind Adele Bloch-Bauer even looks like a hanging kimono, turning in a train.) This approach allowed the artist not only to focus attention entirely on a model and her dress but, consciously or sub-consciously, to create a contest between the two. Arguably, in many instances a garment became a solo winner, while a female body (typically represented by a few islands of three-dimensional forms — a face and hands) is obscured or lost within the surrounding intense abstract rhythm of a dress. This unorthodox strategy indicates that instead of searching for an ideal body within the context of fin de siècle Viennese taste, Klimt seems to start more and more frequently to search for an ideal garment. In this respect, it is important to mention that the kimono's chief function is not to operate as a garment that reveals or accentuates the body and its natural curves but rather to completely "consume" or hide it, providing the field for the display and admiration of its decoration instead of the body within. Perhaps this attribute stimulated Klimt's accentuation of garments in his painting starting from the 1900s.

Carefully scrutinising the kimono's lavish decoration, Klimt comprehended many of its intrinsic characteristics and accordingly successfully assimilated them in his art. Thus, discussing the kimono's patterns and their distribution on fabrics, Anna Jackson indicates that the surface of early kimono (late sixteenth–early seventeenth century) divided into irregular pattern areas. Such "compartmentalisation" allowed Japanese artisans to approach the fabric like a canvas and distribute patterns and motifs in highly asymmetrical manner, habitually leaving huge area of the fabric, and accordingly of the garment, "unoccupied."²³ We observe an analogous characteristic in Klimt's painting. The first examples of the "compartmentalisation" are already evident in *The Faculty Paintings* (Philosophy, Medicine and Jurisprudence, 1897–1907), where Klimt introduced bold asymmetrical compositions with expressive and seemingly empty or "unoccupied" flat areas. The artist frequently utilised this approach, as is evident in *Portrait of Emilie Flöge*, *The Tree Ages of Woman* (1905), *The Kiss*, *Mother with Children* (Family) (1909–1910), *Death and Life* (1910–1911), *The Bride* (1917), etc.

Another important field for Klimt's formal experimentations was landscape painting, in which he was "unequalled, even among the Impressionists, for his complete disregard of depth in a landscape or landscape expression," as Mabuchi notes.²⁴ Turning back to the kimono, Jackson additionally stresses that "over time such compartmentalisation gave way to an approach that considered the garment as a whole, and in which technique and motif, pattern and ground were fully integrated."²⁵ Notably, a comparable "integration" is present within the majority of Klimt's landscapes, such as *Roses under Trees* (Figure 7), *Poppy Field* (Figure 8), *Farm Garden* (1907), *Apple Tree I* (1911), *Italian Garden Landscape*



Figure 7

Roses under Trees, Gustav Klimt, 1904,
oil on canvas, 1100x1100mm,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France, RF 1980–195.

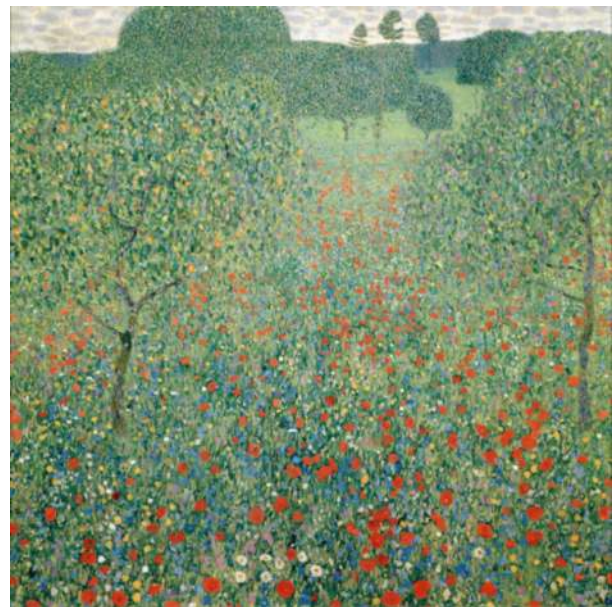


Figure 8

Poppy Field, Gustav Klimt, 1907,
oil on canvas, 1100x1100mm,
Belvedere, Vienna, Austria, 5166.

(1913), and *Garden Landscape with Hilltop* (1916), etc. All of these meditative and kimono-like, or highly decorative, canvasses possess unique poetic continuity and unity of the myriad of “the particles of colour,”²⁶ which Klimt masterfully “wove” into his “layered landscape zones.”²⁷ Mabuchi precisely points out that in Klimt’s landscapes “foliage, grassy fields, and occasionally a watery surface assume the role of ‘ground.’ Each of these forms has lost its original character as they have been simply converted into separate decorative art elements that produce particular surfaces or shapes.” As a result of such an approach, the scholar continues, “even while the compositions are still at a remove from complete abstraction and somehow remain landscapes, they have become essentially an assemblage of beautifully decorative planes.”²⁸ Looking at this phenomena from the point of view of Klimt’s interest in the kimono, it seems logical and quite reasonable that the artist manipulates various landscape forms and “background” similarly to Japanese artisans, who placed such forms into “integrated” decorations of the kimono. Thus, the kimono might have inspired the most lasting and predominant characteristics of Klimt’s new style. On one hand, Klimt’s painting exhibited his predilection towards compartmentalisation and an asymmetrical distribution of forms; on the other hand, Klimt’s landscapes revealed his interest in total dissolvent of forms and transformation of them into “decorative planes.” Both of these characteristics coexisted starting from around the 1900s onwards.

The kimono possesses numerous exotic aspects which fascinated the fin de siècle western world. One of them was eroticism. As Nancy Corwin emphasises,

astonishingly, the kimono has been associated with the virtuousness of domestic simplicity and good taste, as well as with eroticism and sensuality. Because it has been perceived as a feminine garment from a country with radically different notions of women’s status and sexuality, the kimono has become a vehicle for expressing controversial ideas about gender and sexuality.²⁹

For Klimt, the kimono was an ideal garment which could conveniently hide and reveal as well as compliment a “fragrant body and burning red lips.”³⁰ Therefore, Klimt, as many other modernists, frequently “downplayed heavily erotic overtones” associated with the kimono and ultimately its wearer as we see in the paintings *Friends II* (1917), *Lady with a Fan* (1917), *Judith II (Salome)* (1909), etc.³¹ In these paintings, the kimono-inspired dresses provided the artist with welcome flexibility and fluidity of a garment, which he manipulates according to his explicit or implicit plans. For instance, in *Hope II*, (Figure 9), an open kimono-type garment, freely hangs on models’ shoulders, conveniently and naturally revealing a beautiful pregnant body. Thus, in Klimt’s painting, a model’s dress became subject to a remorseless process of disintegration or ruination as a traditional garment in order to re-emerge as a new outfit, suitable for the new age. Moreover, after the 1900s, Klimt’s depiction of models’ garments confidently vindicates his search for a new mode of expression that could combine eastern and western traditions. In this pursuit, the artist not only “tailored” dresses for his models via his brush but also created designs for numerous garments for his lifelong friend Emilia Flöge.

Klimt’s Collaboration with Emilie Flöge: “Dream Dresses”

Western women, loosely clad in kimono, appear not only in the paintings of modern artists. Leaving the comfort of a private setting where the kimono was “worn in the style of dressing gown,” they bravely wore genuine kimono to the theatre or opera and, ultimately, made striking fashion statements.³² In fin de siècle Vienna, increasing enthusiasm for the kimono was also gaining momentum due to the Women’s Dress Reform Movement, which was spreading all over the west. The Movement was based on the premise that tight corsets were harmful to a woman’s body and actively advocated loosely fitted dresses which, aside from health concerns, were also more practical. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the corset, viewed as a form of social control, became a subject of intense debates all over Europe including the Viennese café-houses.

The kimono, undoubtedly, disturbed the status quo in Viennese art and fashion, opening numerous doors for creative minds. Importantly, after 1900 the popularity of the kimono-type garment, according



Figure 9

Hope II, Gustav Klimt, 1907/08, oil, gold, and platinum on canvas,
The Museum of Modern Art, New York United States, 468.1978.

to Corwin, “was aesthetically motivated. The wearer became a display hanger for a work of art, and the canvaslike qualities of the kimono inspired artists such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Wassily Kandinsky, Sonia Delaunay, and others to design clothes.”³³ Once more, western artists, including Gustav Klimt, were among the keenest advocates of the kimono in the field of fashion. The first indication of Klimt’s interest in the kimono as a garment was already evident around the 1900s. The artist suddenly started to wear a long, loose garment which had characteristics of kimono (Figure 10), on a regular basis. Thus, Ohta during his short visit, as mentioned earlier, immediately noticed Klimt’s attire, which he describes as “an indigo-blue gown resembling a kimono.”³⁴

Gustav Klimt was notoriously a very private person, however, as an exception, he shared many of his creative plans and ideas with his life-long friend, Emilie Flöge. One of their mutual passions was their interest in Japanese art, especially in the kimono. Indicatively, in one of the photographs, both Klimt and Emilie Flöge stand close to each other, wearing kimono-type long robes (Figure 11). In 1904, Emilie Flöge and her sisters Helene and Paula opened the famous fashion house *Schwestern Flöge* (Flöge Sisters) at 1b Mariahilferstrasse, one of the busiest and shopping-friendly streets of Vienna. Emilie Flöge was a successful business woman, who “uniquely combined talent and flair with technical and artistic skill. Her two sisters were simply leaders of the corps de ballet supporting the prima ballerina.”³⁵ Consequently, the salon quickly became very popular and soon she employed two or three cutters and up to eighty seamstresses. Moreover, Emilie Flöge “had the courage to furnish the salon rooms in modern style and not in the Victorian style then favoured by most fashion houses.”³⁶ Appeal for novelty set Emilie Flöge every year on the road to Paris (sometimes even to London) to examine new trends in the fashion world and bring back to Vienna some trimmings, buttons, different accessories, etc. It would



Figure 10

Gustav Klimt in the garden of the Villa Paulick in Seewalchen am Attersee, Austria, 13/14 September 1913, Friedrich G Walker, 1913, autochrome lumière, private collection.



Figure 11

Emilie Flöge and Gustav Klimt in the garden of the Villa Oleander in Kammerl am Attersee, Austria, 1910, gelatin silver print, private collection.

not be surprising if the idea of opening an atelier was encouraged by Klimt. In any event, Klimt's very close contacts with Emilie Flöge and her family resulted in his new and serious evocation — an interest in fashion. In the early 1900s, pursuing the matter of the kimono as a garment, Klimt started to design experimental dresses that echoed the spirit of the kimono in a variety of different ways, which were implemented by Emilie Flöge and her atelier. Based on this fact, the term “Klimt-Flöge,” is adopted to refer to Klimt's dress designs implemented by Emilie Flöge.

It seems that during the summer holidays (which the artist for two decades regularly spent with the Flöge family in the Salzkammergut, a famous lake region in the Alps, near Salzburg) Klimt's cooperation with Emilie Flöge was the most intense and productive. Thus, in the summer of 1906, during annual holidays in Litzlberg at Attersee in the Salzkammergut, Klimt personally took numerous photos of Emilie Flöge dressed in different Reformkleider (Reform-dresses) (Figures 12–15). In the same year, ten of these photographs were published in the German magazine “*Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*.”³⁷ Emilie Flöge gracefully modelled all “Art Dresses” in the garden. Interestingly, her poses in these photographs, as well as in many others, are highly reminiscent of the depiction of Japanese women in ukiyo-e or famous “images of the ‘beauty turning to look back’ (mikaeri bijin).”³⁸ All dresses published in the magazine share many common features among themselves as well as echo the kimono in various ways. Describing these dresses, Fischer points out that “Priestly Muse of the Secession” (as he dubbed Emilie Flöge) was wearing “loose kimono-type” gowns.³⁹ At the same time, Koeck believes that all ten dresses

display a crossover between naturalness and pose, flowing lines and stiffness, that is typical of the carefully staged lifestyle of Viennese Secessionism. The designs known to us all exhibit the same basic pattern, varying only in the combination of materials chosen. The yoke is smooth and flat from neck to mid-chest, attached either to a body-hugging skirt or a wider, gently falling, pleated dress.⁴⁰



Figure 12

Emilie Flöge in the Mayr Hof garden, Litzlberg am Attersee, Austria, Loose Dress No I, Gustav Klimt, 1906, gelatin silver print, private collection.



