



# The Journal of Dress History

## Volume 4, Issue 1, Spring 2020

**Front Cover Image:**

*Folding Fan*, Maker Unknown, circa 1865, Paris, France, Gouache on Paper with Canepin, Ivory, Gilt Metal, Turquoise, and Seed Pearl, Photographed by Rhian Cox, © The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection, London, England, HA Collection 425.

The leaf of this fan is painted on the obverse with l'Offrande à l'Amour [Love's Offering], signed by Alexandre Soldé (1822-1893). The guards are applied on both sides with silver-gilt plaques set with semi-precious stones and stamped with the name of the jeweller, Jules Wiese (1818-1890). Born in Berlin, Wiese settled in Paris in 1839 and created his studio in 1844. The company Wiese won medals at the 1849, 1851, and 1855 World Exhibitions. His work was characterised by a predilection for the Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Gothic styles popular during the 1850s and 1860s.

# The Journal of Dress History

Volume 4, Issue 1, Spring 2020

Special Themed Issue, Part One

The Victorian Age:  
A History of Dress, Textiles, and Accessories, 1819–1901



|                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Editor-in-Chief     | Jennifer Daley       |
| Editor              | Ingrid E. Mida       |
| Proofreader         | Georgina Chappell    |
| Editorial Assistant | Eanna Morrison Barrs |
| Editorial Assistant | Zara Kesterton       |
| Editorial Assistant | Lynda Xepoleas       |

Published by  
The Association of Dress Historians  
[journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org)  
[www.dresshistorians.org/journal](http://www.dresshistorians.org/journal)



The Journal of Dress History  
Volume 4, Issue 1, Spring 2020

[journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org)  
[www.dresshistorians.org/journal](http://www.dresshistorians.org/journal)

Copyright © 2020 The Association of Dress Historians  
ISSN 2515-0995  
Online Computer Library Centre (OCLC) accession #988749854

The Journal of Dress History is the academic publication of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) through which scholars can articulate original research in a constructive, interdisciplinary, and peer reviewed environment. The ADH supports and promotes the study and professional practice of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. The ADH is Registered Charity #1014876 of The Charity Commission for England and Wales.

The Journal of Dress History is circulated solely for educational purposes and is non-commercial: journal issues are not for sale or profit. The Journal of Dress History is run by a team of unpaid volunteers and 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 cited properly. Complete issues of The Journal of Dress History are freely available on the ADH website: [www.dresshistorians.org/journal](http://www.dresshistorians.org/journal).

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History encourages the unsolicited submission for publication consideration of academic articles on any topic of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Articles and book reviews are welcomed from students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals. If you would like to discuss an idea for an article or book review, please contact Jennifer Daley, Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of Dress History, at email [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org). Consult the most recently published journal issue for updated submission guidelines for articles and book reviews.

The Journal of Dress History is designed on European standard A4 size paper (8.27 x 11.69 inches) and is intended to be read electronically, in consideration of the environment. The graphic design utilises the font, Baskerville, a serif typeface designed in 1754 by John Baskerville (1706-1775) in Birmingham, England. The logo of the ADH 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 Advisory Board**

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History gratefully acknowledges the support and expertise of The Advisory Board, the membership of which follows, in alphabetical order:

**Kevin Almond**, The University of Leeds, Leeds, England

**Edwina Ehrman**, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England

**Jane Malcolm-Davies**, The University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

**Janet Mayo**, Independent Scholar, Bristol, England

**Sanda Miller**, Southampton Solent University, Southampton, England

**Anna Reynolds**, Royal Collection Trust, London, England

**Aileen Ribeiro**, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London England

**Georgina Ripley**, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland

**Katarina Nina Simončič**, The University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

**Kirsten Toftegaard**, Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen, Denmark

**Benjamin Linley Wild**, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, England



## Contents

### Articles

- Scottish Influences on British Women's Fashion:  
The Role Played by Queen Victoria, 1837-1852  
Martina Licata 6
- The Rise and Fall of the Paisley Shawl  
through the Nineteenth Century  
Lucy Elizabeth McConnell 30
- Luxury and Excess:  
The Fan as the Ultimate Fashion Accessory, 1850-1900  
Scott William Schiavone 54
- "Thing to Wear" to "Thing to Undress:"  
Representation of Japanese Kimonos in Late Victorian Paintings  
Allie Yamaguchi 86
- Of Silk and Statecraft:  
Dowager Empress Cixi (1835-1908) and Power Dressing  
in Late Qing Dynasty China, 1860-1911  
Felicia Yao 111

## Book Reviews

- Dress in the Age of Jane Austen:  
Regency Fashion*  
Hilary Davidson  
Reviewed by Penelope Byrde 138
- Fashion and Modernism*  
Louise Wallenberg and Andrea Kollnitz  
Reviewed by Georgina Chappell 141
- Sustainability and the Social Fabric:  
Europe's New Textile Industries*  
Clio Padovani and Paul Whittaker  
Reviewed by Mariza Galindo 144
- Empire of Style:  
Silk and Fashion in Tang China*  
Bu Yun Chen  
Reviewed by Brenda King 148
- Queen Victoria's Buckingham Palace*  
Amanda Foreman and Lucy Peter  
Reviewed by Alice Mackrell 151
- Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion:  
The Uniforms and Dress of the British Army, 1800-1815, Volume I*  
Ben Townsend  
Reviewed by Scott Hughes Myerly 153
- 19th-Century Fashion in Detail*  
Lucy Johnston  
Reviewed by Sarah Woodyard 157

|                                                                        |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Recent PhD Theses in Dress History                                     | 160 |
| A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research<br>Jennifer Daley | 171 |
| The Editorial Board                                                    | 200 |
| The Advisory Board                                                     | 203 |
| Submission Guidelines for Articles                                     | 208 |
| Submission Guidelines for Book Reviews                                 | 228 |
| Index of Articles and Book Reviews                                     | 231 |



## Welcome

Dear ADH Members and Friends,

Welcome to our Victorian themed publication season, which includes two (separate but equal) Victorian themed issues of *The Journal of Dress History*: Spring 2020 and Summer 2020. The articles published in these special Victorian themed issues are a result of our recent International Conference of Dress Historians, which was held at the historic Art Workers' Guild, Queen Square, London, England, during 25–26 October 2019, and titled, *The Victorian Age: A History of Dress, Textiles, and Accessories, 1819–1901*.

To commemorate the bicentenary of the birth of Queen Victoria, The Association of Dress Historians hosted an international conference that explored academic research into the global history of dress, textiles, and accessories during the lifetime of Queen Victoria, 1819–1901. Conference presentations included aspects of dress, textiles, and accessories for womenswear, menswear, and childrenswear of many cultures and regions of the world. The purpose of this special conference was to gain a contextual understanding of dress, textiles, and accessories around the world during 1819–1901.

Additionally, this issue includes reviews of recently published academic books about dress history. This issue also includes recurring articles, titled, *Recent PhD Theses in Dress History*, as well as *A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research*.

As always, if you have comments about this issue or an interest in writing an academic article or book review for future publication consideration, please contact me at [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org). I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards,

Dr. Jennifer Daley, PhD, FHEA, MA, MA, BTEC, BA  
Editor-in-Chief, *The Journal of Dress History*  
Chairman and Trustee, The Association of Dress Historians (ADH)  
[journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org)  
[www.dresshistorians.org/journal](http://www.dresshistorians.org/journal)

## **Scottish Influences on British Women's Fashion: The Role Played by Queen Victoria, 1837-1852**

Martina Licata

### **Abstract**

From the beginning of her reign in 1837, Queen Victoria (1819-1901) greatly impacted British womenswear. Due to her position, her style was both admired and copied. After her first visit to Scotland in 1842, elements of Scottish dress, including tartan, began appearing more frequently in British women's fashion. The influence of Queen Victoria on the popularity of tartan and Highland dress opened a new chapter on the usage of these elements in fashion. By the mid nineteenth century, the transition from national dress to fashion was completed, and elements of Scottish dress were entirely incorporated into normal wear, nearly losing their previous significance. Due to Queen Victoria, elements of Scottish dress became exclusively linked with the idea of fashion and the fashionable, that we know today.

## Introduction

Royal influences have often had remarkable influence on fashion, but when it comes to the Scottish romantic revival, no monarch has had a bigger impact than Queen Victoria (1819–1901). Although the visit of her uncle, King George IV (1762–1830), to Edinburgh, Scotland in 1822 marked a distinctive shifting point in Scottish influences on fashion, it had a minor effect compared to the influence that Queen Victoria would eventually have. This article will explore the relationship between Scottish trends and Queen Victoria, up to 1852, the year she purchased Balmoral Castle in the Scottish Highlands. The research will end with this year principally because, from that moment on, the royal visits to Scotland became even more frequent than before, and less official. Nonetheless, even her first few visits had a considerable impact on womenswear. The influence of Queen Victoria on the employment of tartan and Highland dress opened a new chapter on the use of these elements in fashion.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, tartan and other Scottish garments were still associated with the Jacobite rising.<sup>2</sup> The aim of the Jacobites was to restore the deposed Catholic Stuart King James II and VII (1633–1701) and his heirs to the British throne. After the Jacobites lost the Battle of Culloden in 1746, the Disarming Act, and later Act of Proscription, came into effect. These laws were meant to eradicate the Highland and clan culture from Scotland, as well as prohibit the wearing of Highland dress, including tartan and kilt. Although the laws were abrogated in 1782, the connection with the rising was still strong at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the memory of the Jacobites was enhanced even more during the first half of the nineteenth century, due to the Romantic movement. This artistic and literary movement was characterised by the glorification of the past and nature, an obsessive interest in national and ethnic cultural origins, and a fascination with the concept of rebellion and heroism.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Telfer Dunbar, *The Costume of Scotland*, Batsford, London, England, 1981, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> For more information, see Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism*, Macmillan Press, Houndmills, Hampshire, England, 1998.

The main figure who initiated the Scottish revival was Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) and his prolific writing career.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the Scottish author played one of the biggest roles in the cultural rehabilitation of the Scots. Sir Walter Scott was born only a quarter century after the Jacobite rising of 1745, and the stories surrounding the events were not passed into legend yet. Since the Jacobite rising was still in living memory, Scott had been told about it during his upbringing from those who had witnessed it personally, and this gave him the chance to have a wider knowledge on the topic.<sup>4</sup> Amongst all of his works, the novels that drew more attention to the Scottish past were *Waverley*, published in 1814, which is generally credited as being the first historical novel in the English language, and *Rob Roy*, published in 1817. The elements in common in these historical novels were that they were both set during the Jacobite risings (the first during the 1745 rising, while the latter during 1715) and they were both set in the Scottish Highlands. Not only did Scott want to prove that Scottish patriotism was no longer a threat to the union of England and Scotland, he also enhanced the romantic aspect of it (preserving and respecting Scotland's past and the Highland culture).<sup>5</sup> The Scottish Highlands were for many contemporaries just as exotic and fascinating as more distant lands, but the Highlands had the advantage of being close enough to be experienced first hand.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence, the public reaction to the works of Scott was a fascination for those novels, and a consequent adoption and adaption of aspects of Highlanders' dress and culture, due to Scott's contribution to the transformation of the "garb of old Gaul" to the new national dress.<sup>7</sup>

### Early Nineteenth Century

One of the main events during the first half of the nineteenth century that was linked with this new interest for Scotland was the visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in August 1822. By this year the threat of the Jacobite rebellion was long gone, and it was time for the king to visit the northern part of his kingdom.<sup>8</sup> Not only was this a way to celebrate the kingdom and the union, but it was also a way to prove who was the rightful king and to gain popularity within the Scots.<sup>9</sup> He was the first king to visit

---

<sup>3</sup> Murray Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*, Routledge, London, England, 1991, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Christian Hesketh, *Tartans*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, England, 1961, pp. 86–87.

<sup>5</sup> Pittock, 1991, op cit., pp. 84–86.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> Sally Tuckett, *Weaving the Nation: Scottish Clothing and Textile Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century*, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2010, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Hesketh, op cit., p. 87.

Scotland since the mid seventeenth century; therefore, his visit was extremely awaited, and there was a general will to make a good impression and make the visit memorable.<sup>10</sup> In order to do so, Sir Walter Scott was commissioned to organise the event, and he orchestrated the visit in order to create a show that would have astounded both visitors and residents of Edinburgh.<sup>11</sup> Scott's purpose was to spur national identity, and in order to encourage people to wear Highland dress, he also printed a pamphlet, titled, *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh*,<sup>12</sup> which contained detailed suggestions regarding which outfit to wear at which event. He advertised Highland dress as the ultimate national costume.<sup>13</sup> Scott's efforts hence proved that tartan and Highland dress, as well as the kilt, were indeed beginning to be associated with Scottish national dress, and therefore with Scottish national identity.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, different from how they were used before, the aim of these elements was to show cultural pride, rather than any political purposes.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of this excitement and festivity, there were some people, both Lowlanders and Highlanders, who thought that tartan and Highland dress were unsuitable to be identified as Scottish national dress, and that they were unnecessary in order to show national identity.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the theatricality and splendour with which the visit of King George IV was staged contributed to confirming tartan and Highland dress, principally worn by men, as the Scottish national dress still known today.<sup>17</sup> Highland dress was generally associated with the seventeenth and eighteenth century belted-plaid, "...a long strip of material like an elongated shawl, not in any way shaped to fit the body, generally of fairly fine weave, and usually chequered in several colours in the way we now call 'tartan.'"<sup>18</sup> This piece of fabric was folded in pleats, wrapped around the body and fastened with a belt. The bottom part formed a sort of knee

---

<sup>10</sup> Tuckett, op cit., p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Walter Scott, *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and Others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit*, Printed by George Ramsay and Co. for Bell and Bradfute, Manners and Miller, Archibald Constable and Co., William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1822.

<sup>13</sup> Sally Tuckett, "National Dress, Gender and Scotland: 1745-1822," *Textile History*, Volume 40, Issue 2, 2009, p. 146.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>15</sup> Tuckett, 2010, op cit., p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> Tuckett, 2009, op cit., p. 147.

For contemporary comments, see Tuckett, 2010, op cit., p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> Tuckett, 2010, op cit., p. 44.

<sup>18</sup> H.F. McClintock, "Old Highland Dress and Tartans," in *Old Irish & Highland Dress*, H.F. McClintock, Ed., Dundalgan Press, Dundalk, County Louth, Ireland, 1950, p. 60.

length skirt, while the top part was arranged in different styles over the jacket.<sup>19</sup> From circa mid eighteenth century, this garment evolved into the kilt, which was described as being “...simply the lower part of the belted-plaid from the waist downwards cut off, sewn up, and worn separately.”<sup>20</sup>

However, the “traditional” female Highland dress was altered from what was actually worn by women in the Highlands during the previous centuries. The *arisaid* was a large piece of fabric worn over the clothes and the shoulders, fastened with a brooch, and hanging low at ankle length. The fabric usually featured a white ground coloured with stripes, rather than cheques.<sup>21</sup> For the reception with the king at Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, Scott suggested a more modernised attire for women, recommending them to wear nothing more than scarves of tartan, since a whole gown of it would not have appeared elegant enough.<sup>22</sup> Although there were some who went against Scott’s advice, like Margaret Sinclair, who wore a satin gown of red tartan in order to show her patriotism,<sup>23</sup> other women showed national pride in more subtle ways. For instance, one woman wore a “pale blue silver lama, over a blue satin slip, thus combining Scotland’s national colours of blue and white.”<sup>24</sup> Lady Elizabeth Campbell wore a gown where the bottom was looped up with silver thistles (the emblem of Scotland), heather (Scottish symbol of good luck), and roses (link with the Jacobites, whose floral symbol was the white rose). The train was decorated all around with the same motif.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> For more information, see Anita Quye and Hugh Cheape, “Rediscovering the Arisaid,” *Costume*, Volume 42, Issue 1, 2008, pp. 1-20.

<sup>22</sup> Tuckett, 2010, op cit., p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> *The Kaleidoscope: or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, September 1822, Volume 3, Egerton Smith, Liverpool, England, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> Tuckett, 2010, op cit., p. 43.

Another piece of Scott's advice regarded the appropriate clothing for the Caledonian Ball, also held during the visit of King George IV in August 1822. Scott suggested that for that occasion it would have been suitable for women to wear tartan; however, his recommendations were not entirely followed, and it seems that tartan was actually little worn.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, after the royal visit, the Caledonian Ball gown began to be advertised in women's magazines. The gown was described as composed of a skirt of white satin (with trimmed border), a bodice of tartan, and completed with a white turban with tartan insertions.<sup>27</sup> In 1827 and 1828 the Caledonian Ball gown appeared again as fancy dress, losing its bond with its significance. The former was a gown of tartan silk, decorated by white roses (a reference to Prince Charles and the Jacobites) (Figure 1).<sup>28</sup> The latter presented almost all the features of the Scottish national costume (although it did not state which features those were), a petticoat of the thistle's purple, and a bias cut of tartan at the hem of the skirt (Figure 2).<sup>29</sup>



Figure 1:  
*Caledonian Ball Gown,*  
*The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons,*  
May 1827, John Bell, London, England.

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>27</sup> *La Belle Assemblée*, September 1822, John Bell, London, England, p. 368.

<sup>28</sup> *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, May 1827, John Bell, London, England, p. 104.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., May 1828, p. 105.





Figure 2:  
*Caledonian Ball Gown,*  
*The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons,*  
May 1828, John Bell, London, England.

This dualism between nationalism and identity appropriation is better explained as examples of two surviving garments entirely made of tartan. The first one (Figure 3) is a silk gown from The National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. It is believed to have been worn by Mrs. Macpherson of Cluny in 1832. As reported by numerous London newspapers,<sup>30</sup> on 20 December 1832, the chief of the ancient Highland clan Cluny Macpherson married, in Mayfair (London), the daughter of Henry Davidson of Tulloch. It is therefore possible that this gown was worn by the bride on the day of the wedding. Supporting this theory, the decoration at the hem of the skirt and at half-sleeves resembles the red whortleberry, which was the plant badge of both the clan Macpherson and Davidson,<sup>31</sup> and the two different shades of the embroidered plant might suggest the union of the two families. Moreover, the tartan used for the gown is the clan Chattan tartan, to which both the bride and groom's clans belonged. Thus, the decision of having a wedding gown made of tartan might be proof of the willingness to show Scottish roots while marrying in England.

---

<sup>30</sup> Amongst them *The Spectator*, December 1832, Volume 5, Robert Stephen Rintoul, London, England, p. 1208.

<sup>31</sup> *Antiquity*, January 1946, Volume 20, O.G.S. Crawford, Durham, England, p. 42.

The other gown (Figure 4), from the Royal Collection Trust, is a velvet tartan gown worn by Queen Victoria when she was still a princess. The tartan of the gown is not one of the royal Stewart kind, which would become the favourite of the Queen. Thus, the choice of this specific tartan might have just been a personal preference, instead of making a statement wearing a “royal” tartan, and it is fascinating to consider how the monarch was wearing tartan gowns even before her frequent visits to Scotland.



Figure 3:  
*Gown*,  
Silk Tartan, Scotland, 1832,  
© The National Museum of Scotland,  
Edinburgh, Scotland,  
A.1934.387.



Figure 4:  
*Tartan Gown*,  
Velvet Tartan, England, 1835–1837,  
© Royal Collection Trust,  
London, England,  
RCIN 71984.

### Queen Victoria's Influence

The first time Queen Victoria and her consort, Prince Albert (1819–1861), visited Scotland, it was an unplanned visit. In 1842 the royal couple was supposed to make a state visit to Brussels, Belgium, but after the death of the brother of the Queen of Belgium, the Belgian court was in mourning, and therefore a tour of Scotland was substituted.<sup>32</sup> During the first two weeks of September 1842, the queen and her consort firstly visited Edinburgh, where they carried out the more formal engagements. The rest of the tour took place in the Highlands, where they could taste the local customs, and subsequently fall in love with them.<sup>33</sup> In her journals, the queen never forgot to mention the clothing of the locals, especially when the clothes called her attention with the Scottish costume and Highland dress.<sup>34</sup> These situations have certainly helped to create an even more idealised concept that the queen already had of Scotland. For instance, on 7 September 1842, Queen Victoria wrote in her journal:

There were a number of Lord Breadalbane's Highlanders, all in the Campbell tartan, drawn up in front of the house, with Lord Breadalbane himself in a Highland dress at their head, a few of Sir Neil Menzies' men (in the Menzies red and white tartan), a number of pipers playing, and a company of the 92nd Highlanders, also in kilts.<sup>35</sup>

On their first visit in 1842, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were fascinated by the beauty of the Highlands' landscapes and by the Scottish culture and people. Two years later, in 1844, the royal couple travelled north again to Scotland. This three-week trip was not a state visit, and it was mainly confined to the Highlands, where the queen and her husband could enjoy some time in nature and away from their duties in London.<sup>36</sup> The queen had just given birth to a son, only a month before their trip, and, according to Prince Albert, she needed some time to recover, and leave her post-birth confinement.<sup>37</sup> They ensured that the visit was conceived as an informal one,

---

<sup>32</sup> Jeanne Cannizzo, *Our Highland Home: Victoria and Albert in Scotland*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2005, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17–20.

<sup>34</sup> David Duff, Ed., Queen Victoria of Great Britain, *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*, Hamlyn, London, England, 1997, pp. 22, 24, 31.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>36</sup> John Kerr, *Queen Victoria's Scottish Diaries: Her Dream Days*, Eric Dobby Publishing, Orpington, Kent, England, 1992, p. 43.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

and that the splendour of the previous one would not be repeated.<sup>38</sup> Once again, Queen Victoria took note of the Highland costume worn by the locals,<sup>39</sup> and on 19 September 1844 she provided a brief description of it. She wrote, “The same that they all wear here, viz. a grey cloth jacket and waistcoat, with a kilt and a Highland bonnet.”<sup>40</sup>

In the following years, the royal couple, accompanied by their children, visited Scotland and the Highlands several times (in 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850), before acquiring, in 1852, their final Highland home: Balmoral. These frequent visits, and the subsequent decision to make Balmoral their home for the summer holidays (where the Celtic revival was tangible, and tartan was everywhere),<sup>41</sup> were also determined by an outstanding passion for Scottish past and history, and everything related to it, from the national costume to Scott’s novels.<sup>42</sup>

Due to Queen Victoria’s interest for anything Scottish, the Mary Queen of Scots style of headwear made its appearance in 1847<sup>43</sup> (Figure 5 and Figure 6), and it was during the following few years that this style became extremely fashionable. Despite being a controversial character, Mary Stuart was pitied and, at the same time, admired by the queen. Mary Stuart became popular in art, literature, and theatre.<sup>44</sup> As regards the modesty of the Mary Queen of Scots style headgear (indented over the face), it was considered demure. The image of Mary shifted from a promiscuous and dissolute woman—to a symbol of purity, morality, and virtue, after her popularity increased due to Queen Victoria’s affection for her.<sup>45</sup> Not only was this style of headwear used for daywear and eveningwear, but it was also worn for special occasions, such as bridal attire.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 44–45.

<sup>39</sup> Queen Victoria, op cit., pp. 38, 43.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>41</sup> Hesketh, op cit., pp. 110–112.

<sup>42</sup> Cannizzo, op cit., pp. 9–14.

<sup>43</sup> *The Lady’s Newspaper*, August 1847, Issue 34, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 176.

<sup>44</sup> Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation*, Routledge, London, England, 1998, pp. 171–175.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 177–178.

<sup>46</sup> *The Lady’s Newspaper*, April 1849, Issue 122, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 237.



Figure 5:  
*Mary Queen of Scots*,  
 Nicholas Hilliard, 1578–1579,  
 Watercolour on Vellum, 4 x 5.1 cm,  
 © The Victoria and Albert Museum,  
 London, England.



Figure 6:  
*Mary Queen of Scots' Bonnet*,  
*The Lady's Newspaper*,  
 August 1849,  
 Ebenezer Landells,  
 London, England, p. 46.

In these instances, the Mary Stuart headwear was accurately described,<sup>47</sup> and it was accompanied by suggestions on how to wear it properly and how to style the hair.<sup>48</sup> As well as the Mary Stuart headwear, other styles of headwear appeared in early 1850s fashion. For example, tartan ribbons were used as decoration for hats and bonnets.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> For accurate descriptions of Mary Stuart headwear, consult the following sources.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, October 1848, Issue 94, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 109.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, October 1849, Issue 147, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 215.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, January 1850, Issue 161, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 47.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, April 1850, Issue 174, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 229.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, May 1850, Issue 177, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 270.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, March 1851, Issue 221, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 166.

<sup>48</sup> *The Lady's Newspaper*, July 1849, Issue 135, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 46.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, August 1849, Issue 138, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 87.

<sup>49</sup> *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, May 1850, George Henderson, London, England, p. 317.

*The World of Fashion*, November 1850, John Bell, London, England, p. 129.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, July 1851, George Henderson, London, England, p. 60.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, August 1851, George Henderson, London, England, p. 108.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, October 1852, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 212.

Tartan ornaments were becoming extremely popular, probably due to their colourful nature. Since the gowns during the 1840s had a demure look with less decoration, the colourful ribbons of early 1850s fashion added a touch of vivacity to the general attire.

Nevertheless, the biggest Scottish influence was on gowns. Tartan patterns became extremely fashionable, especially after the monarch's visits to Scotland. It was reported that the queen wore tartan gowns or scarves on several occasions during her visits. For instance, during her first visit in 1842, Queen Victoria wore a gown in Stewart tartan, with a red tartan shawl and a light blue bonnet, for a long walk while she was staying in Perthshire.<sup>50</sup> On the same visit, during an afternoon exhibition of Highland dancing, she was dressed in a tartan gown accompanied by a crimson shawl, a white scarf, and white satin bonnet.<sup>51</sup> While attending the Grand Ball in her honour, the queen wore "a white dress with a velvet scarf in Royal Stewart tartan and a brilliant tiara."<sup>52</sup>

In this regard, the watercolour of Charlotte, Viscountess Canning, (Figure 7) seems to be the exact replica of the attire worn by the queen at this ball. The Viscountess was a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and she accompanied the monarch during her visit to Scotland in 1848.<sup>53</sup> Her maiden name was Charlotte Stuart, and she was a descendent of the Stuart of Bute clan. The sash she wore in this watercolour can be ascribed to the Stuart tartan, and therefore it suggests that on these occasions the clan tartan was still a matter of identification.

---

<sup>50</sup> Kerr, op cit., p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>53</sup> Amongst the various accounts, *The Observer*, September 1848, Lewis Doxat, London, England, p. 5.





Figure 7:  
*Charlotte,*  
*Viscountess Canning,*  
Carl Haag,  
Watercolour,  
35.3 x 25.2 cm,  
© Royal Collection Trust,  
London, England.

On the other hand, surviving garments of the period suggest that tartan fabrics for the entire outfit were very popular, and, upon analysing them, it becomes clear that in these instances tartan was used for fashion rather than family identity. For example, the mid 1840s satin day dress (Figure 8) at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London was donated by Lady Lindsay, and it is plausible that the dress belonged to someone in her family. If this is the case, assuming that the dress belonged to the Lindsay family, it contradicts the use of the Mackenzie clan tartan, which is shown in Figure 8. Therefore, it is possible to infer that by this time tartan had become a matter of fashion, rather than identification and family pride. Furthermore, the dress at the Manchester Art Gallery (Figure 9) could be worn both with short sleeves—or long sleeves that were attached to the short ones. This proof of the intention to wear this garment multiple ways and on different occasions, and therefore, the popularity and versatility of tartan during those years, is evident.



Figure 8:  
*Dress*,  
Printed Silk Satin,  
England, circa 1845,  
© The Victoria and Albert Museum,  
London, England, T.169-1959.



Figure 9:  
*Dress and Pelerine*,  
Tartan Satin, 1840-1845,  
© Manchester Art Gallery,  
Manchester, England,  
1963.198.

Moreover, it is interesting to analyse the tartan silk wedding gown, also at Manchester Art Gallery (Figure 10). The peculiarity of this gown is that, during those years, the fashionable and traditional colour for wedding gowns was white, after Queen Victoria wore a white gown at her own wedding in 1840.<sup>54</sup> The white gown was a symbol of romantic love and purity; therefore, for brides who were marrying for the first time, and could afford to have a white gown specifically made for the occasion, it became the norm.<sup>55</sup> However, working-class brides could choose to wear their Sunday best for the wedding, or make a gown specifically for the day, which could be reused as Sunday best for a long time.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Edwina Ehrman, *The Wedding Dress: 300 Years of Bridal Fashions*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2014, p. 56.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 60-61.





Figure 10:  
*Wedding Gown*,  
Tartan Check Silk,  
England, 1849,  
© Manchester Art Gallery,  
Manchester, England, 2009.2.

The gown, above, was worn by Ellen Whipp when she married William Hargreaves, and since it was impossible to find a Whipp–Hargreaves wedding announcement in 1849 in the newspapers, this suggests that the families belonged to the working class. Deciding to have a wedding gown in tartan, thus, shows the extreme popularity of this fabric, so much so that the bride probably decided to keep it as Sunday best. Moreover, since the wedding took place outside Manchester, and the families were not Scottish, it is interesting to see how tartan became fashionable, leaving all the links with tradition and patriotism behind.

Tartan patterns were still primarily used for outdoor and half-dresses, and the fabrics and designs were various and different based on the occasion (Figure 11 and Figure 12). A good example of these differences was highlighted in the November 1843 issue of *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*:

Those adopted for the promenade, whether the robe is merino, cashmere, or silk, will be of a quiet kind. Those for half-dresses are larger, and more shewy [sic]. Some plaided satins and velvets have appeared for evening dress, of a very striking kind; —the materials are beautiful, but we consider the patterns more showy than elegant.<sup>57</sup>



Figure 11:  
*Tartan Dress,*  
*The World of Fashion,*  
July 1845, John Bell,  
London, England.



Figure 12:  
*Tartan Skirt,*  
*The Ladies' Cabinet of*  
*Fashion, Music, and Romance,*  
August 1850.

---

<sup>57</sup> *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, November 1843, George Henderson, London, England, p. 335.

Another way to have a less heavy effect, was given by the new fashion for flounces in 1850s gowns (Figure 13). Flounces provided the perfect opportunity to have the tartan pattern only on the flounces' edges, and it was used both for daywear and eveningwear,<sup>58</sup> as shown in a satin evening gown at The Museum of London (Figure 14). The flounces are trimmed with two broad bands of tartan velvet, which once more show how tartan was probably used because it was fashionable rather than used with a purpose behind it. In addition, tartan scarves, shawls, and cravats were still worn especially with carriage and promenade attire,<sup>59</sup> while the new tartan belts tightened the waistlines of evening gowns<sup>60</sup> and homewear.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> *The World of Fashion*, September 1851, John Bell, London, England, p. 105.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, November 1851, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 266.

*The Ladies' Monthly Magazine*, July 1852, John Bell, London, England, p. 52.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, August 1852, Ebenezer Landells, London, England, p. 84.

<sup>59</sup> *John Bull*, July 1840, Theodore Hook, London, England, p. 322.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, August 1840, George Henderson, London, England, p. 132.

*The World of Fashion*, September 1841, John Bell, London, England, p. 213.

*The World of Fashion and Monthly Magazine of the Courts of London and Paris Fashions and Literature, Music, Fine Arts, the Opera and the Theatres*, November 1843, John Bell, London, England, p. 260.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, January 1847, George Henderson, London, England, p. 58.

*The World of Fashion*, September 1847, John Bell, London, England, p. 214.

<sup>60</sup> *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, July 1840, George Henderson, London, England, p. 64.

*The World of Fashion*, October 1844, John Bell, London, England, p. 238.

*The World of Fashion*, September 1847, John Bell, London, England, p. 214.

<sup>61</sup> *The World of Fashion*, October 1843, John Bell, London, England, p. 237.

*The World of Fashion*, July 1850, John Bell, London, England, p. 81.

*The Ladies' Monthly Magazine*, July 1852, John Bell, London, England, p. 52.





Figure 13:  
*Tartan Flounces,*  
*The World of Fashion,*  
July 1852,  
John Bell,  
London, England.



Figure 14:  
*Gown,*  
Satin, Velvet, and Lace,  
England, 1844–1850,  
© The Museum of London,  
London, England, RCIN 74847.

Regarding tartan shawls and scarves, there is evidence of these being worn by Queen Victoria during her second trip to Scotland in 1844. Unlike the previous visit, during this one the wardrobe of the queen was influenced by mourning. The queen was seen wearing mourning dress, probably owing to the death of her uncle and father-in-law, Ernest I, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, earlier that year. While travelling, the mourning clothes of the queen were completely black, with no sign of any kind of colour,<sup>62</sup> and even during Mass she wore a black gown and mantle, with a white bonnet.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, during country excursions, the Queen sometimes wore shepherd's tartan shawls on top of the mourning dress.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Kerr, op cit., p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 77, 82.

## Conclusion

The visits of Queen Victoria to Scotland influenced British women's fashion during the first 15 years of her reign, 1837–1852. Her passion for Scotland led her to wear gowns influenced by Scottish elements, particularly with tartan patterns. As a consequence, it is possible that British women were keen to follow the queen's style and fashion, and therefore items with tartan patterns began to appear in the wardrobes of women of the higher socio-economic classes. During the 1840s and early 1850s, tartan fabric was used both as day and evening attire, which means that it was so fashionable that it was used in every occasion, although in different ways. It is, in fact, possible to infer that an entire dress of tartan pattern was considered more appropriate for daytime activities, while for eveningwear a tartan scarf was more than enough. Moreover, regarding daywear, the tartan element became exclusively linked with fashion, while for evening attire, the tartan sash was still a symbol of identity. Furthermore, the fact that there are no portraits of Queen Victoria wearing tartan—although it is known that she wore it—means that the tartan pattern was a personal preference of the queen, and she wore it because she liked it, rather than to make a statement. Due to Queen Victoria, the transition from Scottish national dress to fashion was completed, and Scottish elements were entirely incorporated into women's fashion, nearly losing their prior significance.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Published Books

David Duff, Ed., Queen Victoria of Great Britain, *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*, Hamlyn, London, England, 1997.

Walter Scott, *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and Others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit*, Printed by George Ramsay and Co. for Bell and Bradfute, Manners and Miller, Archibald Constable and Co., William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1822.

### Primary Sources: Published Periodicals

*Antiquity*, January 1946, Volume 20, O.G.S. Crawford, Durham, England.

*La Belle Assemblée*, September 1822, John Bell, London, England.

*John Bull*, July 1840, Theodore Hook, London, England.

*The Kaleidoscope: or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, September 1822, Volume 3, Egerton Smith, Liverpool, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, July 1840, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, August 1840, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, November 1843, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, January 1847, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, May 1850, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, July 1851, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, August 1851, George Henderson, London, England.

*The Ladies' Monthly Magazine*, July 1852, John Bell, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, August 1847, Issue 34, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, October 1848, Issue 94, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, April 1849, Issue 122, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, July 1849, Issue 135, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, August 1849, Issue 138, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, October 1849, Issue 147, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, January 1850, Issue 161, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, April 1850, Issue 174, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, May 1850, Issue 177, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, March 1851, Issue 221, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.



*The Lady's Newspaper*, November 1851, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, August 1852, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Lady's Newspaper*, October 1852, Ebenezer Landells, London, England.

*The Observer*, September 1848, Lewis Doxat, London, England.

*The Spectator*, December 1832, Volume 5, Robert Stephen Rintoul, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, September 1841, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, October 1843, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, October 1844, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, September 1847, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, November 1850, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, July 1850, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion*, September 1851, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, May 1827, John Bell, London, England.

*The World of Fashion and Monthly Magazine of the Courts of London and Paris Fashions and Literature, Music, Fine Arts, the Opera and the Theatres*, November 1843, John Bell, London, England.

### **Secondary Sources: Articles**

Sally Tuckett, "National Dress, Gender and Scotland: 1745-1822," *Textile History*, Volume 40, Issue 2, 2009, pp. 140-151.

Anita Quye and Hugh Cheape, "Rediscovering the Arisaid," *Costume*, Volume 42, Issue 1, 2008, pp. 1-20.

**Secondary Sources: Books**

Cannizzo, Jeanne, *Our Highland Home: Victoria and Albert in Scotland*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2005.

Dunbar, John Telfer, *The Costume of Scotland*, Batsford, London, England, 1981.

Ehrman, Edwina, *The Wedding Dress: 300 Years of Bridal Fashions*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2014.

Hesketh, Christian, *Tartans*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, England, 1961.

Kerr, John, *Queen Victoria's Scottish Diaries: Her Dream Days*, Eric Dobby Publishing, Orpington, Kent, England, 1992.

Lewis, Jayne Elizabeth, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation*, Routledge, London, England, 1998.

McClintock, H.F., "Old Highland Dress and Tartans," in *Old Irish & Highland Dress*, H.F. McClintock, Ed., Dundalgan Press, Dundalk, County Louth, Ireland, 1950.

Pittock, Murray, *Jacobitism*, Macmillan Press, Houndmills, Hampshire, England, 1998.

Pittock, Murray, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*, Routledge, London, England, 1991.