Figure 13

Emilie Flöge in Litzlberg am Attersee, Austria, Loose Dress No VI, Gustav Klimt, 1906, gelatin silver print, private collection.



Figure 14

Emilie Flöge in Litzlberg am Attersee, Austria,
Loose Dress No VIII, Gustav Klimt, 1906,
gelatin silver print, private collection.



Figure 15

Emilie Flöge in Litzlberg am Attersee, Austria,
Loose Dress No IX, Gustav Klimt, 1906,
gelatin silver print, private collection.

Generally, in Klimt's garments, instead of curved lines we observe complete elimination of the waist, which creates a simple linear structure and reinforces the fluidity of uninterrupted lines as in a kimono without a sash. It seems that the issue of unrestricted silhouette, central for the Reform Movement, was equally important for Klimt and Flöge.

Klimt undoubtedly noticed the architectonic quality of the kimono in the depiction of Japanese women in ukiyo-e. While in Klimt's portraits this aspect is often distracted by the busy rhythm of diverse patterns, the artist successfully accentuates it in the design of the garments. The architectonic quality in the dresses published in the German magazine as well as created later is well emphasised both by the cut as well as the way Emilie Flöge models them. For instance, it is evident that the dress designed in 1910 (Figure 16) is carefully arranged in order to convey its expressive and extensive forms. Interestingly, Klimt's obsession with the kimono's forms seeped even into his landscape painting. Thus, in *The Sunflower* (Figure 17), Klimt, depicts a beautiful tall plant as perhaps a personification of Emilie Flöge or even himself. The numerous and clearly defined leaves are stacked one on top of another, composing an expressive architectonic silhouette reminiscent of a kimono. The addition of the flowers at the bottom brings a natural asymmetrical flow reminiscent of a kimono's decoration.

Another considerable difference between the kimono and western garments, which was observed and creatively reinterpreted by Klimt, was the approach to fabric. Akiko Fukai accentuates that "the kimono fundamentally differed from western couture, which constructed clothing with small pieces of cloth specially cut to fit specific parts of the human body."⁴¹ Klimt also designed dresses with long, wide, and most importantly undisturbed panels, which freely flow down from the shoulders to the ground. Such panels were ideal fields for the display of fabric. Klimt and Emilie Flöge regularly selected beautiful fabrics – ones easily imagined on a kimono – decorated with big stylised flowers or other natural forms as well as simple geometric patterns, produced by the Wiener Werkstätte. Such fabrics were popular not only among the Viennese. Heather Hess points out that the Wiener Werkstätte produced "the



Figure 16

Emilie Flöge in a Reformkleid in the garden of the Villa Oleander in Kammerl am Attersee, Austria, 1910, gelatin silver print, private collection.



Figure 17

The Sunflower, Gustav Klimt, 1907, oil on canvas, 1100x1100mm, private collection.

brightly patterned, hand-printed fabrics that ... appeared in (the famous Paris fashion designer, Paul) Poiret's designs. With its bold colours and wild prints, Viennese design appeared to contemporary critics as another manifestation of the oriental craze."⁴² Undoubtedly, the eastern visual notes of such fabrics attracted Klimt and Flöge. In a series of photographs of Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge in a row boat from 1909, she wears a dress which echoes the spirit of the kimono most closely. Its features, such as a V-shape neck, long and wide bell sleeves, straight silhouette, and beautiful fabric with big stylised flowers, are highly reminiscent of the Japanese garment.

The kimono's long and elaborately decorated sleeves probably stimulated Klimt and Flöge's experimentations with the sleeves in their dresses. Traditionally, the Japanese wear at least two kimono at once. During cold seasons, a few kimono were put on top of one another. In this case, the sleeves of each kimono are put inside the sleeves of the top one, creating multiple "nesting" layers of different fabrics. This peculiar characteristic might have encouraged Klimt and Flöge's interest in creating elaborate layering of the sleeves. In a number of the Klimt-Flöge garments, the sleeves have a few folds or incorporate numerous layers of fabric and construct an affluent cascade effect. Formally, wide loose sleeves compliment extensive forms of the Klimt-Flöge dresses as well as share some characteristics, namely, of being more comfortable and allowing freedom of movement.

In the Klimt-Flöge dresses, decoration is commonly placed on the sleeves or centre of a dress via incorporation of an elegant horizontal or vertical yoke. Frequently, such a yoke offers contrasts with the rest of a dress and, accordingly, revitalises it, as for instance, in the elegant white dress (Figure 13), adorned with the contrasting black and white yoke and high collar. The uroko (fish, snake or dragon scale) pattern used here was popular in Japan as well as among the Viennese Secessionists. Aside from the kimono, it seems that Klimt and Emilie Flöge attempted to incorporate the obi-form into their design. The obi is the principal and frequently the only adornment of the kimono. It is unlikely that Klimt actually saw many, if any, Japanese women dressed in a kimono, held by obi. Nevertheless, photographs and ukiyo-e, which were disseminated all over the west, provided ample opportunities for



Figure 18

Emilie Flöge in front of the Villa Paulick in Seewalchen am Attersee, Austria, 13/14 September 1913, Friedrich G Walker, autochrome lumière, private collection.



Figure 19

Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer II, Gustav Klimt, 1912, oil on canvas, 1900x1200mm, private collection.

studying not only the kimono but also the obi. Thus, the dress made in 1913 (Figure 18) is decorated with a long rectangular vertical yoke reminiscent of a sash. Besides, Emilie Flöge has a very long scarf, almost as long as a traditional obi, that freely hangs on her shoulders and virtually reaches the ground. Klimt previously used the same detail, an extra-long, obi-like scarf, in some of his paintings, for instance, in *Portrait of Gertrud Loew* (1902) and *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer II* (Figure 19). These transparent silk scarves were produced by the Wiener Werkstätte. Apparently, Poiret was also deeply affected by these scarves and obtained many of them.⁴³ In general, Klimt-Flöge dresses, based on simple linear structures, offered the wearers freedom of movement. At the same time, exerting elegance and luxury, Klimt-Flöge “dream dresses” did not target functionality but nevertheless were emancipating and intriguing. Moreover, all of Klimt’s dresses, as Fischer underlines, “are composed with the person intended to wear them in mind, unrepeatable, and as personal and individual as a portrait of the master.”⁴⁴

Klimt’s cooperation with Emilie Flöge did not pass unnoticed by the Viennese. In 1911, the Wiener Werkstätte obtained a licence to deal with women’s fashion. They were to go on to play a significant role in the evolution of Viennese fashion. In the autumn of 1911, Poiret, who also frequently utilised the kimono’s forms in his garments, came to Vienna. The Austrian capital was one of the stops on his tour through Central and Eastern Europe. Interestingly, during his trip, the Frenchman met not only with the leading members of the Wiener Werkstätte but also with Gustav Klimt, indicating that Klimt’s stature in the fashion world was known and recognised.⁴⁵ Besides close collaboration with Klimt, “Priestly Muse of the Secession” was in close contact with Klimt’s circle of friends, most of which were the members of the Wiener Werkstätte. Klimt actively collaborated with Emilie Flöge until the end of his career. After Klimt’s death in 1918, Flöge continued to advocate innovative loose dresses and her atelier

was functioning until the late 1930s. It was closed only in 1938 after the Anschluss (the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany) since most of her clients were Jewish, whose lives were torn apart during the Second World War. Thus, Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge played seminal roles in the evolution of Viennese fashion at the beginning of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, their impact, especially Emilie Flöge's, has not been adequately evaluated and acknowledged. Or, as Anna Furman recently states, "Flöge, a successful businesswoman and fearless, trailblazing designer, remains a hidden gem – largely unknown and unrecognised in the fashion history."⁴⁶

While in Japan the kimono masters often drew inspiration from Japanese paintings, Klimt turned to the kimono, creating his own version of the Gesamtkunstwerk. Moreover, while for some western artists the kimono was just an exotic motif, for Klimt it was one of the main stimuli behind his formal experimentations and ultimately some of the most distinct stylistic changes that occurred after the 1900s. Or as Mabuchi accentuates,

the use of the same materials in different cultures gives birth to different forms of expression. The fascinating aspect of Japonisme lies not simply in the exertion and acceptance of influence, nor is it simply a question of quality. When confronted with the same motif or problem, the visual art methods that occur in various cultures give rise to different meanings.⁴⁷

The kimono's simple geometric forms and exuberant decoration exerted a strong impact on fin de siècle Vienna. As this paper illustrates, the kimono profoundly influenced not only Klimt's art but also stimulated his and Emilie Flöge's cutting-edge experimentations in the field of fashion. Klimt's engagement in the process of remorseless disintegration of women's traditional garments and their frivolous manipulation resulted in freshness and spontaneity of his dresses. Klimt's innovative garments, painted and designed, indicate that the essential ideas inherent in the kimono were again and again revitalised and deeply engrained in Viennese culture.

Endnotes

- ¹ Nancy A Corwin, "The Kimono Mind: Japonisme in American Culture" in Rebecca A T Stevens and Yoshiko Iwamoto Wada, eds, *The Kimono Inspiration: Art and Art-to-Wear in America*, Pomegranate Artbooks, San Francisco, United States, 1996, p 23.
- ² Yoko Woodson, "Forming the National Style: Classical Kimono in Historical Review" in Michael Morrison and Lorna Price, eds, *Classical Kimono from the Kyoto National Museum: Four Centuries of Fashion*, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, United States, 1997, p 10.
- ³ Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts*, Columbia University Press, New York, United States, 2012, p 61.
- ⁴ Roger Pineau, ed, *The Japan Expedition, 1852-1854: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C Perry*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, United States, 1968, p 181.
- ⁵ Ibid, p 186.
- ⁶ Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art Since 1858*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2001, p 20.
- ⁷ Koichi Koshi, "What's Japanese About Klimt" in Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger, eds, *Verborgene Impressionen: Japonismus in Wien 1870-1930 [Hidden Impressions, Japonisme in Vienna 1870-1930]*, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, Austria, 1990, pp 102-108.
- ⁸ Akiko Mabuchi, "Klimt and the Decorative: Japonisme in Viennese Painting" in Johannes Wieninger and Akiko Mabuchi, eds, *Wien no Japonisumu, [Japonisme in Vienna]*, Tōkyō Shinbun, Tokyo, Japan, 1994, pp 209-212. Moreover, Mabuchi is one of a few scholars who, raising numerous questions concerning the decorative qualities of Klimt's art, ultimately delves into the issues concerning the emergence of Klimt's stylistic changes.