Tuckett, Sally, *Weaving the Nation: Scottish Clothing and Textile Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century*, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2010.

**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Dr. Sally Tuckett, my academic supervisor at The University of Glasgow, Scotland, who helped, advised, and guided me in writing my Master's dissertation, from which this article is drawn.

Copyright © 2020 Martina Licata  
Email: [martina.licata27@gmail.com](mailto:martina.licata27@gmail.com)

Martina Licata is a graduate of The University of Glasgow, Scotland, where she completed a Master of Letters in Art History: Dress and Textile Histories. Her dissertation was about Scottish influences on British womenswear in the first half of the nineteenth century, investigating elements of Scottish fashions that were brought back into style after their previous fall from grace in the eighteenth century. Prior to her Master's in Glasgow, Martina studied fashion design in Milan, Italy, where her dissertation on the dichotomy between the dresses of the rich and poor in Victorian London led her to pursue an academic career in dress history. Martina has also studied costume-making in London, focusing on Victorian and Edwardian attire.

## **The Rise and Fall of the Paisley Shawl through the Nineteenth Century**

Lucy Elizabeth McConnell

### **Abstract**

This article aims to uncover the effects that fluctuations in the trade of what is now known as the Paisley shawl had on the town of Paisley, Scotland, and those who produced it. The article will explore the turbulent history of the pine pattern shawl, analysing the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts surrounding the manufacture of such shawls in Paisley, and why they came to be produced there. A new affluent middle class established a culture of materialism and consumption, defining what was desirable and, consequently, most in demand. This, in turn, shaped the life of the Paisley shawl and the weavers who created it. To this day, the pine pattern is associated with the name of Paisley. This article serves to analyse and record the experience of those involved in the manufacture of pine pattern shawls in the town of Paisley, Scotland.

## Introduction

“...keep an eye on Paisley.”<sup>1</sup>

This article will expose the impacts of the pine pattern shawl on the town with which it was most associated: Paisley. Considered one of the most prosperous towns in Britain, let alone Scotland, due to its contribution to the textile trades, Paisley was able to eclipse its competitors and become the lead, if not sole, manufacturer of woven pine pattern shawls in Europe. To record the influence the shawl had on the town and the people who created it is imperative, as at one time the shawl was one of the most famed garments globally.

Key debates in existing historiography around the Paisley shawl include the concentration of textile industries in the west of Scotland and trade fluctuations. Previous research has centrally focused on the development of the production of textiles during the late eighteenth century, and the introduction of the shawl to Paisley. Here, earlier studies have examined statistical effects of an increasingly industrialising town, often not accounting for the lived experience of these changes. A central focus of this article, as a social and geographical case study, is the impact of trade fluctuations on those involved in the shawl trade. By drawing together primary literature, the reality of the impacts of fashion, trade highs, and depressions come to light.

### Kashmir Shawls: Origins to Empire

Growing awareness of—and an ability to purchase—fine quality goods was increasing exponentially during the eighteenth century. An increased purchasing power amongst the European elite and middle classes was ripe for exploitation through the establishment of overseas territories and access to a wide variety of newly exploitable goods, many of which were imported from the East. Pleasure, luxury, and respectability were central to the desires of the new material culture, and items such as highly decorative *būṭā* patterned shawls were the perfect excess.<sup>2</sup> The form we know today as the “Paisley” pattern is referred to as such due to the weaving of imitation Kashmir shawls in the Scottish town of Paisley. Through the nineteenth

---

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Disraeli, *Endymion*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, England, 1881, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 2007, p. 19.

century, these associations with Paisley were formed. The *būṭā* pattern, meaning “flower,” was the name used to describe the form in Kashmir. In western society, these patterns were universally referred to as “pine” or “cones.” As is the focus of this article, reference is made most frequently to Paisley shawls as pine pattern shawls, as they were commonly called in western society during this period.<sup>3</sup> Beginning its life in Kashmir, India, the pine pattern shawl was originally worn by the most elite men. Kashmir shawls were highly decorative textiles, covered with colourful forms in the shape of the later known “Paisley teardrop” pattern, an ancient eastern spiritual symbol, and woven of the finest goat’s wool, taking several years to complete.<sup>4 5 6 7</sup> The high cost of purchasing such a fine garment can be attributed to these features of Kashmir originals (Figure 1);<sup>8</sup> the desirability of such a decorative textile was nevertheless attractive to travellers in India.



Figure 1:  
*Kashmir Shawl*,  
Embroidered Cashmere, circa 1780,  
© The Victoria and Albert Museum,  
London, England, IM.212-1920.

---

<sup>3</sup> John Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, Published by His Majesty’s Stationery Office (HMSO), London, England, 1981, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Valerie Reilly, *The Official Illustrated History: The Paisley Pattern*, Richard Drew Publishing, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1987, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Moira Burgess, *Discover Paisley*, Renfrew District Council, Paisley, Scotland, 1991, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Cyril Howard Rock, *Paisley Shawls: A Chapter of the Industrial Revolution*, Paisley Museum and Art Galleries, Paisley, Scotland, 1966, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Burgess, op cit.

<sup>8</sup> Reilly, op cit.

The expansion of the European empires took vast swathes of explorers, soldiers, and employees to countries under imperial rule. Those stationed in India purchased Kashmir shawls, transporting these elaborately decorated textiles with them on their return home. Notably, the British East India Company (BEIC) stationed military personnel in countries such as India, where British colonial rule had been in place over many Indian states for over 200 years, imposing many political, social, and economic regulations.<sup>9</sup> French service personnel stationed in Asia during Napoleon's 1798–1801 French–Egyptian operation also acquired many Kashmir shawls.<sup>10</sup> Such fashionable items soon made their way to France, becoming staples of French bourgeois women's wardrobes, illustrating further the expense and attractive adornment of these Indian originals.<sup>11</sup>

### European Imitation

The introduction of the pine pattern shawl to the European market immediately created a high demand for the garment. Exploration was coupled with a rise in industry; an expanding Empire had its basis in trade.<sup>12</sup> The importation of goods of all kinds from the East created an eager market for the consumption of fancy goods, and coincided with a rise in industry at home attempting to imitate such luxuries.<sup>13</sup> Adopting and adapting techniques, British manufacturers were able to create products similar to those desired by their market.<sup>14</sup> Demand within British and European markets for such items was increasing, and that these could be produced closer to home was central to the success of imitation Kashmir shawl production in Britain and France. The increase in British manufacturing and the desire for goods made at home correlated with aspirations of national identity with ownership of British-made goods;<sup>15</sup> shawls made at home were deemed enviable due to these associations.

---

<sup>9</sup> Lakshmi Iyer, "Direct versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences," *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Volume 92, Issue 4, November 2010, p. 694.

U. Kalpagam, "Temporalities, History and Routine of Rule in Colonial India," *Time & Society*, Volume 8, Issue 1, 1 March 1999, p. 146.

<sup>10</sup> Michelle Maskiell, "Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500–2000," *Journal of World History*, Volume 13, Issue 1, March 2002, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Bryan Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, England, 2014, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Berg, op cit., p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 19.



The fashion for wearing Kashmir shawls in Europe can be recognised as early as the 1770s.<sup>16</sup> This was noted by weavers in Edinburgh, Scotland; Norwich, England; and Lyon, France, all of whom developed techniques enabling the production of textiles similar to Kashmir originals around the early 1780s.<sup>17</sup> Though comparable in appearance, European imitations were produced using vastly different methods.<sup>18</sup> A whole textile was woven on the drawloom, rather than in small pieces later sewn together, as in the original.<sup>19</sup> Though renowned for their quality, early copies differed not only in production techniques, but also in the colour of threads, which were more subdued in the imitation shawl—than the brightly coloured Indian textiles—in order to increase appeal in the European market.<sup>20</sup> Sources detail how European imitations of Kashmir shawls could only be revealed as such by feeling the fabric, woven mostly of sheep's wool rather than fine cashmere goat's wool, as the original.<sup>21</sup> The methods of production employed by European weavers also reduced costs and time required to create the textile, therefore passing savings on to the buyer.<sup>22</sup> This, in turn, expanded the market further, leading to increases in the number of looms turned to the manufacture of pine pattern shawls.<sup>23</sup>

The desire for shawls was ever increasing, and with many manufacturers unable to meet demand, other weaving towns were sought out for assistance. It was to Paisley, situated in the county of Renfrewshire, Scotland, to which several Edinburgh producers ventured for support. The long association of Paisley with weaving drew such external manufacturers to approach Paisley's weavers for assistance with orders.<sup>24</sup> Paterson is one notable Edinburgh manufacturer oftentimes cited as having utilised the expertise of the Paisley weavers in 1805, commissioning the production of pine pattern shawls.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Meta Muir and Janet Paterson, *A Century of Scottish Shawl Making: Edinburgh 1777-1847, Paisley 1805-1877*, Edinburgh City Museums, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1962, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Reilly, op cit., p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Muir and Paterson, op cit., pp. 4, 11.

<sup>20</sup> William Cross, *Descriptive Sketch in the Changes in the Style of Paisley Shawls*, J. & J. Cook, Paisley, Scotland, 1872, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> Anonymous, "Fashion: Paisley Shawls are Back," *Vogue*, Volume 48, Issue 11, 1916, New York, New York, United States, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> Cross, op cit.

<sup>23</sup> Reilly, op cit.

<sup>24</sup> Stuart M. Nisbet, "The Making of Scotland's First Industrial Region: The Early Cotton Industry in Renfrewshire," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2009, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Rock, op cit.

## Why Paisley?

Several factors can explain why production of pine pattern shawls began in Paisley. Paisley's long-held and much respected association with weaving is central to Paisley-produced shawls achieving fame around the world. For countless decades, a variety of textiles were woven on Paisley's looms prior to the arrival of the shawl. It can, however, be noted that the implementation of free trade with England as well as overseas territories resulted in the development of several markets, allowing members of the parish to expand their trades.<sup>26</sup> Linens, silk gauzes, and muslins were staples in Paisley's textile production before the shawl came to the town.<sup>27</sup> A number of London-based establishments, encouraged by the Paisley trade, relocated to the town to profit from lower costs of living and manufacture.<sup>28</sup> The relocation of these London companies benefitted Paisley's weavers with new ties to trades in England and wider Britain, as well as Europe, providing success that may not have otherwise occurred.<sup>29</sup> These early insights illustrate the interest in—and quality of—products made in Paisley; the skill of the weavers must be explored as a factor central to the journey of the pine pattern shawl.

Noted in many sources for their expertise, flexibility, and ingenuity, Paisley's weavers held knowledge passed on to them from previous generations.<sup>30</sup> Not only did the weavers create textiles, they also adapted their looms and implemented new technologies in order to make a variety of products, drafting their own patterns and revising methods in accordance with social and economic trends.<sup>31 32 33 34</sup> Paisley's weavers were highly regarded and respected within the community, esteem reflected in their surroundings; residing in relative comfort, and holding important roles within the community.<sup>35</sup> Many of Paisley's weavers were well educated; ownership of their

---

<sup>26</sup> G. Crawford and W. Semple, *The History of the Town and Parish of Paisley*, Alex Weir Bookseller, Paisley, Scotland, 1782, p. 101.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>29</sup> John Sinclair, *The Old Statistical Accounts of Scotland: Paisley, Renfrew*, Volume VII, 1793, The Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online Service, <http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk>, p. 65, Accessed 1 June 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Cross, op cit., p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Charles Stewart Black, *The Story of Paisley*, J. & J. Cook, Paisley, Scotland, 1948, p. 163.

<sup>32</sup> Nisbet, op cit., p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> A.M. Stewart, *The History and Romance of the Paisley Shawl*, R. Thomson, Glasgow, Scotland, 1946, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Mary McCarthy, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, Paisley Public Library, Paisley, Scotland, 1969, p. 79.

<sup>35</sup> Cross, op cit., p. 5.

own loom allowed them time to participate in debate and the writing of poetry.<sup>36</sup> Many weavers were also perceived as radicals, being opinionated and pursuing early forms of trade unionism.<sup>37</sup> These factors resulted in the perception of the socially upstanding weaver, hailed as a class above any other trade.<sup>38 39</sup>

### Industry, Evolution, and Revolution: The Rise of the Shawl

Widespread industrial advancement occurring in Scotland during the eighteenth century meant the country experienced vast increases in the output of a diverse range of textiles from numerous manufacturing centres. Growth in production to cope with market demand drew trades to settle in these areas. The opening of trade links between England and Scotland through the 1707 Act of Union positioned Scotland's force in textile production strongly to dealers south of the border interested in developing new markets. While previously selling primarily to Glasgow dealers, trade fluctuations in earlier textiles produced in Paisley broadened market interest from London manufacturers, attracted to significantly lower costs of production, including weaver's wages and housing, as well as good transportation links.<sup>40 41</sup>

In 1886, Robert Brown, prominent writer on the history of Paisley, commented on the quality of the textiles, silks, woolens, and the like, produced in Paisley but for sale in London during the eighteenth century, noting them to be "...of very superior quality...so moderately priced...", an obvious encouragement to firms to move their production north.<sup>42</sup> This market expansion and the ability of the weavers to adapt their products in line with demand meant Paisley's weaving trade flourished through increased selling opportunities.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Reilly, op cit., p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> Black, op cit., p. 151.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>39</sup> Cross, op cit.

<sup>40</sup> *Union with England Act*, Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, 1707, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk>, Accessed 14 February 2017.

<sup>41</sup> Crawford and Semple, op cit., pp. 101, 103.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Brown, *History of Paisley*, Volume II, J. & J. Cook, Paisley, Scotland, 1886, p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> Norman Murray, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History*, John Donald, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1978, p. 3.

A thousand weavers were residing in Paisley by the 1740s, and in 1766, reports indicated that there were over 1750 looms dedicated to the production of a variety of textiles, including linen, silk, and wool in the form of various products from fabrics to items such as woollen shawls.<sup>44 45 46</sup> This, compared with the population of weavers, which measured 350 at the beginning of the eighteenth century, exemplifies the rapid increase in the town's weaving population, correlating with the idea of a "revolution" in weaving in Paisley taking hold during the eighteenth century and continuing through the nineteenth century (Figure 2).<sup>47</sup>

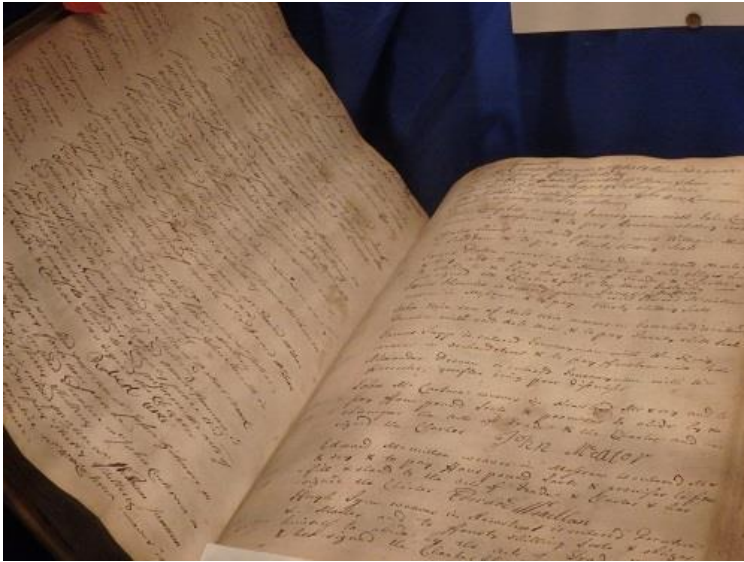


Figure 2:  
*Minute Book*,  
Incorporation of  
Old Weavers,  
Paisley, Scotland,  
1704–1776,  
© Sma' Shot Cottages,  
Paisley, Scotland.

The collapse of the silk trade in Paisley, declining around 1792 due to a reduction in market demand, the need for new textiles to produce—alongside the weaver's enthusiasm for the shawl and their capabilities and lower production costs—made Paisley advantageous to countless firms.<sup>48</sup> The wealth of the nation was understood as a central factor in ensuring a buoyant economy and the progress of Scottish trades, one of which was contributed to by markets at home and overseas, afforded greatly by the British empire after 1707.<sup>49 50</sup> Expanding these markets was understandably attractive to both Scottish and English manufacturers.

<sup>44</sup> Nisbet, op cit., p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Crawford and Semple, op cit., p. 104.

<sup>46</sup> Stewart, op cit.

<sup>47</sup> Nisbet, op cit., p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> Reilly, op cit., p. 8.

<sup>49</sup> Glass, op cit., p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

Sources from the period reveal the popularity of both Kashmir originals and Paisley imitations in women's fashion, commenting on the apparent "...passion for shawls... among all women everywhere..." while also reporting that the fashionable elite still held the highest regard for the originals, due to the quality and price commanded for the garment.<sup>51 52</sup> In 1818, Kashmir shawls were reported to be priced up to £100, whereas Paisley imitations would fetch as little as 10 guineas (£1– 1s.).<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, it must be considered that the centres of high fashion were the chief market for the sale of only the finest shawls of pine pattern produced in Paisley.<sup>54</sup> In 1830, sales of imitation Kashmir shawls produced in Paisley amounted to over £1,000,000 in exports internationally.<sup>55</sup>

### The Paisley Weaver: Work, Life, and Loom

The earliest imitation shawls were created upon the drawloom, with which the weaver was both designer and manufacturer; the development of this loom was perceived as an extremely important advancement in the weaving world. Assisting the weaver on the drawloom was a drawboy or drawgirl, who, during the period 1750–1850, was employed to draw cords in order to raise the "harness" to work the various designs and colours into the fabric, earning them up to 3s. 6d. a week.<sup>56 57</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Anna Maria Fielding Hall, Ed., "Shawls and Where They Come From," *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading*, Volume 28, 1858, T.B. Sharpe, London, England, p. 75.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>53</sup> Lucy Elizabeth McConnell, *Email Correspondence Regarding the Cost of Shawls with Dr. Dan Coughlan*, Curator of Textiles, Paisley Museum and Art Galleries, Paisley, Scotland, 4 April 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Rock, op cit., p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>57</sup> Rev. Dr. Burne and Rev. Robert Macnair, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*, Volume 7, Paisley, Renfrew, Scotland, A. Fullarton & Co., Glasgow, Scotland, 1845, p. 268.

The weavers of Paisley demonstrated their education and passion for their craft in the number of weaver's handbooks created. Two such guides to weaving textiles were Mallock's *The Weaver's Companion* (1785),<sup>58</sup> detailing measurements, weights, and costs involved in textile production, and Macfarlane's *The Damask, and Imitation Shawl Manufacturer's Guide* (1821),<sup>59</sup> which describes the various materials and respective weights required per number of shots to aid the weaver in shawl-making.

The radical nature of Paisley's weavers was displayed most memorably in the Sma' Shot dispute of 1856. With increasing numbers employed by a manufacturer to make shawls, the weavers were not paid for the invisible sma' shot [small shot] thread, despite it being essential in binding the pattern of the shawl. This brought repeated disputes between the weavers and their managers, to which, in 1856, managers agreed to pay for the binding thread, a decision that resulted in much celebration, including a parade, which is continued to this day, and a holiday for many workers.<sup>60</sup>

Increasingly through the nineteenth century, where previously the weaver had led a somewhat solitary existence, working by their own means with the ability to pursue their own interests, notably reading, politics, and poetry, along with developing their craft,<sup>61</sup> expanding production and development of new technologies resulted in the need for an increasing number of trades to be involved in the shawl manufacturing process. A drawboy or drawgirl was necessary (until the widespread use of the Jacquard loom), as were the "flower lashers" and warpers, required to arrange the assortment of threads upon the loom.<sup>62</sup> This job was usually undertaken by women, as was the winding of pirns, essential in carrying the weft of woollen and silk threads across the warp in a shuttle. There were also dyers, winders, and warpers, cutters, sewers, fringers, washers, pickers, and dressers, all essential roles in the creation of each pine patterned shawl, each person an artisan in their own right.<sup>63</sup> Utilising the expertise of subsidiary trades, Paisley's textiles could be produced on a larger scale at lower prices, selling to both fashion and mass markets, and resulting in Paisley overtaking competitors Edinburgh, Norwich, and Lyon, and the subsequent adoption of the shawl as the main product of Paisley.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> James Mallock, *The Weaver's Companion*, R. Morison Junior, Perth, Scotland, 1785, p. 58.

<sup>59</sup> David Macfarlane, *The Damask and Imitation Shawl Manufacturer's Guide*, Young and Gallie, Glasgow, Scotland, 1821, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Rock, op cit., p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> Burgess, op cit., p. 23.

<sup>62</sup> Stewart, op cit., p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> Black, op cit., p. 165.

<sup>64</sup> Rock, op cit., p. 11.

The period 1840–1870 is recognised as the height of the trade in shawls. Increased input from outside sources in the manufacture and sale of shawls, coupled with the increased involvement of several subsidiary trades, meant that reductions encroached into the weaver's wage. This, along with increasing costs and falling earnings meant that weaving was gradually shifting into a waged occupation, altering the class and social wealth of the weaver immeasurably.<sup>65</sup>

### **The Rise of the Shawl: Impacts on the Town**

Paisley before the shawl was by comparison a small weaving town. Paisley was, however, noted in the Old Statistical Accounts of Scotland as being of substantial stature in terms of manufacture in Scotland,<sup>66</sup> namely due to the production of several different textiles in the town, as well as Paisley's location on the river Cart, which enabled transport links for trade. By contrast, the New Statistical Accounts of Scotland record the rapid nature of developments in Paisley's manufacture and trade in textiles as astounding, particularly after the enactment of free trade with England.<sup>67</sup>

Due to the success of the pine pattern shawl, as with earlier textiles, as the largest town of the historic county of Renfrewshire, Paisley underwent massive change. Expanding borders to compensate for population growth incorporated several outlying villages into the town, connecting them with the old town over the river Cart. Scottish Post Office Records detail the addresses of a countless number of shawl weavers, merchants, and manufacturers living and working in Paisley from 1838, revealing the extent to which weaving of the Paisley shawl had become central to Paisley's production.<sup>68</sup> Early perceptions of risk in the product were soon outweighed by increasing demand. In 1831, the population of Paisley and surrounding neighbourhoods had grown to almost 57,500.<sup>69</sup> Many of the residents remained weavers, as well as merchants who had come to settle in Paisley having previously travelled as journeymen to earn their trade. These merchants began to purchase many of the Paisley-produced shawls to sell in London and Europe, as well as on wider

---

<sup>65</sup> Anonymous, *Weaver's Magazine and Literary Companion*, Volume II, John Neilson, Paisley, Scotland, 1819, p. 236.

<sup>66</sup> Sinclair, op cit., p. 62.

<sup>67</sup> Burne and Macnair, op cit., p. 268.

<sup>68</sup> George Fowler, *Fowler's Paisley Commercial Directory for 1838–39*, G. Fowler, Bookseller, Paisley, Scotland, 1838, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> William Chambers and Robert Chambers, "Paisley," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Issue 109, 1834, p. 37.



international markets.<sup>70</sup> The growth of Paisley as a town, the largest in Renfrewshire, can be further linked to the weaving trade, as many of the newly laid out streets were given names connected to textiles, including Silk Street, Gauze Street, and Lawn Street, amongst others (Figure 3 and Figure 4).<sup>71</sup>

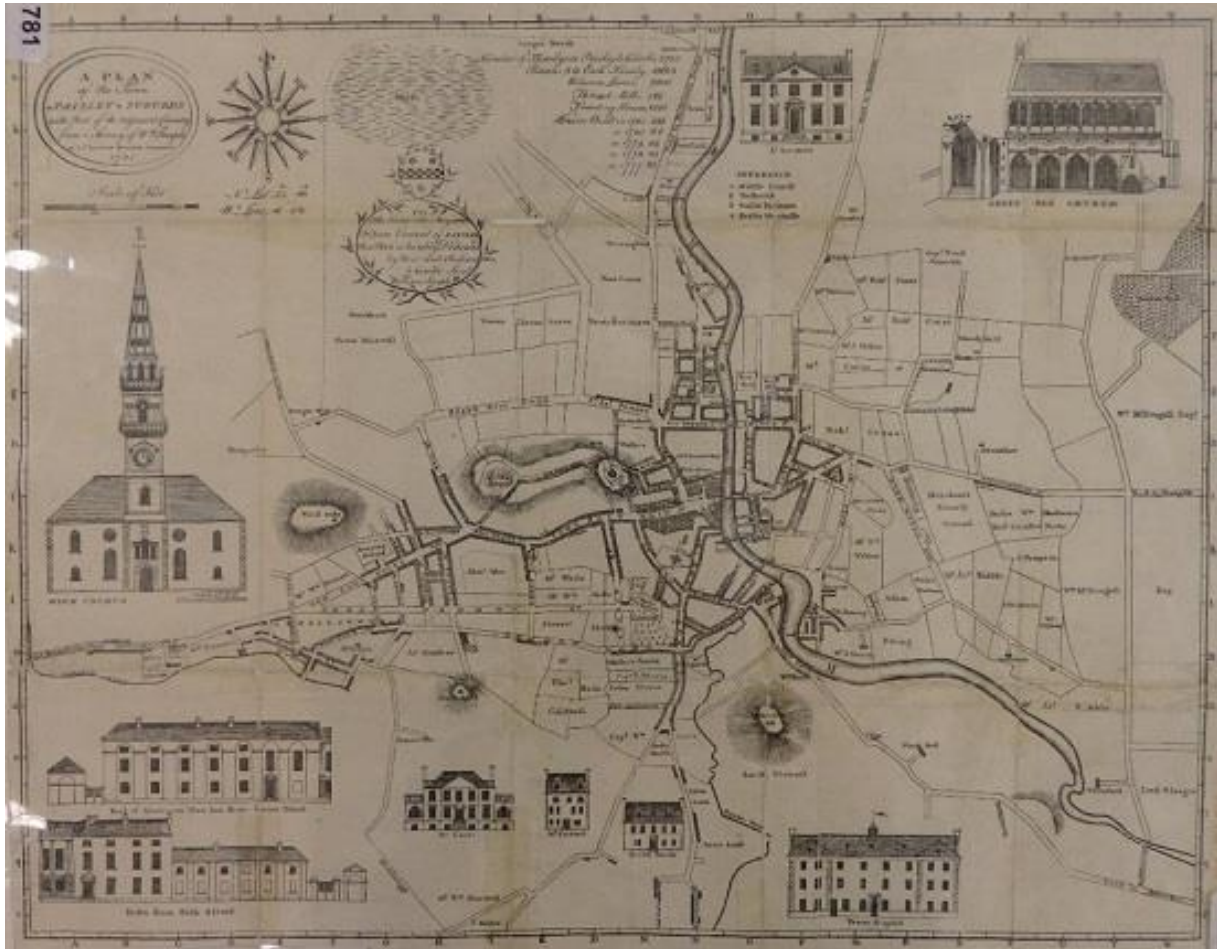


Figure 3:  
*Map of Paisley, Renfrewshire, 1781,*  
Credit: Heritage Services, Renfrewshire Leisure, PC15520.

At the height of shawl production in 1834, the pine pattern shawl became the main product of Paisley, employing approximately 7000 weavers plus more in associated subsidiary trades. Shawls featuring the pine or teardrop pattern, on a plain, or later patterned centre, were to become synonymous with the town, and as such, become known as “Paisley shawls.”<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> McCarthy, op cit., p. 58.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 78.



Figure 4:  
*Map of Paisley, Renfrewshire*  
(Abbey, Middle Church, High Church and Low Church),  
Survey Date: 1858, Publication Date: 1860,  
Credit: Ordnance Survey, Paisley XII.2.

### Fluctuations in Fabric

Fabrics woven prior to the shawl experienced much acclaim as well as enduring downturns in trade. Increases in purchasing power through the eighteenth century exposed centres of production to a variety of new market instabilities. Notably, Paisley's silk gauzes brought much prosperity and praise to the weavers, with Paisley's silks renowned for their quality and cost.<sup>73</sup> Subsequently, the weaving population increased to cater for demand.<sup>74</sup> When the silk trade underwent a decline around 1792, this resulted in muslin becoming the main product of Paisley, with a reduction in the number of looms used under silk production.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Brown, op cit., p. 56.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

Though the production of other textiles in Paisley had increased in the town through the previous century, the shawl came to supersede other textiles during the nineteenth century, and at a rate previously unseen.<sup>76</sup> The scale and competence which the shawl trade assumed exposed a new means of commercial organisation.<sup>77</sup> It was the ruthless nature of the manufacturers and marketers that was both to the advancement and detriment of the shawl. The mass market was the main selling point for the majority of Paisley's shawls, only the finest being reserved for the centres of high fashion, such as London and Paris.<sup>78</sup> While also illustrating the class of shawl, the evolving patternation and design of shawls throughout the nineteenth century display how manufacturers altered their weaving to cater for changing fashions.<sup>79</sup> It can be argued that, often, new techniques, designs, and discoveries in shawl manufacture were made in order to alleviate downturns in the trade, through creating new desires in the fashion for shawls.<sup>80</sup>

Though several downturns were faced in the life of the shawl, the worst was encountered during 1841–1843. Gradually, reductions had encroached into the weaver's wage due to the greater division in labour in the shawl manufacturing process,<sup>81</sup> coupled with a flooded mass market and inevitable result of a reduction in desirability, meaning the number of people purchasing shawls declined. Such was the extent of this major market depression that over half of Paisley's manufacturers became bankrupt, and the town itself also faced bankruptcy, in 1843 affirming insolvency.<sup>82 83</sup> Previous downturns had been met with changes to design, such as at the end of the “first phase” of the Paisley shawl around 1820.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Rock, *op cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Reilly, *op cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>83</sup> Black, *op cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

For several consecutive years, Paisley's weavers faced hardship, having to seek charitable aid on several occasions through the 1820s and 1830s to avoid destitution.<sup>85</sup> This is in stark contrast with sales recorded in 1830, illustrating the turbulent nature of the market for shawls. Relief sought during this market recession came primarily in the form of charitable aid from the parish, as well as Paisley's "Female Union" and "Female Friendly," both established in 1820.<sup>86</sup> Records of cases for the parish from 1839, avidly collected by James Shaw, Paisley's Poor Law Inspector,<sup>87</sup> illustrate the extent to which those involved in weaving sought aid during the 1841-1843 downturn in trade. At one point during this period, over 14,500 weavers and their families were claimed to have been in receipt of relief, higher than previous measurements.<sup>88</sup> "Want of Employment" is repeatedly stated as "Description of Disablement," particularly in records from 1842.<sup>89</sup> Occupations quoted include weaver, "Winder of Pirns," and "Drawboy," being a 16½-year-old girl named Joan.<sup>90 91 92</sup> The amount of time noted as being out of work in each of these cases is lengthy, as is the detail of the individual case notes, illustrating the extent to which seeking financial assistance was unwelcomed.<sup>93</sup>

The case notes for David Ritchie reveal the hardship endured when seeking weaving employment while also needing to provide for dependents. Mr. Ritchie's record reveals he had been out of work for seven weeks, and during his unemployment his wife had been unwell.<sup>94</sup> Provision of "7/- weekly" was given to Ritchie, with relief at this time recorded at an average rate between 6d. and 2s 6d. weekly. Therefore, it must be assumed the seven shillings provided to Mr. Ritchie was also to account for the needs of his wife and children.<sup>95 96</sup> Average earnings for a weaver even during the lowest periods of trade were 6s. per week, therefore the maximum payment available through parochial aid differs quite dramatically, especially when compared to claims

---

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>86</sup> Burne and Macnair, op cit., p. 292.

<sup>87</sup> Wendy M. Gordon, "The Demographics of Scottish Poverty: Paisley's Applicants for Relief, 1861 and 1871," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Volume 30, Issue 1, 2010, p. 27.

<sup>88</sup> Reilly, op cit., p. 47.

<sup>89</sup> James Shaw, *Paisley Poor Law Index*, Statement of Cases #1-1067, Book II I, Statements from 1842, Paisley Public Library Heritage Centre, Paisley, Scotland.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., Statement #898, #912, #944, #951, #956, #969.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., Statement #982.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., Statement #883.

<sup>93</sup> Gordon, op cit., p. 26.

<sup>94</sup> Shaw, op cit., Statement #898.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Burne and Macnair, op cit., p. 285.



that during an earlier high in trade, weavers could earn up to £200 in a year.<sup>97</sup> Though only a sample of countless cases of individuals and families recorded as seeking and being in receipt of support at this time, these examples illustrate the widespread effect of this extensive market depression in shawls on the town and the people of Paisley. It was only in 1872 that Paisley recovered from the effects of this depression, and as such, was able to reclaim its assets from trustees.<sup>98</sup>

It was fashion that brought this downturn in the market for Paisley shawls, but it was also fashion that revived it. Queen Victoria stimulated the trade in shawls after 1843. Her influence on fashion at this time was immense; attempts to emulate her look were global. Making pleas nationwide for funds to support the weavers, the Queen also purchased 17 Paisley shawls in attempt to alleviate the suffering, even wearing one to the christening of the Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII,<sup>99 100 101</sup> which sparked an interest in the wearing of Paisley's pine patterns amongst the fashionable elite once more. Around this time, the crinoline also began to be worn. This round, hooped structure established a new market for weavers, who created shawls in different shapes to suit the vast skirts (Figure 5).



Figure 5:  
*Detail of  
Rectangular  
Paisley Shawl,*  
circa 1840s,  
© Sma' Shot  
Cottages,  
Paisley, Scotland,  
SSC.PS.2020-1.

---

<sup>97</sup> McCarthy, op cit., p. 82.

<sup>98</sup> Black, op cit., 168.

<sup>99</sup> Reilly, op cit., p. 47.

<sup>100</sup> Anonymous, "Fashion: Paisley Shawls are Back," op cit.

<sup>101</sup> McCarthy, op cit., p. 94.

The trade began to flourish once more, even more so from 1840 when the Jaquard loom came into widespread use throughout Britain.<sup>102</sup> With this loom, a system of punched cards was used, enabling a greater number of colours to be used and more intricate patterns attempted.<sup>103</sup> Though taking up much more space than a draw loom and dispensing with a need for a drawboy or drawgirl, the Jacquard loom enabled the production of shawls to increase, resulting in Paisley eclipsing Edinburgh and Norwich in production.<sup>104</sup> The 1843 Parliamentary Papers reveal that to purchase a “shawl loom” would cost between £13 and £14.<sup>105</sup> Ownership could only be undertaken by a manager, understandable when compared with the cost of only a couple of pounds or lower for a plain loom.<sup>106</sup> Here is where the weaver’s status of independence was finally ended, where the manufacture of shawls transformed into mass production.<sup>107</sup>

Countless innovations in Paisley shawl production came into being through the nineteenth century. While some attempted to extend the life of the woven shawl, others aimed to create new markets amongst a variety of consumers, widening the ability to buy such garments to include the working classes. Many of these innovations increased the marketability of the shawl, though some affected the success of fine woven examples. Increasingly, shawls came in a variety of shapes and sizes and also utilised different materials, resulting in a diverse range of textures.<sup>108</sup> Printed shawls came into existence around 1850 in Paisley, following the printing of various other textile products around Scotland during the eighteenth century.<sup>109</sup> These shawls were initially high-quality products taking considerable skill to make, and in which several thousand operatives were engaged. They were, however, always marketed at those unable to afford costly woven examples.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>104</sup> Rock, op cit., p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> UK Government, *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons Select Committee, Enquiry into the Conditions of the Handloom Weavers; Evidence of James Orr Given to the Select Committee for the Condition of the Handloom Weavers, Published by His Majesty’s Stationery Office (HMSO), London, England, 1834, p. 11.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> William Chambers and Robert Chambers, “The Shawl,” *Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, Issue 365, 1860, pp. 403–404.

<sup>109</sup> Rock, op cit., p. 17.

<sup>110</sup> Stewart, op cit., p. 167.

Though also employing elaborate designs, some even more so than woven shawls, the quality of printed shawls soon deteriorated, being printed onto cheaper cottons rather than the earlier silks. The wearing of these examples of shawls soon divided the market, as they were adopted by Paisley's mill girls. Another example of the changing shawl was the idea of Cunningham, who is credited with creating the "reversible" shawl around 1865, towards the end of shawl production, possibly an attempt to overcome the final downturn of the shawl.<sup>111</sup>

The fashionable elite endorsed the shawl during the late eighteenth century, but by the 1870s, the shawl was becoming outmoded. Another change in dress emerged in the guise of the bustle skirt, deemed unsuited to such a large expanse of covering of a shawl.<sup>112</sup> A drastic reduction in the production of shawls in Paisley soon ensued, weaving only continuing in Paisley to some extent after for the manufacture of tartans, muslins, and tapestry.<sup>113</sup> This demise in shawl-making subsequently ended around the 1870s, when the highly decorated and colourful shawls were no longer the fashion staple they once had been.<sup>114</sup>

The end of shawl production can be related centrally to fashion, as well as to levels of production and garment quality through product diversification. Despite the demise of the shawl, in subsequent years they were remembered fondly, even coming into fashion several times once more. *Vogue* magazine ran several articles promoting the wearing of shawls. A 1916 edition of *Vogue* commented that taking scissors to the textile would be of the highest disrespect to such a fine garment, and that instead, one should wear her shawl in pursuit of fashion.<sup>115</sup> This example illustrates the endurance of the shawl as a textile that should be respected and adored, something which resonates today.