- ⁹ Julia Krejsa and Peter Pantzer, *Japanisches Wien*, [Japanese Vienna], Herold, Vienna, Austria, 1989.
- ¹⁰ Wolfgang G Fischer, *Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge: An Artist and His Muse*, Lund Humphries, London, England, 1992.
- ¹¹ Angela Völker, "Klimt, Textile, and Fashion" in Tobias G Natter, ed, *Klimt and The Women of Vienna's Golden Age 1900-1918*, Prestel, Munich, 2016, pp 274-291. Discussing Klimt's interest in the different range of the textiles, Völker mentions that he was also interested in Japanese textiles.
- ¹² Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alfred Weidinger, eds, *Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge: Photographs*, Prestel, Munich, Germany, 2012.
- ¹³ Clare Rose, *Art Nouveau Fashion*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 2014.
- ¹⁴ Hanel Koeck, "Fashion and Society: The Artist-Designed Dress" in Christian Brandstätter, ed, *Vienna 1900 and the Heroes of Modernism*, Thames and Hudson, New York, United States, 2005, pp 211-225.
- ¹⁵ Mary L Wagener, "Fashion and Feminism in Fin de Siècle Vienna," *Woman's Art Journal*, 10, 1989, pp 29-33.
- ¹⁶ Tag Gronberg, *Vienna: City of Modernity, 1890-1914*, Peter Lang, Oxford, England, 2007.
- ¹⁷ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, Reaktion Books, London, England, 2014, p 141.
- ¹⁸ Rebecca A T Stevens and Yoshiko Iwamoto Wada, eds, *The Kimono Inspiration: Art and Art-to-wear in America*, Pomegranate Artbooks, San Francisco, United States, 1996, p 18.
- ¹⁹ Peter Pantzer, "Japonisme in Austria or Art Knows No Boundaries," in Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger, eds, *Verborgene Impressionen. Japonismus in Wien 1870-1930*, [Hidden Impressions, Japonisme in Vienna 1870-1930], Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, Austria, 1990, p 24.
- ²⁰ Frank Whitford, *Japanese Prints and Western Painters*, Studio Vista, London, England, 1977, p 240.
- ²¹ Verena Traeger, "Klimt as a Collector," in Tobias G Natter, et al, eds, *Klimt: Up Close and Personal: Paintings, Letters, Insights*, Brandstätter, Vienna, Austria, 2012, pp 108-125.
- ²² Kijiro Ohta and Gustav Klimt, *Zu Besuch bei Klimt in Wien: Das Atelier in Unter-St Veit in Wien*, [A Visit to Klimt in Vienna: The Studio in Unter-St Veit in Vienna], Bibliothek der Provinz, Vienna, Austria, 2005, p 109.
- ²³ Anna Jackson, *V & A Pattern: Kimono*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 2010, p 7. The eighteenth-century kimono possesses similar characteristics; see Figure 2.
- ²⁴ Mabuchi, op cit, p 211.
- ²⁵ Jackson, op cit. A similar approach is evident in some kimono in Utamoro's print, see Figure 1.
- ²⁶ Alfred Weidinger, ed, *Gustav Klimt*, Pauline Cumbers, trans, Prestel, Munich, Germany, 2007, p 282.
- ²⁷ Tobias G Natter, ed, *Gustav Klimt: Complete Paintings*, Taschen, Cologne, Germany, 2012, p 603.
- ²⁸ Mabuchi, op cit, p 211.
- ²⁹ Corwin, op cit, p 24.
- ³⁰ Arthur Schnitzler, *Dream Story*, J M Q Davies, trans, Penguin Books, London, England, 2016, p 42.
- ³¹ Corwin, op cit, p 25.
- ³² Anna Jackson, "Dress in the Meiji Period: Change and Continuity" in Anna Jackson, ed, *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion: The Khalili Collection*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2015, p 116.
- ³³ Corwin, op cit, p 56.
- ³⁴ Ohta, op cit, p 108.
- ³⁵ Fischer, op cit, p 39.
- ³⁶ Christian Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting*, H N Abrams, New York, United States, 1994, p 239.
- ³⁷ *Deutsche Kunst und Decoration*, [German Art and Decoration], Volume XIX, 1906, pp 65-73.

- ³⁸ Akiko Fukai, "The Kimono and Parisian Mode" in Annie Van Assche, ed, *Fashioning Kimono: Dress and Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Japan: the Montgomery Collection*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 2005, p 51.
- ³⁹ Fischer, op cit, p 93.
- ⁴⁰ Koeck, op cit, p 214.
- ⁴¹ Fukai, op cit, p 50.
- ⁴² Heather Hess, "The Lure of Vienna: Poiret and the Wiener Werkstätte" in Harold Koda and Andrew Bolton, eds, *Poiret*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, 2007, p 39.
- ⁴³ Fischer, op cit, pp 48-59.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, p 96.
- ⁴⁵ Peter Noever, ed, *Yearning for Beauty. The Wiener Werkstätte and the Stoclet House*, MAK, Vienna, Austria, 2006, pp 90-93.
- ⁴⁶ Anna Furman, "Before Coco Chanel There Was Emilie Flöge: A Designer the Fashion Industry Forgot," <http://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/art-books-music/a12241915/klimt-muse-emilie-flöge-forgotten-fashion-designer/>, accessed 19 September 2017.
- ⁴⁷ Mabuchi, op cit, p 212.

Bibliography

Published

- Corwin, Nancy A, "The Kimono Mind: Japonisme in American Culture" in Stevens, Rebecca A T and Wada, Yoshiko Iwamoto, eds, *The Kimono Inspiration: Art and Art-to-Wear in America*, Pomegranate Artbooks, San Francisco, United States, 1996.
- Deutsche Kunst und Decoration*, [*German Art and Decoration*], Volume XIX, 1906.
- Fischer, Wolfgang G, *Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge: An Artist and His Muse*, Lund Humphries, London, England, 1992.
- Fukai, Akiko, "The Kimono and Parisian Mode" in Van Assche, Annie, ed, *Fashioning Kimono: Dress and Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Japan: the Montgomery Collection*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 2005.
- Gronberg, Tag, *Vienna: City of Modernity, 1890-1914*, Peter Lang, Oxford, England, 2007.
- Hess, Heather, "The Lure of Vienna: Poiret and the Wiener Werkstätte" in Koda, Harold and Bolton, Andrew, eds, *Poiret*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, 2007.
- Husslein-Arco, Agnes and Weidinger, Alfred, eds, *Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge: Photographs*, Prestel, Munich, Germany, 2012.
- Jackson, Anna, "Dress in the Meiji Period: Change and Continuity" in Jackson, Anna, ed, *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion: The Khalili Collection*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2015.
- Jackson, Anna, *V & A Pattern: Kimono*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 2010.
- Kawakatsu, Ken'ichi, *Kimono*, Japan Travel Bureau, Tokyo, Japan, 1954.
- Koeck, Hanel, "Fashion and Society: The Artist-Designed Dress" in Brandstätter, Christian, ed, *Vienna 1900 and the Heroes of Modernism*, Thames and Hudson, New York, United States, 2005.

- Koshi, Koichi, "What's Japanese About Klimt" in *Verborgene Impressionen: Japonismus in Wien 1870-1930*, Peter, and Wieninger, Johannes, eds, *Wien 1870-1930*, [*Hidden Impressions, Japonisme in Vienna 1870-1930*], Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, Austria, 1990.
- Krejsa, Julia and Pantzer, Peter, *Japanisches Wien*, [*Japanese Vienna*], Herold, Vienna, Austria, 1989.
- Mabuchi, Akiko, "Klimt and the Decorative: Japonisme in Viennese Painting" in Wieninger, Johannes, and Mabuchi, Akiko, eds, *Wien no Japonismus*, [*Japonisme in Vienna*], Tōkyō Shinbun, Tokyo, Japan, 1994.
- Milhaupt, Terry Satsuki, *Kimono: A Modern History*, Reaktion Books, London, England, 2014.
- Natter, Tobias G, ed, *Gustav Klimt: Complete Paintings*, Taschen, Cologne, Germany, 2012.
- Nebehay, Christian, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting*, H N Abrams, New York, United States, 1994.
- Noever, Peter, ed, *Yearning for Beauty: The Wiener Werkstätte and the Stoclet House*, MAK, Vienna, Austria, 2006.
- Ohta, Kijiro and Klimt, Gustav, *Zu Besuch bei Klimt in Wien: Das Atelier in Unter-St Veit in Wien*, [*A Visit to Klimt in Vienna: The Studio in Unter-St Veit in Vienna*], Bibliothek der Provinz, Vienna, Austria, 2005.
- Pantzer, Peter, "Japonisme in Austria or: Art Knows No Boundaries," in Pantzer, Peter, and Wieninger, Johannes, eds, *Verborgene Impressionen. Japonismus in Wien 1870-1930*, [*Hidden Impressions, Japonisme in Vienna 1870-1930*], Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, Austria, 1990.
- Pineau, Roger, ed, *The Japan Expedition, 1852-1854: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C Perry*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, United States, 1968.
- Rose, Clare *Art Nouveau Fashion*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 2014.
- Schnitzler, Arthur, *Dream Story*, Davies, J M Q, trans, Penguin Books, London, England, 2016.
- Shirane, Haruo, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts*, Columbia University Press, New York, United States, 2012.
- Stevens, Rebecca A T and Wada, Yoshiko Iwamoto, eds, *The Kimono Inspiration: Art and Art-to-Wear in America*, Pomegranate Artbooks, San Francisco, United States, 1996.
- Traeger, Verena, "Klimt as a Collector," in Natter, Tobias G, Smola, Franz and Weinhaupl, Peter, eds, *Klimt: Up Close and Personal: Paintings, Letters, Insights*, Brandstätter, Vienna, Austria, 2012, pp 108-125.
- Völker, Angela, "Klimt, Textile, and Fashion" in Natter, Tobias G, ed, *Klimt and The Women of Vienna's Golden Age 1900-1918*, Prestel, Munich, Germany, 2016, pp 274-291.
- Wagener, Mary L, "Fashion and Feminism in Fin de Siècle Vienna," *Woman's Art Journal*, 10, 1989.
- Weidinger, Alfred, ed, *Gustav Klimt*, Cumbers, Pauline, trans, Prestel, Munich, Germany, 2007.
- Whitford, Frank, *Japanese Prints and Western Painters*, Studio Vista, London, England, 1977.
- Wichmann, Siegfried, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art since 1858*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2001.

Woodson, Yoko “Forming the National Style: Classical Kimono in Historical Review” in Morrison, Michael, and Price, Lorna, eds, *Classical Kimono from the Kyoto National Museum: Four Centuries of Fashion*, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, United States, 1997.

Internet Sources

Furman, Anna, “Before Coco Chanel There Was Emilie Flöge: A Designer the Fashion Industry Forgot,” <http://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/art-books-music/a12241915/klimt-muse-emilie-flöge-forgotten-fashion-designer>, accessed 19 September 2017.

Acknowledgements

This paper is a part of ongoing research on a monograph, focusing on the Japonisme in Gustav Klimt’s oeuvre. I would like to express my gratitude to Anna Jackson and James Ulak for their comments and inspiration as well as Nancy Micklewright, Reiko Yoshimura, Kathryn Phillips, Sherrie Rook, Olga Kozubska-Andrusiv, and Clinton Shiells for their assistance and support for my research.

Copyright © 2018 Svitlana Shiells
Email: svitlanavfs@gmail.com

Svitlana Shiells has taught at various universities in Ukraine, America, and Austria. The focus of her research is Japonisme in Eastern and Central European modern art. For several years she was a research associate at the Free and Sackler Galleries at The Smithsonian Institution. Recently, she has developed many new courses, including one on Japonisme at George Mason University, Fairfax, United States. Dr Shiells presents her research widely at numerous conferences, lectures, and seminars, for instance, at Tokyo University of the Arts; College Art Association, Harvard University (a seminar on Japonisme); the Library of Congress; Austrian Embassy in Washington DC, and conferences in Budapest, London, etc. Dr Shiells is currently working on a monograph on Japonisme in Gustav Klimt’s oeuvre.

Dressed to Disappear: Fashion as Camouflage during the Second World War

Emma Treleaven

Abstract

This paper examines the roles that dress and fashion played in the work of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) during the Second World War. After the creation of SOE in 1940, a policy was established for the use of civilian dress as a form of camouflage. This policy enabled SOE agents to practice espionage and sabotage behind enemy lines while hiding in plain sight. By using dress to blend into specific European areas, agents were able to cross the borders and boundaries imposed by the ongoing conflict to wage guerrilla warfare against the Axis powers. The correct dress would allow an agent to effectively disappear, while any incorrect aspect of dress could be a matter of life and death.