---

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>112</sup> Rock, op cit., p. 22.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Reilly, op cit., p. 60.

<sup>115</sup> Anonymous, "Fashion: Paisley Shawls are Back," op cit.



## Conclusion

Historiography relating to the shawl to date has had a descriptive rather than analytical focus. The rise of the shawl is frequently commented on, but the falls in trade greatly affected the weavers, and overall, the shawl, most dramatically. The pine patterned shawl came to be produced in Paisley because of the weavers. The town held a long association with the craft of weaving, with knowledge passed through the generations giving Paisley's weavers the dexterity to adapt, enabling them to weave a range of textiles on their looms. The status of the shawl was founded in Kashmir originals, and soon after, early examples produced in Paisley. Fashion was the making of the shawl, but it also led to several fluctuations and the eventual downfall of the shawl trade. The social implications of fashion led the market for shawls both positively and negatively, as well as economically. The shawl was prominent in fashion for most of the nineteenth century, and as such, it is remembered to this day as playing a prominent role in the life of many, even into the twentieth century. It is therefore important to recognise the influence the shawl had both in fashion and on those who produced it.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Unpublished

McConnell, Lucy Elizabeth, *Email Correspondence Regarding the Cost of Shawls with Dr. Dan Coughlan*, Curator of Textiles, Paisley Museum and Art Galleries, Paisley, Scotland, 4 April 2017.

### Primary Sources: Published

Anonymous, "Fashion: Paisley Shawls are Back," *Vogue*, Volume 48, Issue 11, 1916, New York, New York, United States, p. 126.

Anonymous, *Weaver's Magazine and Literary Companion*, Volume II, John Neilson, Paisley, Scotland, 1819.

Brown, Robert, *History of Paisley*, Volume II, J. & J. Cook, Paisley, Scotland, 1886.

Burne, Rev. Dr. and Macnair, Rev. Robert, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*, Volume 7, Paisley, Renfrew, Scotland, A. Fullarton & Co., Glasgow, Scotland, 1845.

Chambers, William and Chambers, Robert, "Paisley," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Issue 109, 1834, p. 37.

Chambers, William and Chambers, Robert, "The Shawl," *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, Issue 365, 1860, pp. 403-404.

Crawfurd, G. and Semple, W., *The History of the Town and Parish of Paisley*, Alex Weir Bookseller, Paisley, Scotland, 1782.

Cross, William, *Descriptive Sketch in the Changes in the Style of Paisley Shawls*, J. & J. Cook, Paisley, Scotland, 1872.

Fowler, George, *Fowler's Paisley Commercial Directory for 1838-39*, G. Fowler, Bookseller, Paisley, Scotland, 1838.

Government, UK, *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons Select Committee, Enquiry into the Conditions of the Handloom Weavers; Evidence of James Orr Given to the Select Committee for the Condition of the Handloom Weavers, Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), London, England, 1834, pp. 1-343.

Hall, Ed., Anna Maria Fielding, "Shawls and Where They Come From," *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading*, Volume 28, 1858, T.B. Sharpe, London, England, pp. 75-78.

Macfarlane, David, *The Damask and Imitation Shawl Manufacturer's Guide*, Young and Gallie, Glasgow, Scotland, 1821.

Mallock, James, *The Weaver's Companion*, R. Morison Junior, Perth, Scotland, 1785.

Shaw, James, *Paisley Poor Law Index*, Statement of Cases #1-1067, Book II I, Statements from 1842, Paisley Public Library Heritage Centre, Paisley, Scotland.

### Secondary Sources: Articles

Gordon, Wendy M., "The Demographics of Scottish Poverty: Paisley's Applicants for Relief, 1861 and 1871," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Volume 30, Issue 1, 2010, pp. 25-42.

Iyer, Lakshmi, "Direct versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences," *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Volume 92, Issue 4, November 2010, pp. 693-713.

Kalpagam, U., "Temporalities, History and Routine of Rule in Colonial India," *Time & Society*, Volume 8, Issue 1, 1 March 1999, pp. 141-159.

Maskiell, Michelle, "Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500-2000," *Journal of World History*, Volume 13, Issue 1, March 2002, pp. 27-65.

Nisbet, Stuart M., "The Making of Scotland's First Industrial Region: The Early Cotton Industry in Renfrewshire," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2009, pp. 1-28.

### Secondary Sources: Books

Black, Charles Stewart, *The Story of Paisley*, J. & J. Cook, Paisley, Scotland, 1948.

Burgess, Moira, *Discover Paisley*, Renfrew District Council, Paisley, Scotland, 1991.

Berg, Maxine, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 2007.

Disraeli, Benjamin, *Endymion*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, England, 1881.

Glass, Bryan, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, England, 2014.

Irwin, John, *The Kashmir Shawl*, Published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), London, England, 1981.

McCarthy, Mary, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, Paisley Public Library, Paisley, Scotland, 1969.

Muir, Meta and Paterson, Janet, *A Century of Scottish Shawl Making: Edinburgh 1777-1847, Paisley 1805-1877*, Edinburgh City Museums, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1962.

Murray, Norman, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History*, John Donald, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1978.

Reilly, Valerie, *The Official Illustrated History: The Paisley Pattern*, Richard Drew Publishing, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1987.

Rock, Cyril Howard, *Paisley Shawls: A Chapter of the Industrial Revolution*, Paisley Museum and Art Galleries, Paisley, Scotland, 1966.

Stewart, A.M., *The History and Romance of the Paisley Shawl*, R. Thomson, Glasgow, Scotland, 1946.

### Internet Sources

*Union with England Act*, Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, 1707, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk>, Accessed 14 February 2017.

Sinclair, John, *The Old Statistical Accounts of Scotland: Paisley, Renfrew*, Volume VII, 1793, The Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online Service, <http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk>, p. 65, Accessed 1 June 2019.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to offer my thanks to Dr. Victoria Brown and Dr. Vicky Long for their assistance in supervising my undergraduate thesis, which has become this article. Their guidance encouraged me to investigate several aspects of Paisley's shawl industry, cementing my interest in Paisley's textile manufactures as an area which I continue to explore. In completing this research, it is important that the hard work, skill, and knowledge of all the staff at Paisley Central Library's Heritage Centre is not only acknowledged, but highly praised. Their expertise in the field of Paisley's history has been invaluable, initially to the completion of undergraduate and postgraduate research, and since, across my continuing study of Paisley's textile trades. My thanks to Dr. Dan Coughlan for taking the time to walk me through the mechanics behind Paisley's shawl industry. I am also thankful to the volunteers of the Sma' Shot Cottages, their knowledge of Paisley's history knows no bounds. The resources held within the Cottage's collections have provided me with several invaluable sources of primary material, including contemporaneous shawls of all styles and materials, which have aided my research immeasurably.

Copyright © 2020 Lucy Elizabeth McConnell  
Email: [diaryofadresshistorian@hotmail.com](mailto:diaryofadresshistorian@hotmail.com)

Lucy Elizabeth McConnell, a dress and textile historian originally from Leeds, West Yorkshire, England, who has lived a nomadic existence, residing as far afield as New Zealand and Australia, now calls Paisley, Scotland, her home. After gaining a BA (Hons) in history and sociology in 2017 from Glasgow Caledonian University, with her dissertation focusing on the Paisley shawl, Lucy's love of fashion and social history brought her to study for an MLitt in Dress and Textile Histories at The University of Glasgow in 2017/2018, concentrating on the Utility Clothing Scheme in Leeds in her Master's dissertation. Working in exhibitions, heritage, and archives, and with specialisms and research interests in eighteenth century history to the present day, Lucy is currently completing research and exhibitions projects across these periods.

## **Luxury and Excess: The Fan as the Ultimate Fashion Accessory, 1850–1900**

Scott William Schiavone

### **Abstract**

In the mid to late nineteenth century, the courts of Europe grew ever more powerful. The aristocracy and recently moneyed upper middle class flaunted their immense wealth through fashionable dress and luxuriant accessories. One item above all reassumed its position as the ultimate fashionable accessory: the fan. Crafted from lavish materials, painted by celebrated artists and encrusted in precious jewels, fans were an extension and reflection of the wearer's wealth, status, and taste. Using treasures from The Fan Museum in London, England, this article will examine the resurgence of the fan as the period's most statement-worthy fashion accessory. Tracing the birth and evolution of the *éventail d'art* [art fan], which elevated the craft of fan-making into an art form, this article will examine their patronage, design, and execution, which demanded the best artists, sculptors, and craftspeople to create fantastical *objets d'art*, in what is arguably the last period of prosperity for the illustrious fan-maker.



## Introduction

The study of fans requires specialist terminology with which many fashion historians or scholars may be unfamiliar. In order to facilitate understanding, Figure 1 illustrates the anatomy of the fan. First of all, there are sticks and guards. The term, guard, refers to the outer guard sticks that, when closed, protect the sticks and pleated leaf from damage. The guard sticks are usually rather ornate and decorated with gilding or precious stones. The sticks are situated between the two guard sticks. The sticks are made of two component parts: the shoulder and the rib. The shoulder is normally the shaped part of the stick where the bottom edge of the pleated leaf sits. The rib is the part of the stick that is attached to the pleated leaf either on the back—in the case of a single leaf—or sandwiched between both leaves on a double leaf fan.

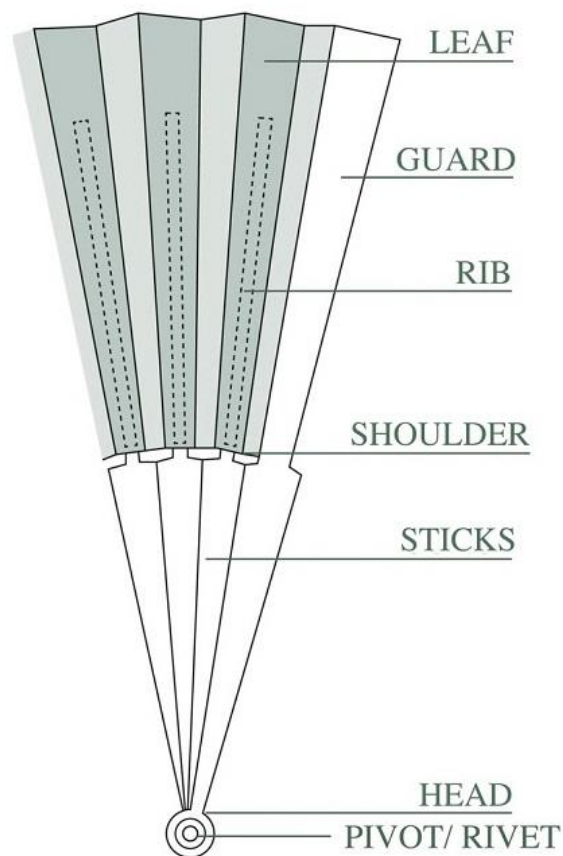


Figure 1:  
*Anatomy of a Fan*,  
Artist Unknown,  
Date Unknown,  
© The Fan Museum,  
London, England.

Collectively, the entire structure of sticks and guards is referred to as the monture. Secondly, the leaf of the fan is the pleated part, usually made from paper or another material, such as animal skin. The leaf can be single, meaning, the ribs are exposed on the reverse; or the leaf can be double, meaning, the ribs are sandwiched between a front leaf and a back leaf. Finally, the head of the fan is actually found at the bottom of the fan, where the sticks and guards are held together around the pivot or rivet. The pivot or rivet is the point at which the entire structure rotates.

### Fashionable Dress and Luxuriant Accessories

In the mid to late nineteenth century, the courts of Europe grew ever more powerful and alongside the new aristocracy, the recently moneyed upper middle class flaunted their immense wealth through fashionable dress and luxuriant accessories. Paris took centre stage and the fashionable lifestyle took its cue from the Salons and grand balls organised by the court. These were the places to see and be seen as ladies flocked to Parisian couturier Charles Frederick Worth (1825–1895) for ephemeral gowns made from yard upon yard of silk and tulle. Worth dressed some of the period's most notable personages, including Princess Pauline von Metternich (1836–1921), Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820–1904), and possibly his most prestigious client, Eugénie de Montijo (1826–1920), Empress of the French. Worth's famous clientele formed the cornerstone of his success and secured his place as dresser to the Imperial court and to ladies from the upper echelons of society. Fashion was an expensive commodity and etiquette often dictated that a lady never wore the same outfit twice. On average, a client's annual expenditure at the house of Worth ranged from 10,000 to 100,000 francs.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1850s (a period when mid nineteenth century bourgeois materialism was celebrated in vast international exhibitions in London and Paris), conspicuous consumption became almost an art form in the life of an elite woman of fashion (Figure 2).<sup>2</sup> Contemporary writer, August Debay, commented:

Jewellery, dress, flowers and all the immense variety of ornaments that make up a dazzling toilette, have arrived at a state of perfection which characterises periods of luxury. Diamonds, pearls, gold, silver polished steel, crystal, feathers, silk, etc. have been transformed into delicious articles of the toilette.<sup>3 4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Marie Martin-Hattemberg, Fabrice Olivieri, Françoise Tétart-Vittu, and Chantal Trubert-Tollu, *The House of Worth, 1858–1954: The Birth of Haute Couture*, Thames & Hudson, London, England, 2017, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *Ingres in Fashion*, Yale University Press, London, England, 1999, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Les bijoux, les parures, les fleurs, et toute cette immense variétés d'ornements qui servent à composer une éblouissante toilette, sont arrives à ce point de perfection qui caractérise les époques de luxe. Les diamants, les perles, l'or, l'argent, l'acier poli, le cristal, les plumes, la soie, etc. ont été transformés en délicieux objets de toilette.

<sup>4</sup> Auguste Debay, *Hygiène vestimentaire. Les modes et les parures chez les français depuis l'établissement de la monarchie jusqu'à nos jours, précédé d'un curieux parallèle des modes chez les anciennes dames grecques et romaines*, [Dress Hygiene: Fashions and Adornments among the French since the Establishment of the Monarchy until Today; Preceded by a Curious Parallel of Fashions among the Ancient Greek and Roman Ladies], E. Dentu, Paris, France, 1857, p. 157.



Figure 2:  
*Portrait of Madame Paul-Sigisbert Moitessier*,  
Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres,  
1856, Oil on Canvas,  
© The National Gallery, London, England,  
Labelled for Reuse, <https://commons.wikimedia.org>.

One item above all reassumed its position as the ultimate fashionable accessory: the fan. These covetable, expensive, and luxurious accessories were often crafted from lavish materials, painted by Salon-exhibited artists, and encrusted in precious jewels by well-known, court approved jewellers. The fan became a symbol of elegance and style, symbolising a way of life, and a reflection of the wearer's wealth and status.

### Fête Impériale

The 1850s welcomed a period of prosperity in Europe. The Second French Empire was firmly established when, in 1852, Charles-Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (1808–1873) staged a coup d'état, declared himself Emperor Napoleon III, and set about dazzling Europe by reviving the pomp and ceremony of Versailles. The Emperor rallied support for his new regime with a series of celebratory events and sumptuous balls known as *fête impériale* (Figure 3). The Second Empire was an age of opulence rather than taste; the *nouveaux riches* were more intent on quantity than quality; they were anxious to display their wealth<sup>5</sup>. Fuelling a booming luxury goods market, the burgeoning middle classes and nobility flaunted the trappings of their wealth, and materialism was celebrated in the great international exhibitions of London and Paris.



Figure 3:

*Visite de la reine Victoria à Paris en 1855, le souper offert par Napoléon III  
dans la salle de l'Opéra du château de Versailles,*

Eugène Lami, 1855, Watercolour, © Palace of Versailles, Versailles, France,  
Labelled for Reuse, <https://commons.wikimedia.org>.

---

<sup>5</sup> Joanna Richardson, *La Vie Parisienne, 1852–1870*, Hamish Hamilton, London, England, 1971, p. 235.

The Imperial court, and other aspects of court life, modelled itself on the Ancien Régime, due mainly to the Empress Eugénie and her fascination with Marie Antoinette (1755–1793). This obsession resulted in an almost superstitious cult for the ill-fated Queen, the Empress often comparing herself, and her position, to that of Marie Antoinette and surrounding herself with relics from her personal effects. This nostalgia for and revival of the past created a vogue for pastiche scenes of idyllic pre-revolutionary aristocratic life. It is mostly this genre of painting that unfurled on the decorated pleats of ladies' fans during the period.

### **Two Fan-Makers in Particular**

Fan-making and manufacture experienced a period of decline in the early part of the nineteenth century as a direct result of the French Revolution and the fan's ubiquitous associations with the Ancient Regime. The centre of fan-making and production moved from Paris to other cities such as Madrid, Spain, and many crafts people were lost as they were drafted to fight in the Napoleonic wars. By the 1850s, however, the art and craft of fan-making was enjoying a renaissance, and during the great exhibitions of London (1851)<sup>6</sup> and Paris (1855),<sup>7</sup> the fan-making industry was given notable mention. Two fan-makers in particular received accolades for their fine workmanship, Duvelleroy and Alexandre. By the 1860s, both maisons were firmly established as purveyors of fine style and luxury and enjoyed royal patronage as the leading fan-makers to the courts of Europe. In an altogether different league to the anonymous fan painters who toiled for a living during the eighteenth century, the grandest fan-makers assembled coterie of skilled artists, many of whom exhibited at the Paris Salons, thus bestowing upon the discipline of fan painting a prestige never before attained. Materials, such as ivory and mother of pearl, were sculpted with an extraordinary degree of finesse. Craftspeople sometimes even inscribed their signatures or makers' marks, thus identifying their work and proclaiming their brilliance—an act of symbolic significance that placed the artisan on a par with the artist.

---

<sup>6</sup> The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations or The Great Exhibition took place in Hyde Park, London, from 1 May 1851 to 15 October 1851.

<sup>7</sup> The Exposition Universelle of 1855 was an International Exhibition held on the Champs-Élysées in Paris from 15 May 1855 to 15 November 1855.



The Second Empire's aforementioned fascination with the Ancien Régime set a benchmark for the style of fan that was designed and produced for the aristocracy and the newly enriched bourgeoisie. Both fan-makers and fan painters followed the vogue for eighteenth century revival styles as a manifestation of the superiority of the craftsmanship of the eighteenth century and its now positive connotations with gracious living and taste. The first of these notable fan-makers was Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy (1802–1889), who established his maison in Paris in 1827. Initially, he bypassed the very expensive top market in favour of mass-produced popular fans with wooden sticks or the cheaper mother of pearl known as “Palais Royal.”<sup>8</sup> Duvelleroy obtained his appointment as supplier to Queen Victoria (1819–1901) after the production of a relatively inexpensive fan comprised of a printed paper leaf, mounted on wooden sticks (Figure 4), dated circa 1849, which featured the Queen and her Prince Consort surrounded by their children after the well-known painting by Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1806–1873), dated 1846. What is interesting to note is the difference in the number of children depicted between the original painting and the fan which increases from five to seven, a clear indication of the ever-expanding Royal family.