“Put a man in a bathing costume in the depth of winter and walk him across Piccadilly Circus: this spectacle will provoke stares, comment and probably police intervention. Dress the same man in full evening dress and have him wade into the sea, and similar circumstances will result. Both actions are completely alien to the background, and are therefore incongruous.”¹

Introduction

Throughout Nazi dominated Europe, small, untrained groups were beginning to organise themselves to carry out minor acts of resistance against their German occupiers and controllers.² The execution of these acts was often messy, and led to many early resistance groups being violently disbanded, or reparations being taken from the local area.³ A subversive or clandestine group is able to take advantage of local knowledge and informal organisation to move quickly and quietly against their enemy, causing the maximum amount of damage in a minimum period of time.⁴

In July 1940, the Minister of Economic Warfare, Hugh Dalton, officially formed the Special Operation Executive (SOE), an organisation to conduct sabotage, espionage, reconnaissance, guerilla warfare and assist resistance groups throughout the world.⁵ Although Hugh Dalton officially created SOE, it was Winston Churchill who gave it the directive to “Set Europe ablaze.”⁶

Between 1940 and 1946, SOE revolutionised spy warfare. It introduced new coding systems, created innovative and effective sabotage techniques, liaised with countless nationalities, organised entire secret armies, ran escape routes, spread propaganda, sunk ships, derailed trains, halted the Nazi production of atomic materials; anything and everything to hinder the Axis.⁷ Each of these operations was organised and run by a vast network of agents, most of whom were trained in England, and all reported to SOE Head Quarters in London.⁸

This paper endeavours to discover what role dress played in the wartime activities of the Special Operations Executive, including how these items of dress were created, and how they were used. While SOE was active almost worldwide, this paper will concentrate on its activities in Europe.

Agents would be expected to operate abroad successfully for months, possibly years at a time, completely blending into their environments. SOE began to recruit European immigrants and refugees, as well as British citizens fluent in another language, as knowledge of local language and customs would be crucial to the success of any operation.⁹ The next challenge was to make an agent blend in; it would not matter if their accent was perfect and their papers were in order, if an agent looked wrong or foreign they could easily be spotted and arrested.¹⁰ As Guy Hartcup explains, "Camouflage is the art of concealing that you are concealing."¹¹ Without the correct outer layer, there would be no concealment of the agent's purpose. This issue led to a creation of a section within the SOE known interchangeably as the Camouflage Department or Section, which was devoted to the creation of agents' dress.¹²

The efforts of the Camouflage Department were put on display in a private exhibition space known as Station XVb, or the Demonstration Room, in a closed wing of the Natural History Museum in London from June 1942 until January 1946. Among the explosive-filled dead rats, bomb-damaged suitcases and artificial logs, were cases containing displays of SOE-created dress. The exhibition was photographed at the end of the war for records purposes, and these photographs, which now reside in the National Archives at Kew, give an important insight into the level of time and attention that was devoted to giving an agent the correct appearance.

Knowledge of the different fashions, tailoring techniques and availability of materials throughout Europe was crucial to the success of any agent's outer shell of clothing and accessories. Each country or region would have its own sartorial vernacular, its own traditions for tailoring and dressing, as well as different shortages caused by the war. Fashions would also evolve differently in each country due to the lack of leadership from Paris during the Occupation, the materials available and the rationing policy in that part of Europe.¹³ Dressing an agent suitably with all of these variables in mind was crucial to allowing an agent to blend in sufficiently and to be successful in their subversive work.

Although the existence, but not the name, of the Special Operations Executive was known to the public immediately after the Second World War, its released exploits were confined to certain heroic tales.¹⁴ The vast majority of SOE's work was restricted by the Official Secrets Act, which still restricts certain documents today.¹⁵ The Official Secrets Act in combination with a fire in 1945 in the SOE records rooms that destroyed the majority of SOE's files, means that a great deal of information regarding this very secretive organisation is missing, lost, or unavailable to the public.¹⁶

This lack of official documentation means that any researcher endeavouring to discover the secrets of SOE must turn to the employees of the organisation itself for access to primary material. In the 1980s, the Imperial War Museum (IWM) recorded detailed interviews with many surviving members of SOE's staff and agents. From these interviews valuable insights into the workings of SOE can be gained, such as the day-to-day life of its employees, many details of which would have been part of the official records that have been lost. These interviews constitute a wealth of information that is unique, and many of them are accessible on the IWM website.

The lack of official documentation extends to material evidence. Very few items of SOE dress are known to survive, so visual evidence, even though it too is scarce, is crucial to expanding on writing and verbal description. The photograph album of Station XVb, or the Demonstration Room held by the National Archives is a key source for understanding what the items of dress and textiles looked like, how they were constructed, and how SOE viewed their importance in relation to other weapons of subversive warfare. While these photos are an important piece of primary research material, they do contain some gaps, such as women's dress, that can be partially filled with surviving examples.

Special Operation Executive's Policies on Dress

SOE recruited from the wide range of immigrants and refugees that fled to Britain, and trained agents in the crucial skills of running a resistance group.¹⁷ Knowledge of European languages, geography and culture would be crucial to an agent's success if they were to remain undercover for any length of time. Physical appearance was also taken into account, with preference toward those who had the supposedly typical traits of a national of the country section that was recruiting, or an Aryan appearance, in an effort to exploit the racial ideals of the Nazis.¹⁸ The would-be agent would also have to complete a series of interviews and rigorous training.¹⁹

SOE blended the barriers between working dress and fashionable dress in a practical military context, with fashion being used as a mimicry and camouflage technique.²⁰ A fashionable woman walking down a street with clothing that is neither the very latest fashion, or an out of date style of dress is not particularly noticeable. Agents were dressed with this middle ground of semi-fashionability in mind, and they were instructed and trained to maintain this level of balance between fashionable and unfashionable dress once in the field. To be successful at hiding, an agent would have had to maintain a discreetly appropriate appearance.

This idea of taking advantage of what is seen, and therefore supposedly known, by one's enemy is taken from camouflage theory. Behrens defines camouflage as "The act of hiding anything from your enemy."²¹ Most camouflage makes use of the idea that to distract from the whole, you must rearrange its parts. It attempts to break up the visual outline of the object and blend it into the surrounding environment, often using abstract shapes and natural colours. While this type of camouflage is important for most aspects of warfare, for the purposes of SOE's agents in Europe it was completely inappropriate.

How, then, was SOE to hide its agents successfully in Europe? "Mimicry is a special case of high similarity camouflage, in which a deceptive resemblance exists between two kinds of unrelated organisms."²² To camouflage something is to hide it, to mimic something is to hide it in plain sight. SOE took advantage of the patterns established by dress and fashionable dress in different European countries, then, relying on people's association with these patterns, copied them to camouflage agents.²³ By dressing as a person from the region in Europe where they were stationed, the agent would be "obtaining relief from predators by assuming the pattern and colouring of one defended in some way," in this case defended by nationality.²⁴ This specific type of mimicry is called Batesian Mimicry.²⁵ Unlike imitation, in which flaws are present and acknowledged, Batesian Mimicry relies on near perfection, as a minor mistake could be life or death. This is what SOE was attempting, the perfect mimicry of a mainland European citizen, with the training attending to the agent's mannerisms and language skills, and the Camouflage Department perfecting their appearance.

Dress was also used as means of concealment, such as a secret compartment in a handbag for important coding papers, or hidden silk escape maps in part of a suit jacket. May Shrubbs describes this in her IWM interview, "We had to hide them. You take out (something) such as shoulder pads, so you undo them out of a jacket, and put (the silk) in a shoulder pad."²⁶ Using silk coding materials as handkerchiefs, pocket squares, or headscarves, was also a common form of concealment.²⁷ By turning a suspicious item into a fashionable accessory, the agent relied on the selective attention of the enemy being in favour of the items they were being searched for, not an item of dress.

From the existing records, training manuals, camouflage theory, and employee accounts we are able to form a picture of SOE's policy on dress. While no official statements or documents survive or have been released to the public explicitly discussing the importance of dress to an agent, the inclusion of dress in training and the importance of camouflage show that SOE had a policy that used fashionable dress as a medium for their tactics in Europe. This would allow agents to blend into their surroundings by being supported by their appearance, allowing them to be active in their subversive roles. While being fashionable was not a primary concern to SOE, the social implications of fashionable dress meant fashion could be a valuable asset to an agent, and allowed an ordinary garment to become an important tool of subversive warfare.

Production and Supply

The creation of SOE's policy regarding dress was shaped by a diverse range of needs and opportunities, and how they put that policy into practice revolved around just as many contributing factors. To understand the challenges faced by SOE regarding the supply and production of their camouflage, we must first examine the restrictions placed on the clothing and textile industries in Europe by the Second World War.

During the interwar years, fashion was an industry dominated by Parisian design.²⁸ While each country had its own take on the revolving seasons of the Parisian couture, as well as its own national designers, the predominant style of the season was decided in Paris.²⁹ The supply of textiles and other fashion related materials, such as millinery supplies, was becoming increasingly international throughout Europe, with France importing 2,000 tonnes of silk from Japan and Italy and almost its entire stock of raw luxury furs from Russia and Scandinavia.³⁰

When war was officially declared in 1939, trade routes and recreational travel became increasingly dangerous.³¹ Information on the fashions of Paris became harder to come by, and due to the lack of imports, textile and clothing trades began to rely increasingly on existing stocks of raw materials.³² The shift in production to war materials, such as uniforms also meant that production of clothing had decreased greatly all over Europe.³³ The combination of high demand, low supply, and inflating prices of textiles, clothing and accessories, caused the introduction of clothes rationing in many European countries by the early 1940s.³⁴

While the implementation of clothing and accessory rationing was constant throughout Europe, what was rationed was not. Each country created its own system with its own rules, according to what was in high demand and what was in short supply.³⁵ The British government created rules that complimented rationing, such as limiting the number of pockets allowed on a coat, known as Austerity rules.³⁶ Similar guidelines were published throughout Europe.

The French fashion industry was first affected by the war due to the dwindling of its international buyers, and then by fewer suppliers.³⁷ While the couture industry was still alive, it changed as the German Army approached. Fashions became more practical, excluding full skirts and incorporating large pockets that could be used in place of handbags.³⁸ When the Germans occupied Paris on 22 June 1940 a rationing system was established in occupied France, and the creation of couture garments became strictly limited.³⁹

While the Parisian couture industry held its own during the war, the rest of France was crippled by the German demands for its raw materials and finished products.⁴⁰ Germany was attempting to use French industry to fill the gaps in the German textile and clothing production, but French infrastructure and the raw materials available were incapable of fulfilling the needs of two entire countries.⁴¹

The evolution of wartime dressing in occupied Europe posed a significant problem for the Special Operations Executive. Without extremely detailed knowledge of current restrictions, shortages and styles throughout Europe, SOE would never be able to clothe an agent with the degree of accuracy needed to allow them to pass as a native. It was the details that would lead to the successful mimicked appearance of a European national, but it was these details that were also the most problematic. An Axis soldier with no knowledge of French clothing might think an agent looked French, but the French citizens surrounding the agent would be able to tell something was incorrect.⁴² Brian Stonehouse discovered this upon his arrival in France,

There was no one in the car except a French woman. After the train started we started saying "nice day" and so on, and she looked at my shoes and said 'oh! I love your shoes. My brother bought shoes exactly the same as yours in London in '39. Can you imagine how I felt? I'd barely been in France a couple of hours and already been noticed because my shoes were conspicuous, because at that time you couldn't buy leather in France. So the first thing I did when I got to Lyons, I bought some shoes made of raffia.'⁴³

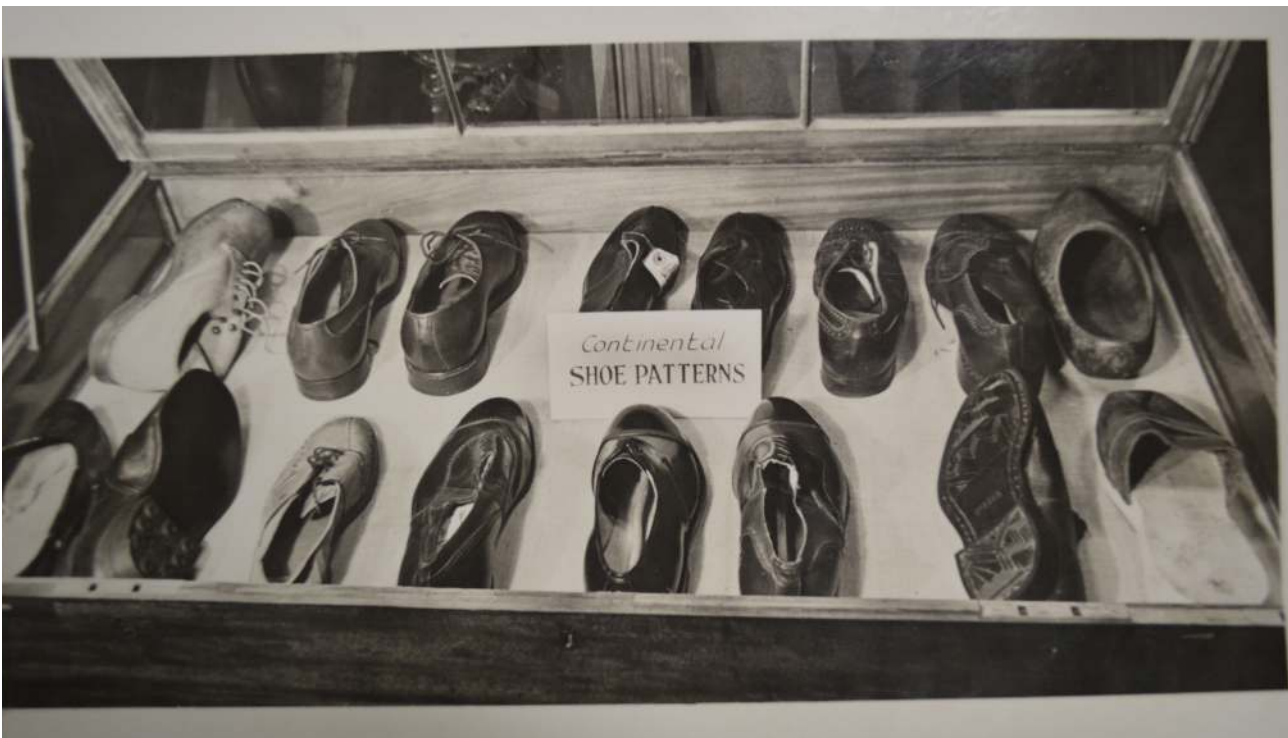


Figure 1

SOE made continental men's shoe patterns displayed in Station Xvb,
The National Archives, London, England, 1946, HS10/1.

This is an example of SOE's research being inadequate despite the variety of patterns available (Figure 1). It would only take one comment to be overheard by a soldier about a clothing mistake to put that agent in great jeopardy.

The regional differences in construction throughout Europe also posed a challenge. Details as small as the way braces are sewn together differed within different regions in France, something that would be known by the inhabitants of different regions. SOE was forced to take small construction details such as this into account. They set up a tailoring workshop within the Camouflage Section, and employed seamstresses with knowledge of European tailoring and design to make accurate clothing for agents being sent into occupied Europe.⁴⁴

We started making shirts for them in the Continental fashion, which was quite different to anything in England. We got old shirts from refugees again. We took them apart, we looked at the various collar shapes, looked at the way they were manufactured. We looked at the seams, and there certainly was an enormous difference between the side seams. The shape of the cuffs was different, the position of the buttonhole under the collar was entirely different, and sometimes the plackets of a shirt were different. The width of the stand of the collar was different ... They chose their own type of collar, because every man likes a different shape of a collar, but they were only allowed to choose from the Continental versions. So we made a lot of cardboard patterns of European shapes so that we would have a library for people to choose from.⁴⁵

The Demonstration Room contained two display cases devoted to the differences between English and Continental shirt making, possibly because shirts are an easy medium with which to show how drastic the differences can be (Figure 2). While shoes and hats are given individual display cases of their own, shirts were given the most attention out of any clothing or accessory in Station Xvb.

Using a combination of refugees' clothing, tailoring knowledge, advice from nationals of the countries that agents were being dropped into, and the occasional fashion report from Paris, the SOE Camouflage



Figure 2

Case from the Demonstration Room showing SOE made variations of continental shirts, The National Archives, London, 1946, HS10/1.

Section was able to create incredibly detailed clothing that would pass as continental and help them to hide agents “in plain sight” in their new environments.⁴⁶

Once an agent’s clothing and accessories had been made, they were then aged. Pristine, new clothing was difficult to come by in all parts of Europe, and would have made an agent conspicuous. The Camouflage Department recruited many of its members from the film industry, so they were experienced in the distressing and breaking down of garments. Bert Adlington, a member of the Camouflage Section described the process of aging a suit.⁴⁷

If an agent was going off to Germany he’d make him a suit in the German style, but it had to be aged up. There were no new suits in Germany, only for the real higher ups, so the suit had to age. Sometimes we would put the suit on and go to bed in it, keep it on for a week. It stunk to high heaven at the end of it because you never had a shower. After it got all creased naturally, I mean you put a jacket on, in two days you got crease marks, we used to get a very thin film of Vaseline, very thin, on your hand and just gently rub it over the creases. When you hung your jacket up, you got a dirt mark where the creases had been. You used “rotten stone” to dust on them to take the newness out. On the lapels you’d use a bit of very very fine sandpaper to take the gloss off, then again with the Vaseline and the rotten stone. You got a suit that was only twenty four hours old, you got a suit that looked six months old.⁴⁸

All agents’ pieces, would go through this ageing process, mimicking the wear of daily life and supporting their cover story (Figure 3). Knowledge of European wartime tailoring and fashions was a challenge to SOE, as was the acquisition of materials in a strictly rationed Britain.⁴⁹ With the entire country vying for a finite amount of supplies, every resource had to be shown that it was crucial before being released.



Figure 3

Display case from Station XVb showing various levels of ageing of men's undergarments and socks, The National Archives, London, England, 1946, HS10/1.

Surviving Examples

The ratio between surviving SOE dress and written works featuring SOE is a highly unbalanced one. Due to the nature of the organisation, the Official Secrets Act, and the fire in 1945,⁵⁰ the majority of the details of the Special Operations Executive were destroyed or kept secret until 2003 when the official documentation that survived began to be released.⁵¹ Although files were preserved, it appears that no archive of objects was kept. While examples of the SOE created clothing were used for display and training purposes, such as in Station XVb, these items have disappeared.

The lack of surviving objects from the Camouflage Section, while frustrating to the modern researcher, is a testament to their level of accuracy. SOE's goal was to eliminate their marks of making and context and replace them with false ones. If an agent was captured, their clothing would have been redistributed along with the thousands of other garments and possessions belonging to those from concentration camps or prisons.⁵² These garments were often spread throughout Germany, with the best pieces saved for German officials to keep for themselves, or take home for their families.⁵³ As no SOE clothing and accessories contained labels or any other identifying features, conclusive evidence that pieces came from SOE's workshops is impossible to establish.

Those agents who were not killed or captured put stresses on their clothing the same way civilians did. Due to rationing and shortages, clothing was precious during the war. This meant that clothing, whether an agent's or a civilian's, would usually have been worn until it was worn out. The British "Make do and Mend" campaign had similar counterparts all over Europe, but depending on where an agent was based and how long they were in occupied Europe, their clothing may have been worn out and become valueless, therefore not worth being kept.⁵⁴

There are no pieces that have entered the IWM's collection from SOE itself, but there are two collections that were donated by agents. These are incredibly valuable as they are rare examples of SOE dress with unquestionable provenance, and oral history to support them. There is no documentation available that states whether an agent was able to keep their SOE issued clothing once their service was completed. If agents were asked to give their pieces back, it would explain why there are so few existing pieces in public collections. However, the two collections held by The Imperial War Museum suggest otherwise. Donated



Figure 4
SOE made jacket
worn by agent,
Odette Sansom, 1942,
Imperial War Museum,
London, England,
UNI 11957.

by Odette Sansom and Yvonne Corneau in the 1980s, both collections contain important pieces of clothing that were created by SOE, worn through their time as agents in France, and then carefully kept after the war before being donated to the museum. This suggests that agents were able to keep items given to upon their return to England.

Odette Sansom was recruited by SOE in 1942. She entered France to act as the Spindle Circuit's courier, but she was captured in April 1943 and taken to Fresnes Prison where she was tortured and held until she was moved to Ravensbrück concentration camp in June 1943. Sansom was held there in isolation with no electric lighting or heating until 1945.⁵⁵

The collection donated by Sansom contains a variety of items, including a charcoal grey wool tailored women's jacket (Figure 4). The IWM describes it as a "charcoal grey wool jacket. Single-breasted with three buttons and one button on each cuff. The lining is black crepe. Both jacket and lining are well worn and show signs of repair."⁵⁶ While quite a simple garment, it is of high quality, with a fashionable cut, and made of sturdy fabrics, making it an ideal garment for both camouflage and practicality. In her IWM interview in 1986, Sansom remembers receiving the jacket and discussing it with Vera Atkins, a F Section official,

I had a suit made of charcoal grey flannel. I think it was Vera Atkins at the office, and I said "Oh! Why that suit?" and she said, well you see, when I go to prison, it will be very useful because it won't show the dirt like black or a pale colour. And believe it or not, I wore this suit all through my captivity, turning the skirt every day an inch so it could be worn all over. And I came back in that suit.⁵⁷

The deliberate choice of fabric and colour is an example of the thoroughness and forethought that went into the creation of an agent's clothing. This unusual surviving garment linked with the oral testimony gives Sansom's story unusual depth in an area of research that is largely lacking in material and visual sources. This jacket not only helped her to pass as a native of France, but also kept her warm in an unheated prison cell, was worn as she was liberated, and was safely kept after the war, regardless of the many negative memories with which it was associated.

The other collection in the IWM's possession containing SOE dress belonged to Yvonne Corneau. Corneau was educated in Scotland and Belgium, giving her the fluency needed for a member of SOE's

French section. She was recruited from the WAAF in 1943, and she quickly became an expert wireless operator. Cormeau was parachuted into France on 22 August 1943 as a wireless operator and courier. Working for a consecutive 13 months in occupied France and sending a record 400 wireless messages, making her one of SOE's most successful agents. On two occasions she was almost caught, the second of which she was shot in the leg. She was flown out of France by SOE soon after.⁵⁸ The permanent display featuring Cormeau's collection in the IWM contains a SOE made handbag with a secret compartment, a pocket knife used to cut parachute cords, a gold watch, her fake French ration and identity cards, a leather briefcase with blood stains from her wounds, and the dress Cormeau wore the night she was shot, with the repaired bullet hole in the skirt.

Cormeau's pieces give a sense of excitement, danger and success. She experienced remarkable events during this period of her life, taking material evidence as souvenirs of these adventures along the way, and later creating this collection. These objects give us a timeline from the start to the finish of Cormeau's time in France, beginning with her parachuting into occupied territory and ending with a serious injury. There is even a suggestion of post war usage, as the hole in the dress was repaired and the blood removed. It would likely have been worn after Cormeau left France.

These collections give important insight into the agents themselves. They also give us unique information about how dress was used in the field by SOE agents. Jordanova says "Through production processes, as well as through subsequent transactions and forms of display and use, meanings are added to materials."⁵⁹ Sansom used dress as a distraction and as a morale booster, as well as an important tool for survival; such as the warmth her jacket provided. Cormeau's pieces were used for concealment and to complement her daily work as an agent. Both agents used their fashionably cut, but generic clothing as a form of camouflage in occupied France, and both agents added personal meaning to their objects.

Sansom's appearance was a source of distraction and pride while she was in captivity. She would rotate her skirt every day to stop wear in the same spot, and the almost pristine condition of her jacket shows she took great care in the upkeep of her clothing.⁶⁰ She also turned her ruined stockings into hair rollers, explaining "I used to put them on every evening religiously in case they would fetch me the next morning to put me to death. I wasn't going to be seen going to my death without my curls."⁶¹ Through Sansom's creativity and pride in her appearance, and Cormeau's sentimental retaining of objects relating to her wartime work, we can surmise that while SOE's clothing and textiles had many practical uses for the agents, they also had a psychological effect that boosted morale in times of danger and hardship.