Figure 4:

*Folding Fan Depicting the Royal Family,*

Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy, circa 1849, Paris, France, Made from Paper and Wood,

© The Fan Museum, London, England, LDFAN2010.122.

---

<sup>8</sup> Hélène Alexander, *Duvelleroy King of Fans: Fan Maker to Kings*, The Fan Museum, London, England, 1995, p. 3.

At the Great Exhibition of 1851, Duvelleroy received the Prize Medal in fan-making alongside one of his fan-making contemporaries, Alexandre, and continued to be awarded at the many subsequent international exhibitions where he was not a member of the distinguished judging panel. As a decorated fan-maker, Duvelleroy created the Empress Eugénie's wedding fan for her marriage to Napoleon III in 1853 and was awarded the greatest order of merit for the French, the prestigious Légion d'Honneur, in 1867. Shortly after his success at the Great Exhibition, Duvelleroy opened his London boutique, originally situated at 167 Regent Street,<sup>9</sup> then subsequently relocating to Bond Street.<sup>10</sup> Duvelleroy had two sons who would continue the family business, Jules Duvelleroy (1839-?) and Georges Duvelleroy (1856-1930), the latter one well into the twentieth century. Jules Duvelleroy, born out of wedlock, was given the Duvelleroy London boutique in 1861, to avoid any problems over inheritance. In 1868, Jules sold his London business to Algaé Thomas, whose family retained the Duvelleroy name, and remained in business until the 1950s.<sup>11</sup> Georges Duvelleroy took over the management of the Paris branch in 1887 when his father retired, and achieved great success with the house, especially during the Belle Époque, at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900, and continuing into the 1920s. Maison Duvelleroy still remains in operation today, producing prêt-à-porter and couture fans from premises at 17 Rue Amélie on Paris' fashionable Left Bank.

A Duvelleroy London fan from the collection at The Fan Museum (Figure 5), dating from circa 1876, demonstrates the height of sophistication reached by the house during the period. Although by this date the company was no longer under the management of Jules Duvelleroy, the house still retained its position of excellence as makers of fine quality, luxury fans. The ivory monture is richly carved, gilt and signed on the reverse guard by the celebrated *tabletier* [stick-maker] Alfred Jorel (1830-1888). The leaf is painted *en grisaille* [in shades of grey] with an eighteenth century pastiche of ladies and gentlemen in a garden playing musical instruments, a favourite pastime of eighteenth century aristocrats. The composition is signed by the artist Antoine Jean Étienne (Tony) Faivre (1830-1906) and is dated circa 1876. The reverse is painted with an elaborate monogram and is signed and dated by the maker; Duvelleroy, London, 1877. Although Duvelleroy achieved considerable fame after 1851 in both London and Paris, it is not until the 1860s that we find the maison competing with such prestigious names as Parisian master fan-maker, Alexandre.

---

<sup>9</sup> Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-Dressed Englishwoman Bought Her Clothes*, Faber and Faber, London, England, 2012, p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander, *op cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.



Figure 5:  
*Folding Fan Painted with Ladies and Gentlemen Making Music*,  
Duvelleroy London, circa 1876, Paris, France, Made from Canepin and Ivory,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1571.<sup>12</sup>

Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre (1822–1887) was active in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century when the art of fan-making reached a most glorious apogee. The illustrious fan-maker enjoyed patronage from the crowned heads of Europe, including the Empress of France, the Empress of Russia, Queen Victoria, the Queen of Holland, and the Queen of Spain, and by 1857, according to an advert in *Le Figaro*, had opened branches in London and Saint Petersburg.<sup>13</sup> The man himself remains something of a mystery; however, it is widely accepted that he started his career during the 1840s as an illustrator and textile designer at Maison Desrochers where he met, fell in love with, and married the boss' daughter. Taking over the business in 1849, he established Maison Alexandre and set about assembling a team of celebrated artists, sculptors, and crafts people to realise the magnificent confections he designed (Figure 6). His pioneering efforts gave rise to a new genre of fan referred to as *éventail d'art*. At a quick glance, Alexandre's fan design clearly conveys his mastery but on closer inspection, the elaborate design and intricate detailing reveals a man who sought to attain perfection and empower his clientele to possess not just a mere fashion accessory, but a handheld masterpiece of decorative art.

---

<sup>12</sup> This fan is signed on the back on the leaf "Duvelleroy London," indicating that it was retailed through the Duvelleroy London store. However, it is most likely that this fan was made in Paris as both the stick-maker Alfred Jorel (1830–1888) and painter Antoine Jean Étienne (Tony) Faivre (1830–1906) were French and active in Paris during the period.

<sup>13</sup> Hélène Alexander, *Alexandre: Fan-Maker to the Courts of Europe*, Studio Fasoli, The Fan Museum, London, England, 2012, p. 13.





Figure 6:  
*Design for a Fan in Ink on Paper,*  
Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1880, Paris, France,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection.

Alexandre won first class medals at the Paris exhibitions of 1855, 1867, and 1878. It was at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 that he caught the attention of one of his most important patrons, the Empress Eugénie. In *Le Catalogue des Éventails d'Art Exposés par M. Alexandre*, the publication that accompanied London's 1862 Exhibition, it is evident that Alexandre operated a tiered pricing structure as listed within the catalogue is an array of prices one could pay for an Alexandre fan, anything from 150 francs and soaring to 10,000 francs (an exorbitant £23,000 in 2020). The catalogue also describes a unique collaboration with Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780–1867), one of the most celebrated artists of the period, who is listed as having designed a fan. The mention of a fan designed by Ingres has intrigued fan historians and scholars as the location of this fan, if still in existence, is currently unknown.

Despite his status as an artist, his Imperial connections and patronage from wealthy clients, Alexandre, unlike Duvelleroy, never received France's Légion d'Honneur. In 1875, Alexandre retired from public life and sold the business, selling his collection of fans, fan leaves, watercolours, and drawings at auction at the hôtel Drouot in May 1875. It is believed Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy attended the auction and purchased items from the collection. The auction raised over 120,000 francs,<sup>14</sup> equating to over £276,000 today. The name and business continued, firstly under the creative direction of Mme L. Guérin in 1877<sup>15</sup> and then Berthe Evette from 1892.<sup>16</sup> Neither leader matched the creative output of the company's founder and by the early twentieth century the maison had vanished from the trading directories.<sup>17</sup>

A fan from Maison Alexandre circa 1860 (Figure 7), shows the exquisite craftsmanship synonymous with the house. This fan is crafted from ivory, the sticks and guards sumptuously carved with flowers and putti<sup>18</sup> with inset plaques of mother of pearl on the shoulder of each stick, to form an intricately detailed gorge. The double canepin<sup>19</sup> leaf is painted with the favoured pastiche scene, this time with figures in a Renaissance style garden, perhaps a wedding as the central male figure, in period costume, seems to be placing a ring on the finger of the woman in white. The reverse is painted with ornate border and displays the house signature, often painted in red, which was to become a trademark and signifier of quality.

---

<sup>14</sup> Georgina Letourmy-Bordier, "Félix Alexandre: un Éventailiste pour L'Impératrice," *Napoléon III: Le Magazine du Second Empire*, No. 46, Mars-Mai 2019, Groupe de Presse Michel Hommel, Paris, France, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander, 2012, op cit., p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Putti—plural of putto—ia a representation of a naked child, especially a cherub or cupid in Renaissance art.

<sup>19</sup> Canepin is a fine leather made from the epidermis of sheep and goats. The word comes from the French word, canepin, meaning "skin."



Figure 7:  
*Folding Fan Depicting Figures in a Medici Style Garden*,  
Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1860, Paris, France,  
Made from Canepin and Ivory,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1850.

### Imperial Splendour

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, excellence in fan-making was accomplished through the unique relationship between the artist and the craftsperson.<sup>20</sup> Alexandre was one such artist and, above everyone else, pioneered the development of the éventail d'art, furnishing the aristocracy and crowned heads of Europe with superior quality, extravagant fans. It was this special relationship between client, artist, and craftsperson that produced some of the most sublime fans associated with the period.

---

<sup>20</sup> Scott William Schiavone, In-Person Interview with Georgina Letourmy-Bordier, Paris, France, 21 June 2019.

One such wealthy client was Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, a French Princess and *Salonnière* [salon host]. She was the daughter of Napoleon I's brother, Jérôme Bonaparte (1784–1860) and Caterina of Württemberg (1783–1835). Originally engaged to her first cousin, the future Napoleon III, the engagement was broken off and subsequently, in 1840, she married Russian nobleman Anatole Demidov (1813–1870). The marriage was an unhappy one and before long the Princess returned to Paris where she became a prominent member of the new aristocracy, hosting glittering soirées in her many Parisian mansions for writers, artists, and intellectuals alike, including Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), who was her librarian.

The Princess' fan (Figure 8), is richly carved with an open lattice pattern, studded with silver and backed with a vibrant pink burgau, a type of sea snail. In addition to the fine carving, the sticks are painted with putti amidst garlands of leaves and fruit, a design that is carried over onto the double canepin leaf, which itself is painted with elaborate panels and vignettes, the central one depicting the Toilette of Venus. The leaf is signed by Edouard Jean-Baptiste Moreau (1825–1878), a painter who exhibited at the Paris Salon and was famous for his fine miniatures of romanticised scenes from the Medieval or Renaissance period. Moreau exhibited at the Salon from 1848 until his death in 1878 and often worked as a fan painter for Alexandre and, although not signed, this fan could potentially be an early collaboration.



Figure 8:  
*Folding Fan Depicting the Toilette of Venus,*  
Maker Unknown, circa 1855, Paris, France,  
Made from Canepin and Ivory,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1751.



Other examples of fans decorated by Moreau can be found in the collections at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) and The Victoria and Albert Museum (London). The reverse of Figure 8 (Figure 9) is painted with an Imperial Eagle, the emblem of the house of Bonaparte, surmounted by an imperial crown, hence the association with the Princess. This fan, circa 1855, is an early example in the development of the éventail d'art, whereby the stick-maker has crafted materials, in this case ivory, in a way not seen since the eighteenth century. Salon-exhibited artists indiscreetly signed the painted pleats whilst the distinguished fan-maker harmonised all the elements to create a masterpiece of decorative art. With this early example, the tangible markers that identify the evolution of the fan from a craft into an art form are firmly established.



Figure 9:

Detail of Reverse, *Folding Fan Depicting the Toilette of Venus*,  
Maker Unknown, circa 1855, Paris, France, Made from Canepin and Ivory,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1751.

Another patron who encouraged the development of the éventail d'art as an art form and promoted the fan-maker as an artist was the Empress Eugénie. Eugénie de Montijo was the last Empress of the French as the wife of Napoleon III. They were married in Paris on 29 January 1853 in a civil ceremony at the Tuileries, followed the next day by a much grander religious ceremony at Notre Dame cathedral. The Empress acquired her first Alexandre fan at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 and bestowed Imperial Patronage on both Alexandre and Duvelleroy, her title stamped in gold on the luxuriously upholstered interiors of their fan boxes.

Like Marie Antoinette, whom she felt a deep affinity with and often styled herself after, the Empress was an arbiter of fashion and the most famous client of Worth. Of course, with every ballgown, an equally luxuriant fan was fundamental in completing the look. The Empress's fan (Figure 10), circa 1860, features a double canepin leaf painted with a theatrical rendition of the Fountain of Youth, a sacred fountain said to rejuvenate those who drank or bathed in its waters. On the left, figures move toward the fountain, hopeful to enjoy its restorative powers, whilst on the right the mood is one of genteel, post-bathing flirtation. The leaf is by Joséphine Calamatta (1817–1893), a French painter and engraver who painted portraits as well as symbolic, religious, and allegorical pictures. Calamatta was influenced by Ingres and received two medals from the Paris Salon.



Figure 10:  
*Folding Fan Depicting the Fountain of Youth,*  
Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1860, Paris, France,  
Made from Canepin and Mother of Pearl,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 826.

On the reverse (Figure 11), a central medallion encircles figures personifying the Arts (art, music, and literature) and a Coat of Arms combining the Napoleonic Eagle and Cauldron, emblem of the Countship of Teba, one of Empress' many hereditary titles. The fan is signed along the back guard stick by master fan-maker, Alexandre. Although mounted onto a simple mother of pearl monture,<sup>21</sup> the fan still cast a spell as a coveted item of luxury as it would have glistened and sparkled in the candlelight of the Imperial ballroom.



Figure 11:  
Detail of Reverse, *Folding Fan Depicting the Fountain of Youth*,  
Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1860, Paris, France,  
Made from Canepin and Mother of Pearl,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 826.

---

<sup>21</sup> The sticks and guards of a fan are collectively referred to as the monture.



Fortunately, this fan is well documented and is identified as belonging to the Empress in the 1870 *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Fans* at the South Kensington Museum (now The Victoria and Albert Museum). The entry, Number 266 in the catalogue, reads as follows:

THE EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH...MODERN  
FRENCH FAN. Mount painted after Eugène Lami by  
Mme Calamatta, 'La Fontaine de Jouvence;' on the reverse  
a shield with the arms of Her Majesty surmounting three  
female figures personifying the Fine Arts. Sticks, mother of  
pearl by Alexandre.<sup>22</sup>

The scale of this exhibition of fans was staggering. Listed in the catalogue are over 500 fans, on loan from Royalty and members of the aristocracy from across Europe, including the Empress Eugénie, Queen Victoria, and The Baroness Meyer de Rothschild (1831–1877). This exhibition was testament to the importance of fans, not just as an integral part of a woman's wardrobe but as a decorative article, a piece of art worthy of display in a museum.

Represented in the collections at The Fan Museum is a fan said to have once belonged to Isabella II (1830–1904), Queen of Spain, 1833–1868. Her reign as Queen was troubled as the Carlists refused to recognise a female sovereign. Isabella was deposed in the revolution of 1868 and formally abdicated in 1870, coinciding with the fall of the Second French Empire. In 1874, her son became King and ruled as King Alfonso XII (1857–1885), thus reinstating the dynastic Spanish Bourbon line.

The exquisitely carved confection (Figure 12) is crafted from mother of pearl, the guards extravagantly sculpted with cherubs ascending a maypole and inscribed with the word *Fidélité* [Loyalty]. The double canepin leaf is painted with eight cherubs, fluttering amongst garlands of flowers and swathes of fabric, and signed by Eugénie Morin Parmentier (1830–1875), a drawer and painter of miniatures who exhibited at the Salon during 1859–1867, receiving a medal in 1864. The reverse is painted with a Royal crown, which can be identified as Spanish, thus indicating the fan's potential provenance.

---

<sup>22</sup> *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Fans*, South Kensington Museum, London, England, 1870, p. 30.



Figure 12:  
*Folding Fan Depicting a Group of Cherubs,*  
 Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1867, Paris, France,  
 Made from Canepin and Mother of Pearl,  
 © The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
 London, England, HA Collection 770.

The reverse of the fan also bears the signature of Alexandre and can be dated accurately to 1867, as the design for the sculpted guard sticks was featured in the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition 1867 in Paris*, (Figure 13) with the accompanying accolade:

M. ALEXANDRE, of Paris, has established throughout Europe, and America, the highest reputation as a manufacturer of FANS, employing artists of the highest ability in their production, both as to painting and sculpture. Those we engrave have been executed for the Empress of the French, the Queen of Spain, and the Empress of Russia. The highest 'Honours' in all exhibitions, have been awarded to M. Alexandre.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> *Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition 1867 in Paris*, Virtue & Co., London, England, 1868, p. 221.

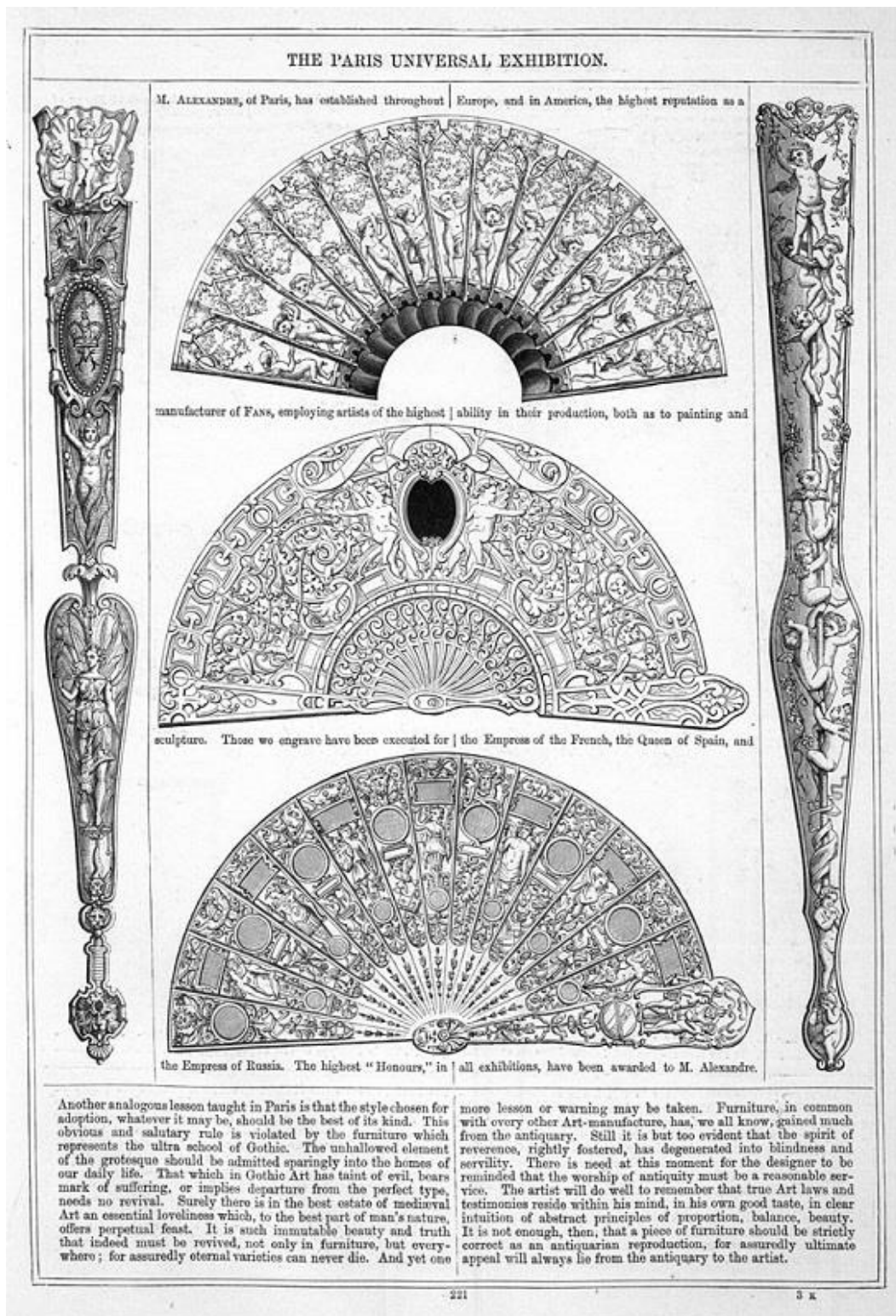


Figure 13:  
*Design for a Fan by Alexandre,*  
*Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition 1867 in Paris,*  
 Virtue & Co., 1868, London, England,  
 Labelled for Reuse, © The University of Southampton Library,  
 Southampton, Hampshire, England.