It is important to note that these collections are both related to a female agent operating in occupied France. Although useful for gaining information of different wartime experiences and for the purposes of comparison, it is unfortunate that such a small portion of SOE is represented by these collections. Only 55 women were sent into Europe as agents, 39 of them into France.⁶² Although these women were remarkable, the thousands of male agents in SOE's employ are barely represented in museum collections. The pieces that do exist are not well researched or catalogued, and they do not have any oral testimonies associated with them, and they are noticeable by their absence. The photographs of the cases containing dress from Station XVb, however, show that mostly male articles were chosen for display. As so few pieces of male SOE clothing survive, the photographs give the viewer some understanding of how the male members of SOE were outfitted in comparison with their female counterparts.

The lack of surviving SOE-made clothing means that the Camouflage Section was a victim of its own success. The clothing it created for agents was of high enough quality and was accurate enough to be redistributed if an agent was caught, or to be worn until it was no longer useful. The pieces that do survive are part of collections put together by the women who wore them, and then donated to the IWM. Both give valuable insight into the psychological and emotional connection an agent created with their clothing. Even though they represent a small portion of the experiences of the SOE agents in occupied Europe, these collections are ideal for gaining some understanding of the complexity of an agent's work and life.

Conclusion

With the Total and Unconditional Surrender of the Axis on 7 May 1945, the war in Europe ended. SOE continued its efforts in Asia, with many of its European agents returning to England before being reassigned to continue their subversive work in other parts of the world.⁶³ Many other agents remained in Europe to assist with the transition of governments.⁶⁴ These new, postwar roles were different than their previous subversive occupations, and the need for secrecy and personal camouflage soon disappeared.

The Special Operations Executive was officially disbanded on 15 January 1946. SOE is unique in the history of warfare. Its creative approach to subversive warfare and espionage led to innovations that we still marvel at today. Its successful application of fashionable dress as a form of protective mimicry and camouflage was one of the Camouflage Section's biggest successes, and led to the safety of thousands of agents. However, the disappearance of the vast majority of the clothing and accessories made by the SOE Camouflage Department has greatly hindered any study and future understanding of these materials.

Despite much later criticism, the successes of the Special Operations Executive in Europe saved the lives of countless individuals. It directly facilitated the use of subversive warfare through resistance groups and individual agents, leading to a significant contribution to the Allied war effort. This contribution was made possible by the men and women of the Camouflage Section, many of whom remain undecorated and unacknowledged to this day. These researchers, makers, tailors and agers who were responsible for the creation of SOE's textiles, clothing and accessories, are true heroes of the Second World War.

Endnotes

- ¹ Leslie Bell, *Sabotage!*, T Werner Laurie Limited, London, England, 1957, p 51.
- ² David Stafford, *Secret Agent*, BBC Worldwide Limited, London, England, 2000, p 12.
- ³ Roderick Bailey, *Forgotten Voices of the Secret War*, second edition, Ebury Publishing, Croydon, England, 2009, p 2.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, p ix.
- ⁵ Stafford, op cit, p 11.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, p 9.
- ⁷ Bailey, op cit, pp 98–345.
- ⁸ Stafford, op cit, p 9.
- ⁹ Juliette Pattinson, *Behind Enemy Lines*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2007, p 25.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid*, p 26.
- ¹¹ Guy Hartcup, *Camouflage: A History of Concealment and Deception in War*, Morrison and Gibb, London, 1979, p 9.
- ¹² Stafford, op cit, p 9.
- ¹³ Jonathan Walford, *Forties Fashion, From Siren Suits to the New Look*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2008, p 8.
- ¹⁴ Pattinson, op cit, p 180.
- ¹⁵ The National Archives, "SOE Releases," unknown date, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/releases/2003/may22/soe.htm>, accessed 2 November 2017.
- ¹⁶ Pattinson, op cit, p 3.
- ¹⁷ Bailey, op cit, pp 23–43.
- ¹⁸ Pattinson, op cit, p 38.
- ¹⁹ Bailey, op cit.

- ²⁰ Stafford, op cit, pp 50–59.
- ²¹ Roy Behrens, *False Colours: Art, Design and Modern Camouflage*, Bobolink Books, Dysart, United States, 2002, p 171.
- ²² Ibid, p 48.
- ²³ Peter Forbes, *Dazzled and Deceived: Mimicry and Camouflage*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 2009, p 26.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ May Shrubbs, *Imperial War Museum 20809*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 2000.
- ²⁷ Pattinson, op cit, p 136.
- ²⁸ Dominique Veillon, *Fashion Under the Occupation*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2002, p 23.
- ²⁹ Ibid, p 120.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Walford, op cit, p 8.
- ³² Geraldine Howell, *Wartime Fashion*, Berg, London, England, 2012, p 23.
- ³³ Walford, op cit, p 8.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid, p 132.
- ³⁶ Ibid, p 37.
- ³⁷ Veillon, op cit, p 122.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Walford, op cit, p 143.
- ⁴⁰ Veillon, op cit, p 67.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Bell, op cit, p 51.
- ⁴³ Bailey, op cit, p 102.
- ⁴⁴ Stafford, op cit, p 57.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid, pp 57–58.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid, p 50.
- ⁴⁷ Bell, op cit, p 51.
- ⁴⁸ Stafford, op cit, p 55.
- ⁴⁹ Walford, op cit, p 37.
- ⁵⁰ Noreen Riols, *The Secret Ministry of Ag and Fish*, Pan Books, Oxford, England, 2013, p 3.
- ⁵¹ The National Archives, op cit.
- ⁵² Roberta Kremer, *Broken Threads*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2007, p 105.
- ⁵³ Walford, op cit, p 179.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Odette Sansom, *Imperial War Museum: 9478*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 1986.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid, 14:45.
- ⁵⁸ Yvonne Corneau, *Imperial War Museum: 7369*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 1984.
- ⁵⁹ Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 2012, p 5.
- ⁶⁰ Sansom, op cit.
- ⁶¹ Pattinson, op cit, p 174.
- ⁶² Ibid, pp 3–9.
- ⁶³ Bailey, op cit, p 348.
- ⁶⁴ Stafford, op cit, p 252.

Bibliography

Published

- Bailey, Roderick, *Forgotten Voices of the Secret War*, second edition, Ebury Publishing, Croydon, England, 2009.
- Behrens, Roy, *False Colours: Art, Design and Modern Camouflage*, Bobolink Books, Dysart, United States, 2002.
- Bell, Leslie, *Sabotage!*, T Werner Laurie Limited, London, England, 1957.
- Forbes, Peter, *Dazzled and Deceived: Mimicry and Camouflage*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 2009.
- Hartcup, Guy, *Camouflage, A History of Concealment and Deception in War*, Morrison and Gibb, London, England, 1979.
- Howell, Geraldine, *Wartime Fashion*, Berg, London, England, 2012.
- Jordanova, Ludmilla, *The Look of the Past*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 2012.
- Kremer, Roberta, *Broken Threads*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2007.
- Pattinson, Juliette, *Behind Enemy Lines*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2007.
- Riols, Noreen, *The Secret Ministry of Ag and Fish*, Pan Books, Oxford, England, 2013.
- Stafford, David, *Secret Agent*, BBC Worldwide Limited, London, England, 2000.
- Veillon, Dominique, *Fashion Under the Occupation*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2002.
- Walford, Jonathan, *Forties Fashion, From Siren Suits to the New Look*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, 2008.

Unpublished Sources

- Cormeau, Yvonne, *Imperial War Museum: 7369*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 1984.
- Secret War*, exhibition, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 2014.
- HS10/1, photograph album, National Archives, Richmond, England.
- Sansom, Odette, *Imperial War Museum: 9478*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 1986.
- Shrubb, May, *Imperial War Museum 20809*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 2000.
- Stonehouse, Brian, *Imperial War Museum 18156*, interview, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 1996.

Internet Sources

- The National Archives, "SOE Releases," unknown date, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/releases/2003/may22/soe.htm>, accessed 2 November 2017.

Copyright © 2018 Emma Treleaven
Email: emmatreleaven@gmail.com

Emma Treleaven is the Exhibitions Assistant at Bletchley Park, the home of British codebreaking and a birthplace of modern information technology. She completed her Master's degree in Museum Studies at University College London and has an Undergraduate degree in Fashion History and Theory from Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts, London. Her recent work has focused on the connections between object-based research, making processes, fashion history, and the use of dress in twentieth-century espionage. Emma is the author of the article, "Living Garments: Exploring Objects in Modern Fashion Exhibitions," published in the Autumn 2017 issue of *The Journal of Dress History*.

Recent PhD Theses

The Association of Dress Historians is proud to support scholarship in dress history through its international conferences, events such as curators' tours, and publication of *The Journal of Dress History*. We are passionate about sharing our knowledge with you. Our mission is to start conversations, encourage the exchange of ideas, and expose new and exciting research in the field to all who appreciate the discipline. To that end, the following is a selection of recently completed PhD theses, more of which can be researched, for free, through the British Library portal, <http://ethos.bl.uk>. This theses list contains only those PhD theses in dress history that are registered at The British Library, the official repository of the region in which *The Journal of Dress History* is published. Additionally, this thesis list contains those theses of international members of The Association of Dress Historians.

Al Shomely, Karima Mohammed Abdelaziz, *An Intimate Object: A Practice-Based Study of the Emirati Burqa*, Ph D Thesis, Kingston University, 2016.

This practice-based thesis focuses on the Emirati burqa or “mask,” a form of face covering worn by the majority of Emirati women in the United Arab Emirates until the late 1960s that reveals the eyes but does not cover the hair or body. Framed by Daniel Miller and Aida Kanafani's theories of material culture and embodiment that focus on dress as an intimate sensory object, this practice-based thesis is the first in-depth study of the Emirati burqa that engages with the histories and materiality of the burqa as an intimate object once made and worn by Emirati women. At the core of this thesis is women's practice: the practices of women burqa makers, the diverse female practices of burqa wearing and my practice as a woman artist from the UAE. Through experiments with traditional craft materials, inscription methods, workshop initiatives, film, photography and installation, my engagement is with performing the material culture of the female burqa as a response to its disappearing practices and its previously little recorded history. The thesis first analyses the history of the burqa face covering in the Arabian peninsula through a specific focus on the written and visual accounts of mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth-century British travellers in Arabia. It then examines and records the material craft of Emirati burqa-making based upon interviews with burqa makers and textile producers and accompanying ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the UAE and India. This includes photographic documentation of the processes involved in the production of the burqa textile, a study of burqa manufacturing brands and packaging, and an analysis of the material construction of the burqa and how it is worn in the UAE. Based on interviews in the UAE, Bahrain and Qatar and a variety of visual and textual sources, the thesis identifies the different types of Emirati burqa in relation to age, status, and regional identities. It further shows that the Emirati burqa differs from those worn in the neighbouring Gulf States of Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and Saudi Arabia, and focuses on burqa wearing practices and associated uses of the burqa textile in the UAE. Engaging with these research findings, the culmination of the thesis is the body of art works exhibited in the 2014 London exhibition, “An Intimate Object,” that reanimates the burqa as a living object with its own history and new contemporary meanings. Focusing on the significance of the body and senses in knowledge production, the art practice shows the burqa has “a voice” in a conversation that draws upon past traditions referencing protection and its value as a personal and precious object. The burqa speaks, its indigo residue bleeds as an active witness to its lost past. It also plays a part in rediscovery or keeping the past of this material object alive through contemporary art practice as an aesthetic and political strategy.

Gerner, Elisabeth Brooks, *Têtes to Tails: Eighteenth-Century Underwear and Accessories in Britain and Colonial America*, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2016.