Dating from 1881, the Austrian court affords us our next example of luxury and excess. This fan (Figure 14) belonged to Princess Stéphanie of Belgium (1864–1945), the daughter of Leopold II (1835–1909) and Queen Marie-Henriette (1836–1902) and the last Crown Princess of the Austrian Empire through her marriage in 1881 to the Crown Prince Rudolph von Hapsburg (1858–1889). The marriage was happy at first, but difficulties rapidly developed between the two. Rudolf was highly strung, unconventional, and very liberal, while Stéphanie's conservative upbringing left her conventional, formal, and reactionary. The relationship between the two broke down when, in 1886, Rudolf infected Stephanie with gonorrhoea, ensuring further pregnancies were impossible and ultimately severing the dynastic line. The marriage ended in tragedy, in 1889: Rudolf and his mistress Baroness Mary Vetsera (1871–1889), were found dead in the imperial hunting lodge in the Austrian woods. Their suspected murder-suicide pact is known as the Mayerling incident.



Figure 14:  
*Folding Fan Depicting  
Isabella Clara Eugenia of Hapsburg and Peter Paul Rubens,*  
Maker Unknown, circa 1881, Paris, France,  
Made from Canepin, Mother of Pearl, and Precious Metals,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1450.



This wonderfully opulent fan (Figure 14 and Figure 15) was a wedding gift to Princess Stéphanie from her uncle and aunt, the Count and Countess of Flanders. The mother of pearl monture has its guards decorated with plaques of solid gold, which are ornamented with fine silver work and diamonds. There are over 1500 rose diamonds featuring floral swags, a crown and the initial S. The jeweller responsible for the ornate plaques adorning the guards remains unknown. After close inspection of the fine workmanship, unfortunately the fan does not appear to bear a hallmark or stamp to identify their maker. The sticks, backed in burgau,<sup>24</sup> are intricately carved with flowers, undulating tendrils and musical instruments. The fan is furnished with a gold, silver, and diamond loop and two one-carat diamonds in the rivet.<sup>25</sup> The double canepin leaf is signed on both sides by Cesare Felix George Dell'Aqua (1821-1904), a specialist in historic paintings and portraits. Dell'Aqua achieved great success for his historic paintings, which were exhibited all over Europe. The Archduke/Emperor Maximilian (1832-1867) commissioned him to paint an important series of paintings at the Palace of Miramare, Italy, built for the Archduke/Emperor and his wife Charlotte of Belgium (1840-1927) during 1856-1860.



Figure 15:  
Detail, *Folding Fan Depicting*  
*Isabella Clara Eugenia of Hapsburg and Peter Paul Rubens*,  
Maker Unknown, circa 1881, Paris, France,  
Made from Canepin, Mother of Pearl, and Precious Metals,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1450.

---

<sup>24</sup> Burgau comes from the green sea snail.

<sup>25</sup> The pivot or rivet is found at the head of the fan and is the point at which the entire structure rotates.

The pleats are painted with an allegorical scene set against the background of the Hôtel de Ville in Brussels. In the centre stands Isabella Clara Eugenia of Hapsburg (1566–1633), her features are those of Princess Stéphanie, receiving a fan from her court painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), portrayed as Dell’Aqua, thus elevating his status as an accomplished court painter. On the reverse, the newlyweds are represented within an eighteenth century pastiche, greeted by two groups converging on either side with garlanded maypoles bearing the couples’ crowned shields, the Lion of Brabant and the Austrian Double Eagle.

### Russian Splendour

After the fall of the Second French Empire in 1870, imperial patronage continued within other domains such as Russia, one of the richest, most sumptuous, and overtly opulent courts of the period. The watercolour sketch by Winterhalter (Figure 16) depicts Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna (1847–1928) on the left and Alexandra, Princess of Wales (1844–1925) on the right. The Danish-born siblings retained a close bond throughout their lives and in 1868, it was Alexandra who commissioned Winterhalter to create this intimate and unique celebration of sisterhood.



Figure 16:  
*Portrait of Grand Duchess  
Maria Feodorovna and her Sister,  
Alexandra, Princess of Wales,*  
Franz-Xaver Winterhalter, 1868,  
Pencil, Watercolour, and  
Bodycolour on Paper,  
Private Collection,  
Labelled for reuse,  
<https://commons.wikimedia.org>.

The portrait shows Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna holding a folding fan, the leaf of which is trimmed with luxurious white feathers, possibly marabou. Alexandra also carries a fan, the visible guard sticks finely brushed with glistening highlights, suggestive of precious metals and gilding. The sisters are known to have gifted fans to each other throughout their lives and in 1904, the then-Dowager Empress Maria gifted a fan of exceptional quality to Alexandra; the fan is now part of The Royal Collection. Purchased from Maison Fabergé, founded in Saint Petersburg in 1842 by Gustav Fabergé (1818–1893), the guards were lavishly decorated with gold, guilloché<sup>26</sup> enamel, rubies and rose diamonds. Maria paid 325 rubles for the fan<sup>27</sup> (the equivalent of approximately £20,000 in 2020).

A fan associated with Imperial Russia, and which is in the collection of The Fan Museum, is also from the workshop of Fabergé (Figure 17). Dated circa 1895, the monture is made from blonde tortoiseshell which, as it comes from the underside of the hawksbill tortoise, is rarer and more valuable than the irregularly splodged brown variety that derives from the hard shell.



Figure 17:  
*Folding Fan*,  
Maison Fabergé, circa 1895, Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
Made from Point-de-Gaze Lace, Blonde Tortoiseshell, and Goldwork,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1177.

---

<sup>26</sup> Guilloché refers to ornamentation resembling braided or interlaced ribbons. Guilloché enamelling refers to metal pieces that have been given the guilloché treatment and then covered with a translucent layer of enamel, giving the geometric patterns underneath the enamel a colorful hue.

<sup>27</sup> Jane Roberts, Prudence Sutcliffe, and Susan Mayor, *Unfolding Pictures: Fans in the Royal Collection*, Royal Collection Enterprises, London, England, 2005, p. 209.



The front guard stick (Figure 18) is applied with two-coloured goldwork including an opalescent white guilloché enamelled medallion with the initials, AB. The fan is furnished with a gold loop and diamond rivet, the goldwork bears the mark of Saint Petersburg and is signed by Fabergé work master Michael Evlampievich Perkhin (1860–1903). The leaf is made from point-de-gaze lace, a fine needle lace made in Brussels from 1851 to around 1900. Point-de-gaze is considered one of the last of the great laces to be developed in Europe. Its appearance is the result of a delicate, needle-made mesh, created with one continuous thread forming a network of semi-circular loops. In the solid parts of the design, shading is achieved by a combination of closed and open stitches. This fan displays the lace's characteristic flowers, and is a superior example of the expensive, high quality, and labour-intensive workmanship involved with the production of this type of lace.



Figure 18:  
Detail, *Folding Fan*,  
Maison Fabergé, circa 1895, Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
Made from Point-de-Gaze Lace, Blonde Tortoiseshell, and Goldwork,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1177.

Dating from 1874, another example from Russia (Figure 19) is a folding fan with mother of pearl monture. With this example, the guards are entirely encased in gold and encrusted with diamonds, cabochon emeralds, sapphires, and rubies. The double paper leaf is painted with an energetic pastiche of a Louis XV ball and is signed by both the artists and the fan-maker, Aman Cyboulle, who was active 1868–1880, and Alexandre respectively. Aman Cyboulle was a pupil of Paul Delaroche (1797–1856), exhibited regularly at the Salon during 1868–1880, and was a favoured artist within wealthy circles of the Russian aristocracy.



Figure 19:

*Folding Fan Depicting a Louis XV Ball,*  
 Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1875,<sup>28</sup> Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
 Made from Paper, Mother of Pearl, Gold, Rubies,  
 Sapphires, Emeralds, and Diamonds,  
 © The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
 London, England, HA Collection 1585.

The fan is furnished with a loop in the shape of a Russian love knot (Figure 20) that bears the mark of Saint Petersburg and the Imperial Russian Jeweller, Friedrich Köchli (1837–1919). The guard stick also displays the date of production, 4 June 1875, and a purchase code associated with Wartski Antique dealers, specialists in Russian art and jewellery. Founded in 1874, Swiss born Friedrich Köchli established his Russian jewellery company in Saint Petersburg and became a supplier to the Russian Imperial family and to the court of the Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna. The purchase code from Wartski Antique dealers indicated that the fan was purchased by the company during the 1920s for a staggering £500,<sup>29</sup> which equates approximately to £20,000 in 2020.

<sup>28</sup> The term, circa, is used in this image reference even though the production date is known as 4 June 1875, which is inscribed on the gold that encases the guard sticks. This is due to the fact that the fan itself could potentially have been produced earlier. It is possible that these fans were made in France and then embellished in Russia by a jeweler at a later date.

<sup>29</sup> Scott William Schiavone, Email Correspondence with Keiran McCarthy, FSA, Director at Wartski Antique Dealers, London, England, 22 January 2019.



Figure 20:

Detail, *Folding Fan Depicting a Louis XV Ball*,  
Félix Pierre Victor Alexandre, circa 1875, Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
Made from Paper, Mother of Pearl, Gold, Rubies,  
Sapphires, Emeralds, and Diamonds,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1585.

More recently, this fan was used to illustrate Imperial Russian splendour when it appeared in ITV's *Downton Abbey*, Season 5, Episode 3.<sup>30</sup> In this episode, the Crawley family invite exiled Russian nobility to view some relics from pre-revolutionary Russia. The dowager countess (played by Maggie Smith) realises that one of the visitors is Prince Kuragin, who she met in 1874 at the wedding of Queen Victoria's son, Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh (1844-1900) to Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna (1853-1920), daughter of Tsar Alexander II (1818-1881). *Downton Abbey* was known for its meticulous attention to detail and period accuracy, and the fan's date of production matches the date of the event mentioned in the script, ensuring the viewers are given the closest possible example of the type of fans fashionable within Russia at the time; a small but important detail.

---

<sup>30</sup> This episode originally aired in the United Kingdom on 5 October 2014.



A second fan from Friedrich Köchli (Figure 21) also encases its mother of pearl guard sticks in gold, but on this occasion, is decorated with neo-Renaissance scrolls upon exquisite guilloché enamelling. Set with diamonds and sapphires on one side, with diamonds and rubies on the other, the fan resembles a scepter when closed.



Figure 21:  
Displayed Closed, *Folding Fan Depicting a Fête Champêtre*,  
Edouard Armand Creusy, circa 1890, Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
Made from Canepin Mother of Pearl, Gold, Diamonds, Rubies, and Sapphires,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1330.

Another pastiche, this time depicting an eighteenth century *fête champêtre* [rural festival], which was an outdoor entertainment, such as a garden party. The scene adorns the leaf (Figure 22) and is painted by Louise Gatzert, an artist who exhibited at the Salon during 1877–1881 and was a pupil of the celebrated Donzel family of fan painters. The fan leaf is also signed by Edouard Armand Creusy (1828–1903), the head of an award-winning fan-making family active in Paris during the late nineteenth century. Creusy won a bronze *Medaille de Mérite* [Medal of Merit] for fan-making at the Paris Decorative Arts review of 1887.



Figure 22:  
*Folding Fan Depicting a Fête Champêtre*,  
Edouard Armand Creusy, circa 1890, Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
Made from Canepin Mother of Pearl, Gold, Diamonds, Rubies, and Sapphires,  
© The Fan Museum, Hélène Alexander Collection,  
London, England, HA Collection 1330.

Bearing the signatures of both a French artist and fan-maker makes it possible to imagine that these fans, with their luxurious gold casing and exuberant encrustments of precious gems, were potentially made in France and then shipped to wealthy Russian clients who subsequently forwarded them to their chosen jeweller for embellishment. Although there is evidence that Alexandre did operate a branch in Saint Petersburg, it is unclear if this was a workshop or simply a retail space. This particular type of fan was very heavy, impractical to use, and prone to breakages. Most likely, the fan would have been carried closed by women of the Russian court, as the ultimate accessory and visual manifestation of their status, grandeur, and wealth (Figure 23).



Figure 23:  
*Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna,*  
Photographer Unknown, circa 1908,  
© Alexander Palace, Saint Petersburg, Russia,  
Labelled for reuse, <https://commons.wikimedia.org>.

## Conclusion

Although it was the revived pomp and ceremony of the Second French Empire that provided a springboard for the aristocracy and nouveaux riches, fuelling the luxury goods market and creating demand for excessive statements of wealth, it is clear that the momentum continued across Europe and the West, long after the Empire's fall in 1870. The fans discussed in this article, all from the collection at The Fan Museum, London, were designed and created as a reaction to the need and want of wealthy patrons for luxuriant and excessive fashion and accessories. The fans trace the rise and development of the éventail d'art and the elevation of fan-making from a craft form into a form of high art. The fan was not just a fashionable accessory but a visual symbol of power and wealth and, when worn alongside jewels and tiaras, was akin to a sceptre with all its majestic connotations.

Ending this article in Russia is appropriate as, through analysing surviving examples, the style that emanated from its Imperial court represents the pinnacle of luxury and excess. Kate Koon Bovey (1874–1964), an American who attended the 1896 Coronation Ball of Czar Nicolas II (1868–1918), wrote in her memoirs a statement that not only serves as an observation of the extravagance of the Russian court, but as a defining statement describing the height of luxury and excess achieved in fashion and accessories throughout the period:

When one has been to such balls as Russia gives, jewels elsewhere are nothing. On all sides, women were wearing necklaces, pins, tiaras etc.; that almost covered their heads and necks. Some of the jewels were as large as robins' eggs. Strings and strings of enormous pearls hung from the neck to the waist of many women...Such a blaze makes one's eyes fatigued.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Kate Koon Bovay, *Russian Coronation, 1896: The Letters of Kate Koon (Bovey) from the Last Russian Coronation*, Privately Printed, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, 1942, p. 40.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Unpublished

Scott William Schiavone, In-Person Interview with Georgina Letourmy-Bordier, Paris, France, 21 June 2019.

Scott William Schiavone, Email Correspondence with Keiran McCarthy, FSA, Director at Wartski Antique Dealers, London, England, 22 January 2019.

### Primary Sources: Published

Bovay, Kate Koon, *Russian Coronation, 1896: The Letters of Kate Koon (Bovey) from the Last Russian Coronation*, Privately Printed, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, 1942.

Debay, Auguste, *Hygiène vestimentaire. Les modes et les parures chez les français depuis l'établissement de la monarchie jusqu'à nos jours, précédé d'un curieux parallèle des modes chez les anciennes dames grecques et romaines*, [Dress Hygiene: Fashions and Adornments among the French since the Establishment of the Monarchy until Today; Preceded by a Curious Parallel of Fashions among the Ancient Greek and Roman Ladies], E. Dentu, Paris, France, 1857.

*Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition 1867 in Paris*, Virtue & Co., London, England, 1868.

*Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Fans*, South Kensington Museum, London, England, 1870.

### Secondary Sources: Articles

Georgina Letourmy-Bordier, "Félix Alexandre: un Éventailiste pour L'Impératrice," *Napoléon III: Le Magazine du Second Empire*, No. 46, Mars-Mai 2019, Groupe de Presse Michel Hommell, Paris, France, pp. 62-65.

### Secondary Sources: Books

Adburgham, Alison, *Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-Dressed Englishwoman Bought Her Clothes*, Faber and Faber, London, England, 2012.

Alexander, Hélène, *Duvelleroy King of Fans: Fan Maker to Kings*, The Fan Museum, London, England, 1995.

Alexander, Hélène, *Alexandre: Fan-Maker to the Courts of Europe*, Studio Fasoli, The Fan Museum, London, England, 2012.

Martin-Hattemberg, Jean-Marie; Olivieri, Fabrice; Tétart-Vittu, Françoise; and Trubert-Tollu, Chantal, *The House of Worth, 1858-1954: The Birth of Haute Couture*, Thames & Hudson, London, England, 2017.

Ribeiro, Aileen, *Ingres in Fashion*, Yale University Press, London, England, 1999.

Richardson, Joanna, *La Vie Parisienne, 1852-1870*, Hamish Hamilton, London, England, 1971.

Roberts, Jane; Sutcliffe, Prudence; and Mayor, Susan, *Unfolding Pictures: Fans in the Royal Collection*, Royal Collection Enterprises, London, England, 2005.

### Internet Sources:

House of Duvelleroy, <https://eventail-duvelleroy.fr/en/house-of-duvelleroy/>, Accessed 12 July 2019.

Copyright © 2020 Scott William Schiavone  
Email: [sschiavone1@gmail.com](mailto:sschiavone1@gmail.com)

Scott William Schiavone is a London College of Fashion alumnus having graduated from the MA Fashion Curation course in 2010. Having worked across Scotland with various dress and textile collections, including European Costume and Textiles at Glasgow Museums, and the Jean Muir (1928–1995) and Charles W. Stewart (1915–2001) collections at National Museums Scotland, Scott relocated to London in 2018 to assume the role of Assistant Curator at The Fan Museum, London. Scott is interested in manifestations of luxury and excess across the fashion timeline, including historical, modern, and contemporary fashion and fashion designers. His areas of expertise are nineteenth century womenswear, 1980s haute couture, the rise of the superstar designer, and tangible markers of luxury in European fans during 1850–1900.