Over the past thirty years, the study of dress has flourished as a field of interdisciplinary enquiry, emerging from consumer studies by economic historians and artefact-based research. More recent scholarship has addressed clothing in terms of material culture and as a marker of identity, adopting approaches

from anthropology, cultural studies, history of art, material culture studies and history. However, despite these advances in understandings of eighteenth-century dress, the social and cultural consequence of many garments has yet to be fully teased out. This thesis aims to amend that oversight and shed light on the significance of underwear and accessories in Britain and, to a lesser extent, colonial America from the period of 1666 to 1819. Five garments, each stemming from a different region of the body, form the chapters of this thesis: banyans, cork rumps, calashes, muffs, and stays. As structural undergarments, accessories, and undress, these objects were auxiliary to the main garments of eighteenth-century dress, a man's three-piece suit and woman's mantua or polonaise gown. However, they were fashionable necessities, required to give the essential shape to the silhouette, complete an ensemble, or sartorially facilitate the expression of politeness and sociability. This discussion looks beyond these items as articles of fashion to establish their cultural currency through the study, where possible, of surviving material artefacts and their visual and discursive representations in painted portraiture, graphic satire, archival manuscripts, and published newspapers and magazines. Marrying aspects of artefact-based approaches with visual analysis exposes the discourses between the material artefacts and their representational constructions. First, the thesis discusses the banyan's relation to time, exposing it as an agent of time that thwarted the chrononormative paths of the male sex. Issues of evidence, or the lack thereof, are addressed in Chapter Two, through an examination of the cork rump in satirical prints. The third chapter charts the material, spatial, and social mobility of the calash and its wearer. Addressing embroidered and satin print silk muffs, the fourth chapter positions the silk muff as a haptic receptacle of expression, as well as portable canvas of female art and patronage. The final chapter examines the divergent associations of the stay, both as a mediator of gender normativity, and as an iconographic vessel of gender, class and national anxiety. Through the close analysis of these previously overlooked articles of dress, this thesis reveals the charged and weighted associations embedded within and ascribed to underwear and accessories in the long eighteenth century.

Gilbert-Evans, Jenny E, *Everyday and Unworn Dress as Museum Pieces: A Study of the Hodson Shop Collection*, Walsall Museum, 1983-2016, PhD Thesis, University of Wolverhampton, 2016.

The place and presence of everyday and unworn dress in museums has been largely overlooked in museological and historical accounts of museums and collections. Instead, the focus has been upon the study of elite, spectacular and worn clothing. Similarly, little academic attention has been paid to small-scale, local government operated social history museums, with the bulk of research being conducted into elite national and metropolitan museums or the spectacle of living history museums. This thesis addresses these omissions through a biographical investigation into a single collection of everyday and unworn clothing held by a small and local social history museum: Walsall Museum's Hodson Shop Collection. Discovered in 1983, the collection consists of around 5,000 items of mass produced unsold shop stock, mainly women's clothing, from between 1920 and the 1960s. It comprises the stock of the Hodson General and Fancy Drapers, a small clothing shop located in the lock-making town of Willenhall, West Midlands. Sisters, Edith and Flora Hodson, operated the shop between 1920 and around 1971 in the front room of their family home. This thesis provides both a detailed biographical account of the Hodson Shop Collection and a timely account of Walsall Museum's struggle for survival in an age of increasing austerity. It focuses upon the passage of a large quantity of everyday shop stock items from the world of retail to the museum. Firstly, it demonstrates how the collection has been subject to a range of complex and interconnected external and organisational influences, through an account of its journey to Walsall Museum and its life within the museum, 1983-2016. A number of binary oppositions and hierarchies are explored to show how shifting ideas of value have influenced the survival and visibility of the collection and museum. Secondly, it shows how the statuses of everyday and mass produced items are altered by accession to a museum, challenging the assumption that biographical approaches are most suitable for dealing with "spectacular" aspects of material culture. The story of the Hodson Shop Collection challenges the perception of the museum as a safe and static environment.

Isaac, Veronica Tetley, "Dressing the Part: Ellen Terry (1847–1928): Towards a Methodology for Analysing Historic Theatre Costume, PhD Thesis, University of Brighton, 2016.

The material culture of historic theatre costume offers a vital resource for the fields of dress and theatre history that has yet to be fully recognised. This thesis unites approaches from both disciplines to create a specific methodology for the study of theatre costume founded upon the examination and assessment of such garments. It argues that theatre costume represents a separate and specific category of clothing and theatrical ephemera. Celebrated actress Ellen Terry (1847–1928), an individual highly attuned to the significance of dress as an expression of identity, is used as a case study to demonstrate the validity of this new methodology. Adopting an object-based and material culture approach, the thesis engages with the visual and physical evidence about performance and design that can be gathered from Terry's extant theatre costumes. It also highlights crucial information about Terry's dress and its public reception gleaned from additional sources such as photographs; paintings; letters; reviews, and within Terry's papers and books. This thesis represents the first full investigation of Terry's personal and theatrical wardrobe, and is the first study to carry out a close analysis of the actress's surviving garments. This analysis establishes the factors fundamental to the interpretation and study of theatre costume: the significance of social, artistic and historic context; parallels and contrasts between on and off-stage dress; the collaborative process of design and making; the function of costume as both performance object, and expression of "identity;" the issue of multiple and complex "biographies;" and the crucial evidence offered from material culture sources, most importantly, surviving costumes. Chapter One outlines existing methodologies and the cross-disciplinary nature of the thesis; Chapter Two reviews existing literature and proposes a new methodology; Three provides the context for Terry's professional career; Four develops the methodology and analyses extant garments. Five and Six relate the methodology to ideas of self-fashioning and biography. The thesis establishes Terry as an exceptional figure in British theatre and society who took an active role in fashioning her public and private image, both during her life, and after her death. The analysis of Terry's wardrobe confirms the status of theatre costumes as unique garments, which represent a key source for design, dress and theatre historians. This detailed case study demonstrates that the methodology presented can be employed in the study of other figures, theatres and periods, and opens up a new and productive direction for future research.

Musset, Anne, Stage Costume and the Representation of History in Britain, 1776–1834, PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2016.

This thesis explores the relationships between stage costume and British historical culture in the period 1776–1834. Until the painstakingly researched antiquarian stagings of the mid-nineteenth century, the history of historical stage costume has typically been described in terms of a stereotyped "Van Dyck dress." Yet the period witnessed the expansion of antiquarianism and portrait print collecting, the development of the picturesque and neo-gothic aesthetics, the success of historical novels and a general desire to know more about the habits and costumes of the past. This interdisciplinary analysis situates stage costume within the wider visual and historical culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Drawing on theatrical material related to the London theatres as well as paintings, engravings, book illustrations, shows, and exhibitions, this study argues that the representation of historical stage costume in the visual arts reflects new ways of conceiving and depicting history, in which interest in the everyday life of past periods and a focus on the material and the visual were fundamental. My research suggests that historical costume in the theatre and its representation in theatrical portraiture played a role in a broader process that sought to define British art and identity. The first chapter maps out advances in the knowledge of historical dress and explores how historical costume became a key feature in theatrical portraiture. The second chapter explores contemporary conceptions and uses of anachronism in relation to shifting notions of historical truth in the representation of dress in the arts. The third chapter demonstrates how costume was used to create visual representations of historical continuity, a process that signalled new conceptions of historiography. The following three chapters focus on depictions of the costume of different periods. They suggest that representations of historical dress in the theatre helped shape the period's historical imagination. A study of classical costume enables an examination of contemporary debates about authenticity, while reconstructions of Scottish dress and

English medieval costume reflect prevalent aesthetic trends and thoughts about British identity and the responsibility of art and the theatre in teaching national history. The final chapter considers representations of historical figures beyond the theatre: an examination of portraits in extra-illustrated books and of tinselled toy theatre sheets demonstrates novel ways of engaging with history that evince a new concern with the materiality of stage costume and effected a theatricalisation of the past.

Sprecher, Danielle, *Fashion for the High Street: The Design and Making of Menswear in Leeds, 1945–1980*, PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2016.

This study reveals the often overlooked but highly significant role of the Leeds multiple tailors in the history of British men's clothing and fashion from the 1940s to 1980. Focusing on these particular companies, their mass production of men's tailoring, and the ways these garments were consumed, makes an important contribution to a more complex understanding of men's fashion and dress as well as the history of the Leeds tailoring industry in the post-war period. This thesis takes a dress historical approach which combines object study, oral history and personal accounts, company archives and trade literature to look at the design, production and consumption of the men's tailoring made by the Leeds multiples. The use of object study and oral history has revealed details and meanings of suits that illuminate the richness and diversity of men's experiences and relationships with mass produced and everyday clothing which is rare in the history of men's dress. Four main themes are analysed by this thesis: the role of design and fashion within the Leeds multiple tailoring firms; masculinity and identity and the suit; masculine consumption; and mass produced and everyday men's dress. These are explored through four chapters focusing on mass production, made-to-measure and design; visual identity, design and display in retail; men's consumption of suits and tailoring through their lives; and the partnership between Hepworths and fashion designer, Hardy Amies, from the early 1960s. These themes are contextualised within the wider changes in men's fashion in this period and demonstrate the variety of approaches taken by the Leeds multiple tailors to make and sell men's suits for British high streets in the four decades after the Second World War.

Steele, Jennifer, *Reading Between the Lines: Clothes, Linens, and Washing–Lines in Film and Practice* PhD Thesis, Prifysgol Bangor University, Wales, 2017.

This research investigates the creative use of expressive drapery and textiles, and in particular the line of washing, in three films that have rich displays of fabrics and costume: *The Piano* (director, Jane Campion, 1993), *The Governess* (director, Sandra Goldbacher, 1998) and *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (director, Peter Webber, 2003); and provides the inspiration for a series of short films that explore positive and negative aspects of clothes lines and textiles. The research areas of film costume, fashion studies, and art history each provide relevant context and background to the study of the clothes and linens in the three films under consideration. Significant themes that are considered include: cinema's ambivalent relationship with costume; dress, undress, and the male gaze; representations of historical and character-coded clothing; the expression of fantasy and desire through textiles and costume; and the contribution of art history towards creating an understanding of fabrics that denote a separation between the ordinary and extraordinary and between reality and an imaginary sphere. Mary Ann Doane's study of the gaze at the interface of the interior and exterior of the home in the "woman's film" leads her to consider the frequent portrayal of women waiting by or looking through windows in relation to Freud's theory of *The Uncanny* and leads me to recognise that the line of washing in cinema also denotes the limits of a woman's space within the grounds of her home and marks a formal boundary between the familiar and the unknown. Similarly, the line of washing reflects notions of *The Uncanny* in displays that portray tensions between the opposing themes of the seen and unseen, the spoken and unspoken, of presence and absence and of purity and contamination. The idea of familiar clothes and linens displayed on the line of washing as alternately comforting and disconcerting has become the focus of my practice. Some of the works have been shown individually during the course of this study in group and open art exhibitions, and a solo exhibition at Galeri Caernarfon 15 January–24 February 2017 showed the collected short films and supporting material resulting from the research.

Advisory Board

The following biographies represent the members of the Advisory Board of The Journal of Dress History, in alphabetical order.

Sylvia Ayton, MBE, *Independent Scholar*

Sylvia Ayton received a very thorough training at Walthamstow School of Art and Royal College of Art. Her early work as a fashion designer included designing BEA air hostess uniforms in 1959, clothing for B Altman and Co (New York), Count Down and Pallisades stores (London). In 1964, she formed a partnership with Zandra Rhodes to open Fulham Road Clothes Shop in London. She joined Wallis Fashion Group as outerwear designer in 1969 and remained until 2002. In 1990 she was awarded the MBE for services to the fashion industry, whilst continuing to work as an external examiner and part-time lecturer to many BA (Hons) fashion courses. In 1980 she became a Fellow of the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts Manufacture and Commerce, and was a Member of the Jury of RSA Student Design Awards (Fashion). She is also a former Chairman of the Costume Society.

Cally Blackman, MA, *Central Saint Martins*

Cally Blackman is the author of *100 Years of Fashion Illustration* (2007); *100 Years of Menswear* (2009); and *100 Years of Fashion* (2012); and coauthor of *Portrait of Fashion* (2015) for the National Portrait Gallery. She has published articles in peer-reviewed journals, *Costume and Textile History* and contributed to exhibition catalogues for The Victoria and Albert Museum and Palais Galliera. She has written for *Acne Paper*, broadcast on BBC Radio 4 and lectured widely. She has taught on the Fashion History and Theory BA Pathway at Central Saint Martins for over a decade, contributes to MA programmes at CSM, London College of Fashion, Sothebys Institute, and the The V&A Education Department. She was Chairman of CHODA (Courtauld History of Dress Association) 2000–2005 and a Trustee of the Costume Society, 2005–2010.

Penelope Byrde, MA, FMA, *Independent Scholar*

Penelope Byrde read Modern History at St Andrews University before specialising in the history of dress for her MA from the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was a curator at the Museum of Costume and Fashion Research Centre in Bath for almost thirty years until she retired in 2002. She was joint editor of *Costume*, the dress studies journal published by the Costume Society, for five years and she is an Associate Lecturer at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts, London where she specialises in dress in eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature. She has written several books on the history of fashion: *The Male Image: Men's Fashions in Britain 1300–1970*; *A Visual History of Costume: The Twentieth Century*; *Nineteenth Century Fashion*; and *Jane Austen Fashion*.

Caroline de Guitaut, MA, MVO, AMA, *Royal Collection Trust*

Caroline de Guitaut is currently Senior Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, London. She is a curator with more than twenty-five years' experience of caring for, displaying, and researching one of the world's greatest art collections. She is curator of high profile exhibitions of decorative arts and fashion at The Queen's Galleries in London and Edinburgh and at Buckingham Palace since 2002.

Her publications include books, exhibition catalogues, and articles in peer-reviewed journals. She is a regular lecturer in museums and galleries in the UK and internationally. She is a Member of the Victorian Order, an Associate of the Museums Association, and a Trustee of the Royal School of Needlework.

Thomas P Gates, MA, MSLS, MAEd, *Kent State University*

Thomas P Gates attended the Cleveland Institute of Art and Case Western Reserve University, receiving a bachelors' degree in art history from the latter. He received a masters' degrees in art history and librarianship from the University of Southern California. He also received a masters' degree in art education from the University of New Mexico. After receiving a Rockefeller Fellowship in museum and community studies at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, he assisted with exhibitions at the museum's Downtown Centre and curated a mobile exhibition for the US Bicentennial in 1976 sponsored by the California Historical Society. In 1996 he developed the June F Mohler Fashion Library for the School of Fashion Design and Merchandising, assuming responsibilities as head librarian when it opened in 1997. He achieved rank of tenured associate professor in 1998. Gates' interest in the history of the built environment and American mid-century high-end retail apparel resulted in published as well as invitational papers in scholarly organisations such as The Society of American City and Regional Planning History; Western Reserve Society of Architectural Historians; The Costume Society of America; The Art Libraries Society of North America/Ohio Valley Chapter; The Association of Architecture School Librarians; and The Association of Dress Historians.

Alex Kerr, PhD, FBS, *The Burgon Society*

Alex Kerr has spent much of his career as a lecturer in medieval studies, later combining this with academic administrative roles. He holds a BA in medieval and modern languages from Oxford University, and an MA and a PhD in medieval studies from Reading University. Since 2001 he has also been director of a consultancy providing training courses in communication skills. From 2001 to 2013 he was Managing Editor of the journal, *Contemporary Review*. So far as dress history is concerned, he is an independent researcher and has published several articles on the history of academic dress. He is a Trustee and Fellow of The Burgon Society, an educational charity for the study of academic dress, its design, history and practice. He was editor of its *Transactions*, an annual scholarly journal, from 2003 to 2010, and is now the Society's Secretary.

Jenny Lister, MA, *Victoria and Albert Museum*

Jenny Lister is Curator of Fashion and Textiles at The Victoria and Albert Museum, from 2004. She has curated their exhibitions *60s Fashion* (2006) and *Grace Kelly: Style Icon* (2010). Her publications include *The V&A Gallery of Fashion* (2013), with Claire Wilcox; *London Society Fashion 1905-1925: the Wardrobe of Heather Firbank* (2015) and *May Morris* (2017), with Anna Mason, Jan Marsh, et al. Her other research interests include the British shawl industry and Mary Quant.

Timothy Long, MA, *Museum of London*

Timothy Long is Curator of Fashion and Decorative Arts at the Museum of London. His career began at the Chicago History Museum in 1999 as a costume collection manager, before becoming curator of costume in 2006. In 2011, He returned to school for an MA, History and Culture of Fashion at London College of Fashion. Following the completion of his degree, he became a curator at the Museum of London in 2013. His publication record includes Chicago History Museum exhibition catalogues – *Dior: The New Look*; *Chic Chicago*; *Charles James: Genius Deconstructed*; and *I Do! Chicago Ties the Knot* – and investigations on Etruscan dress for the *British Museum Technical Bulletin* (2014). More recently, he wrote a book titled *Charles James: Designer in Detail*, and a chapter on the same

designer for *London Couture: British Luxury 1923–1975*, both through V&A Publishing (2015). For more information, please visit www.Timothyalong.com.

Jane Malcolm–Davies, PhD, *University of Copenhagen*

Jane Malcolm–Davies is a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellow at the Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen. She is codirector of The Tudor Tailor, which researches and retails publications and products aimed at improving reproduction historical dress for pedagogical projects. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of the Highlands and Islands (Centre for Interpretation Studies) and the University of Southampton. She lectured in entrepreneurship and heritage management at the University of Surrey, introduced costumed interpreters at Hampton Court Palace (1992 to 2004), coordinated training for the front-of-house team at Buckingham Palace each summer (2000 to 2010) and is currently coaching guides for the new National Army Museum.

Scott Hughes Myerly, PhD, *University of Southern Indiana*

Scott Hughes Myerly was born in Des Moines, Iowa and has a Bachelor's Degree in European History from the University of California at Los Angeles. He earned a Master's Degree in American History and Museum Studies from the University of Delaware, and a Doctorate in Military History from the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign. His book, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Harvard University Press, 1996), was a finalist for the Longman/History Today Book of the Year. He is now retired and specialises in British Army dress, circa 1783–1857.

Susan North, PhD, *Victoria and Albert Museum*

Susan North is the Curator of Fashion before 1800 at The Victoria and Albert Museum. She has a BA in Art History from Carleton University in Ottawa, an MA in Dress History from the Courtauld Institute and a PhD from Queen Mary, University of London. She worked for the National Gallery of Canada and the National Archives of Canada, before joining The V&A in 1995. She has coauthored several V&A publications relating to early-modern dress, as well as cocurating *Style and Splendour: Queen Maud of Norway's Wardrobe* in 2005.

Martin Pel, *Royal Pavilion and Brighton Museums*

Martin Pel is Curator of Fashion and Textiles at Royal Pavilion and Museums in Brighton and has curated for them a number of exhibitions, including *Subversive Design* (2013) and *Fashion Cities Africa* (2016). He has published on dress and fashion history including *The Biba Years 1963–1975* (2014, V&A Publishing) and has coedited *Gluck: Art and Identity*, with Professor Amy de la Haye, published by Yale in 2017 to accompany an exhibition of the same name.

Anna Reynolds, MA, *Royal Collection Trust*

Anna Reynolds is Senior Curator of Paintings at Royal Collection Trust, where she has worked since 2008. She is part of the curatorial team with responsibility for temporary exhibitions at The Queen's Gallery in London and The Queen's Gallery in Edinburgh, as well as the permanent display of approximately 8,000 paintings across royal residences including Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle and the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Her exhibitions and accompanying publications include *In Fine Style – The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (2013), *Royal Childhood* (2014), *A Royal Welcome* (2015) and *Portrait of the Artist* (2016). In 2017–2018 she will be the Polaire Weissman fellow at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York studying John Singer Sargent and fashion. Anna holds an

undergraduate degree from Cambridge University, a Diploma from Christie's Education, and a Masters in the History of Art from the Courtauld Institute.

Aileen Ribeiro, PhD, *Courtauld Institute of Art*

Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by postgraduate study (MA and PhD) at The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was Head of the History of Dress Section at The Courtauld Institute from 1975 to 2009; appointed Professor in the History of Art at the University of London in 2000, she is now Professor Emeritus. She lectures widely in Great Britain, Europe and North America, and has acted as costume consultant/contributor to many major exhibitions. These include Reynolds (Royal Academy of Arts, London: 1986); Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe 1830 to 1870 (National Portrait Gallery, London: 1987 and the Petit Palais, Paris: 1988); Goya: *La imagen de la mujer* (Prado, Madrid: 2001 and National Gallery of Art, Washington: 2002); Whistler, *Women and Fashion* (Frick Collection, New York: 2003). Recent contributions to exhibition catalogues include an essay on Renoir's use of fashion in his painting *La Loge*, in *Renoir at the Theatre: Looking at La Loge* (Courtauld Institute 2008); an essay on Gainsborough's portrait of Ann Ford in *Thomas Gainsborough and the Modern Woman* (Cincinnati Art Museum 2010); an essay on Gustave Caillebotte's painting *Paris Street, Rainy Day* for *Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity* (Paris, New York and Chicago 2012), and an essay on dress in Liotard in *Jean-Etienne Liotard* (National Gallery of Scotland and The Royal Academy of Arts 2015). In addition, she has published many books and articles on various aspects of the history of dress, including *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (1995); *Dress and Morality* (2003); *Fashion and Fiction. Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2006); *Facing Beauty. Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (2011) and (with Cally Blackman) *A Portrait of Fashion. Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (2015). Her most recent book is *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion 1600–1914* (2016).

Georgina Ripley, MA, *National Museums Scotland*

Georgina Ripley is Curator of Modern and Contemporary Fashion and Textiles at National Museums Scotland (NMS). Her research interests currently include Jean Muir (fl. 1962–1995), contemporary menswear, and new technologies in fashion. She is working towards a major temporary exhibition for NMS in 2020. She was the lead curator for the permanent Fashion and Style gallery which opened at the museum in 2016 and cocurated *Express Yourself: Contemporary Jewellery* (2014). She has contributed to exhibitions at NMS including *Jean Muir: A Fashion Icon* (2008–2009) and *Mary Queen of Scots* (2013), and *The House of Annie Lennox* (2012), a V&A Touring Exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. She has previous experience working with the Royal Academy of Arts, the Warner Textile Archive, Museums Galleries Scotland and the National Galleries of Scotland.

Gary Watt, MA, NTF, *University of Warwick*

Gary Watt is a Professor of Law at The University of Warwick, a National Teaching Fellow, and cofounding editor of the journal, *Law and Humanities*. Specialising in performative rhetoric, he was named UK "Law Teacher of the Year" in 2009 and has led rhetoric workshops for the Royal Shakespeare Company for many years. Professor Watt's monographs include *Equity Stirring* (Oxford: Hart, 2009); *Dress, Law and Naked Truth* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); and *Shakespeare's Acts of Will: Law, Testament and Properties of Performance* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016). He has written for *The Times Literary Supplement* and collaborated with composer Antony Pitts for BBC Radio 3 and for The Song Company of Australia.

Rainer Wenrich, PhD, *Catholic University, Eichstaett-Ingolstadt*

Rainer Wenrich, PhD, Professor and Chair of Art Education and Didactics of Art, Catholic University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. He achieved his PhD on the topic of Art and Fashion in the twentieth century. His research interests are visual studies, costume history, and fashion theory. As a Professor for Art Education he lectured at the Academy of Fine Arts, Munich and as a visiting scholar at Columbia University, New York. He is the author of many articles and books in the field of art education and fashion studies. In 2015 he edited *The Mediality of Fashion*, published by Transcript, Bielefeld, Germany.