## **“Thing to Wear” to “Thing to Undress:” Representation of Japanese Kimonos in Late Victorian Paintings**

Allie Yamaguchi

### **Abstract**

Japanese kimonos were repeatedly represented in the paintings of the late Victorian period. The expression of kimonos was highly varied, and it shifted over time from collectable and decorative “objects” to “things to wear” to “things to undress” through the British encounter with Japanese culture in visual, material, and movable form. By examining some key works by the painters of the late Victorian period, including James Jacques Joseph Tissot (1836–1902), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882), James Abbot McNeil Whistler (1834–1903), and Philip Wilson Steer (1860–1942), amongst others, this article explores what Japanese kimonos imply and how they were represented in painting and portraiture. This research aims to locate artistic translation and representation of Japanese kimonos within the study of dress history.

## Introduction

This article focuses on the expressions of Japanese kimonos in late Victorian paintings to form a deep understanding of the primary representations of Japanese kimonos. Kimono means “thing to wear” in Japanese. This word does not indicate any specific gender or class, but it generally means “clothing.” In western society, on the other hand, Japanese kimonos at first entered as collectable “objects” that were exhibited along with other Japanese goods imported from the late 1850s. During the 1860s, the Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic painters started to paint kimonos. There were two juxtaposed representations of kimonos: one is to stress kimonos’ materiality and use them as decorative objects, and the other is to paint them as “things to wear” by referencing Japanese visual sources. During the 1870s, some in the Aesthetic group of painters, especially the artists’ wives, began to wear kimonos. The 1880s saw the culmination of Japonisme in Britain with the opening of the Japanese Native Village in Knightsbridge, London, and the comic opera *The Mikado* in 1885. Through these displays and performances, British people could see kimonos being worn by actual people. British encounters with moving people in kimonos triggered a change in the kimono’s role from “thing to wear” to “thing to undress” that emphasised the act of taking them off instead of putting them on, which was well understood within the representations of Japanese kimonos in later years.

Japonisme is a transnational phenomenon that spread across Europe and the United States. In France, Japonisme is often introduced in association with Art Nouveau within material culture studies or Impressionism within studies of fine art. Japonisme in Britain has also been researched and argued since the 1990s, namely in *High Victorian Japonisme* by Toshio Watanabe in 1991<sup>1</sup> and *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan* by Ayako Ono in 2003.<sup>2</sup> These key studies of Japonisme in Britain also often refer to the use of kimonos represented in fine arts. However, what Japanese kimonos implied or how they could be interpreted were often excluded from the discussion. Kimonos only played a role as material evidence.

---

<sup>1</sup> Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Peter Lang, London, England, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England, 2003.

Academic interest in Japonisme and fashion in Victorian Britain became most visible during the 2010s. Dress historians such as Elizabeth Kramer<sup>3</sup> and Akiko Savas<sup>4</sup> published some remarkable research on the cross-cultural adoption of kimonos as indoor gowns during late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. In spite of the universal interest in this topic, the close observation of the artistic translation and representation of Japanese kimonos in Victorian paintings has rarely been discussed even within the study of dress history. This article will explore the “dressed” or “undressed” kimonos appearing in Victorian paintings, and it aims to trace what they could imply and how they could be represented. In this process, this article will seek to locate the kimono’s artistic representation within the study of dress history.

### Jacques Joseph Tissot: Kimonos as Objets d’art

Firstly, this article introduces some key works of the 1860s by a French Japonisme painter, James Jacques Joseph Tissot (1836–1902). Tissot is known as a Japonist who collected many Japanese objects, including kimonos. He lived in Paris during the 1860s and moved to London in 1871, where he stayed until 1882.<sup>5</sup> In Paris 1864, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882) wrote to his mother that “all the costumes were being snapped up” by Tissot when Rossetti visited a Japanese shop in Paris.<sup>6</sup> In 1864, Tissot painted a woman in a kimono in *Japanese Girl Bathing* (Figure 1), her naked body was depicted according to the traditional canon of academic paintings. Tissot was educated in a very conservative and traditional way in Paris.<sup>7</sup> The nudity of the Parisian model shows the idealised and socially safe body.<sup>8</sup> The model’s body is confined within the materials of the Orient and her kimono is not represented as something she “wears” but as a part of the exotic objects scattered in the room. One critique noted that “the objects played a considerably larger role than the people.”<sup>9</sup> But here the model, too, seems to function as a soulless mannequin that completes the superficial exhibition of a fad.

---

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Kramer, “‘Not So Japan-Easy:’ The British Reception of Japanese Dress in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Textile History*, Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England, Volume 1, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 3–24.

<sup>4</sup> Akiko Savas, “Dilute to Taste: Kimonos for the British Market at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century,” *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, Intellect, Bristol, Gloucestershire, England, Volume 4, Issue 2, 2017, pp. 157–181.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Wood, *Tissot: The Life and Work of Jacques Joseph Tissot, 1836–1902*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, England, 1986, pp. 53, 122.

<sup>6</sup> William E. Fredeman, Ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England, 2003, Number 3.64.154.

<sup>7</sup> Wood, op cit., p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> In this instance, “safe” means that those traditional nudes were socially and culturally accepted, while sometimes the modern representation of nude bodies was criticised as “corrupted.”

<sup>9</sup> Wood, op cit., p. 38.





Figure1:  
*Japanese Girl Bathing*,  
James Jacques Joseph Tissot, 1864,  
Oil on Canvas, 208.9 x 124.4 cm,  
© Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, Dijon, France, 2831 et J 167.

A year later, Tissot completed another painting of a woman in a Japanese kimono, titled, *Young Lady Holding Japanese Objects* (Figure 2). The way the woman is decorated with Japanese materials is similar to the former example. But in this painting, the woman was represented as Japanese, and Tissot drew her head by looking at a Japanese doll.<sup>10</sup> Here again, the female figure was depicted as a soulless doll. In both of these works, the two models are the mash-ups of the Japanese material culture found in the artist's collections. The kimonos painted were not really "worn" as "clothing" but displayed on a mannequin or a doll along with other Oriental objects.



Figure 2:  
*Young Lady Holding Japanese Objects*,  
James Jacques Joseph Tissot, 1865,  
Oil on Panel, 46 x 36.5 cm, Private Collection.

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 37.



Tissot's other painting, *Young Women Looking at Japanese Articles* (Figure 3), shows a much more obvious representation of kimonos as the artist's collectable "object." There is a kimono spread on the cabinet like a tablecloth under a ship-like ornament at which two women are curiously looking. In this painting, the kimono is not only free from the movement of the human body but simply free from any bodily contact at all. The emptiness of the kimono contrasts the fashionable dresses worn by the two young women, who are "alive" with expressions and movements.



Figure 3:  
*Young Women Looking at Japanese Articles*,  
James Jacques Joseph Tissot, 1869, Oil on Canvas, 70.5 x 50.2 cm,  
© Cincinnati Museum of Art, Cincinnati, Ohio, United States, 1984.217.

As Christopher Wood argues that Tissot “was only interested in depicting the superficial aspects of Japanese art,”<sup>11</sup> his paintings stress the kimonos’ decorative quality. Kimonos and human bodies in Tissot’s works are in a tenuous relationship.

**Dante Gabriel Rossetti: *The Beloved* (*The Bride*): Kimono as Exotic Decoration**

Victorian painter, Dante Gabriel Rossetti completed a work, titled, *The Beloved* (*The Bride*) (Figure 4) after he returned to England from a short visit to Paris. The centre figure in the painting is the bride, and the scene was inspired by the biblical *Song of Solomon*.<sup>12</sup> According to the diary of Rossetti’s fellow painter, George Price Boyce (1826–1897), the green Japanese kimono featured in the painting and the jewel on the forehead of the black child were borrowed from Boyce.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 4:  
*The Beloved* (*The Bride*),  
Dante Gabriel Rossetti,  
1865–1866,  
Oil on Canvas, 82.5 x 76.2 cm,  
© Tate Gallery,  
London, England, No. 3053.

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Tate Britain, “The Beloved (*The Bride*),” June 2019, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/rossetti-the-beloved-the-bride-n03053>, Accessed 1 November 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Virginia Suetes, Ed., *The Diaries of George Price Boyce*, Real World, Norfolk, England, 1980, p. 42.

As some studies have already pointed out, the bride in the painting wore the green kimono back to front. The bride did not wear the kimono in the originally intended way but perhaps the back of the kimono was stitched or opened. Gathered cuffs also imply that what was worn by the bride was never meant to be a Japanese kimono, but it acted as exotic decoration and a sign of Aesthetic taste. As Rossetti himself explained, the colour in this painting was meant “to be like jewels;”<sup>14</sup> the decorative role of the kimono is stressed in this painting. Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe confirm this characteristic of Rossetti’s work in the catalogue of a remarkable exhibition on Japonisme in Britain, held at Barbican Art Gallery and Setagaya Art Museum during 1991/1992. They noted that Rossetti’s painting depicted “an exotic world of his own invention.”<sup>15</sup> They continued that “Rossetti’s main interest was in the colour and the decorative quality of Japanese objects.”<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the kimono is displayed along with other “exotic” features. The women around the bride in *The Beloved* (*The Bride*) appear to have darker skin and hair.<sup>17</sup> The bride’s headdress made of red feather-work was Peruvian.<sup>18</sup> The significant difference between the French painter, Tissot, and the British painter, Rossetti, is that the kimono in Rossetti’s painting did not necessarily have to be Japanese. Whilst both of the representations of Japanese kimonos by Tissot and Rossetti stress the garment’s materiality and use it as a decoration to adorn both the model and the picture, Rossetti’s kimono simply functions as “something exotic.” While there is a fundamental difference whether the kimono’s cultural origin was specified or not, these examples suggest that Japanese kimonos were, at least in these cases, no more than decorative objects to be “collected” and “looked at.”

---

<sup>14</sup> William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, Cassell & Company, Limited, London, England, 1889, p. 51.

<sup>15</sup> Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue, 1850-1930*, Lund Humphries, London, England, 1991, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Upstone confirms that one of the bridesmaids was Ellen Smith. The woman on the right was Frederick Sandy’s gypsy mistress, Keomi.

See Robert Upstone, “*The Beloved* (*The Bride*) 1865-6,” in Andrew Wilton, et al., Ed., *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Watts: Symbolism in Britain 1860-1910*, Tate Publishing, London, England, 1997, p. 101.

The black child in the foreground was who Rossetti met “at the door of an hotel.”

See William Michael Rossetti, Ed., *Rossetti Papers 1862-1870*, Sands, London, England, 1903.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Currie Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of His Art and Life*, George Bell and Sons, London, England, 1899, p. 132.



### James Abbott McNeil Whistler: The Kimono as a “Thing to Wear”

The second part of this article now traces how kimonos were painted as a haptic and tactile “thing to wear” during the 1860s. Figure 5 is a Japanese ukiyo-e print<sup>19</sup> by Torii Kiyonaga (1752–1815) made during circa 1780. This is part of the series called *Minami Juni-ko*, which shows scenes of the red-light districts in Tokyo. James Abbot McNeil Whistler (1834–1903), the American painter, owned this ukiyo-e print. Whistler studied art in Paris and settled in London in 1859. He spent most of his creative years in London and died there in 1903. In 1949, Whistler’s ukiyo-e print was donated to The British Museum, London, by Whistler’s sister-in-law, Rosalind Birnie Philip (1873–1958).



Figure 5:  
*Minami Juni-ko*, Torii Kiyonaga, circa 1780,  
Woodblock Print, 50.7 x 68.5 cm,  
© The British Museum, London, England, 1949.0409.0.66.1-2.

---

<sup>19</sup> Ukiyo-e is a genre of Japanese art that utilised woodblock prints and which flourished from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries.



Some works by Whistler show references to Japanese visual sources. *The Princess from the Land of Porcelain* (Figure 6) painted during 1863–1864 shows a model standing with a fan in her hand. How the model's layered kimono is slipped down from her shoulder implies that Whistler referenced *Minami Juni-ko*. This painting demonstrates a white woman actually “wearing” a Japanese kimono as a “clothing.”



Figure 6:  
*The Princess from the Land of Porcelain*,  
James Abbott McNeil Whistler,  
1863–1864,  
Oil on Canvas,  
201.5 x 116.1 cm,  
© Collection of  
Freer Gallery  
of Art,  
Smithsonian  
Institution,  
Washington, DC,  
United States,  
F1903.91a-b.

*Variations in Flesh Colour and Green—The Balcony* (Figure 7) was painted during 1864–1870. The composition of this work is similar to *Minami Juni-ko*, except that Whistler excluded a male figure from his work and he transformed the scene of Shinagawa Bay into an industrial area by the river Thames in London. The kimonos in *The Balcony* have bodily movements compared to the works by Tissot and Rossetti—playing Japanese guitar, leaning over the fence, or lying on the ground. These lively representations of white models in Japanese kimonos reminded the western viewers that kimonos were actually “clothing” that integrated with the movement of the human body.



Figure 7:

*Variations in Flesh Colour and Green—  
The Balcony*, James Abbott McNeil Whistler, 1864–1870,  
Oil on Wood Panel, 61.4 x 48.5 cm,  
© Collection of Freer Gallery of Art,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, United States, F1892.23a–b.



Whistler's other work, titled, *Caprice in Purple and Gold—The Golden Screen* (Figure 8) painted in 1864 also captured a kimono with the movement of the human body. A female figure is sitting on the floor observing ukiyo-e prints. Here, again, a black kimono drapes around the model's body as she sits. The physicality of the kimono is stressed and expressed in Whistler's works.



Figure 8:  
*Caprice in Purple and Gold—The Golden Screen*,  
James Abbott McNeil Whistler, 1864,  
Oil on Wood Panel, 50.1 x 68.5 cm,  
© Collection of Freer Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, United States, F1904.75a.

Whistler had little interest in the rational or hygienic aspects of dress reform or the emphasis of the Pre-Raphaelite dress on the “natural” female form, which pursued mobility and comfort. Instead, Whistler simply explored “the ways that Aesthetic dress might be visualised” in some of his paintings.<sup>20</sup> Because he did not intend to promote Aesthetic dress through his paintings, the kimonos depicted in Figures 6–8 did not stress mobility or comfort. Instead, the kimonos imply the artist’s attempts to explore his idea of “Aesthetic dress” by referencing Japanese ukiyo-e prints.<sup>21</sup>

The kimonos in Whistler’s paintings are “worn” on the female bodies, but those kimonos’ relaxed representations could imply that the kimonos were also in the process of being undressed. The Victorian audiences might have sensed eroticism or sensuality by looking at those paintings. Anna Marie Kirk confirms that the relaxed way the kimonos in the Victorian paintings are worn emphasises the garment’s sensuality.<sup>22</sup> The feminisation and eroticisation of Japan and Japanese objects were themes often discussed in the study of Japonisme in Britain.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Kimberly Wahl, *Dressed As in a Painting: Women and British Aestheticism in an Age of Reform*, University of New Hampshire Press, Durham, New Hampshire, England, 2013, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Whistler did not fully agree with the original idea of Aesthetic dress as “a means of gaining access to past eras of beauty, nobility, and naturalism.” He was more interested in Aesthetic dress as “a current and novel mode of artistic expression.” For more on Whistler’s principal of Aestheticism and Aesthetic dress, see Wahl, op cit., pp. 50–52.

<sup>22</sup> Anna Marie Kirk, “Japonisme and Femininity: A Study of Japanese Dress in British and French Art and Society, c. 1860–c. 1899,” *Costume*, The Costume Society, London, England, Volume 42, 2008, p. 122.

<sup>23</sup> Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni, “Kimono and the Construction of Gendered and Cultural Identities,” *Ethnology*, University of Pittsburgh of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 38, Issue 4, 1999, pp. 351–370.  
Sarah Sik, “‘Those Naughty Little Geishas’: The Gendering of Japonisme,” in Gabriel P. Weisberg, Ed., *The Orient Expressed: Japan’s Influence on Western Art, 1854–1918*, Mississippi Museum of Art, Jackson, Mississippi, United States, 2011, pp. 107–126.

### Brave Japonists: Kimonos Worn within the Artistic Circle

During the 1870s, kimonos and Japanese-related garments started to be worn within the artistic circle. Japonists, especially the artist's wives, enjoyed wearing Japanese kimonos within both private and public spaces. Laura Alma-Tadema (1852–1909), the second wife of Victorian painter Sir Laurence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912), appeared at a Royal Academy reception dressed in “Japanese embroidered silk” in 1873.<sup>24</sup> Although it is unclear if Laura Alma-Tadema wore a Japanese kimono or a dress made of Japanese embroidered silk, appearing at a formal place in a Japanese-related garment was a way to convey the wearer's artistic and Aesthetic taste. Likewise, the English actress, Ellen Terry (1848–1928), posed in a Japanese kimono (Figure 9). She was also known for owning several Japanese kimonos. Terry was in a relationship with the architect and designer, Edward William Godwin (1833–1886), who drew most of his inspiration from Japanese art and design.<sup>25</sup> During the early 1870s, kimonos symbolised that the wearer belonged to the artistic group in Victorian society.



Figure 9:  
*Ellen Terry*,  
Photographed by  
Samuel Alex Walker, circa 1874,  
© The Victoria and Albert Museum,  
Guy Little Collection,  
London, England,  
S.133:418–2007.

---

<sup>24</sup> Charlotte Gere, *Artistic Circles: Design and Decoration in the Aesthetic Movement*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2010, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> Veronica Issac, “The Enigma of Ellen Terry (1847–1928),” 14 November 2018, <https://womenshistorynetwork.org/the-enigma-of-ellen-terry-1847-1928-dr-veronica-isaac>, Accessed 1 November 2019.



**John Atkinson Grimshaw, *Spring*: Kimonos in the Artistic Interior**

During the late 1870s, kimonos and Japanese-related dress slowly gained status as luxury indoor gowns, but were especially favoured by upper middle class and upper class women with artistic taste. John Atkinson Grimshaw (1836–1893) painted *Spring* in 1875 (Figure 10). Grimshaw was a painter based in Leeds, England, who gave up his job as a clerk to become an artist. Grimshaw seems to have been interested in Japanese goods in 1875, for he painted another picture of a woman with a Japanese parasol in the same year as *Spring*.



Figure 10:

*Spring*, John Atkinson Grimshaw, 1875, Oil on Canvas, Private Collection.

In *Spring*, the model is situated in an artistic and luxurious middle class household with blue and white china and Indian and Chinese fabrics. Here, too, the room is filled with the materials of the Orient while the woman who is wearing the kimono is clearly not part of those “collections.” She instead rules them. Although the kimono she wears is there to complete her “Oriental” collection, her kimono seems to lose its original identity as a “Japanese kimono.” The viewer cannot see what she is wearing underneath her kimono, but this probably is the point of this painting. The wearer’s respectability implied by her neat hairstyle and graceful behaviour, watering the plants, convinces the viewer that she should be wearing western-style clothing with a corset



underneath her kimono. At this point, a kimono is no longer a Japanese “object” or a dress from the Far East but has turned into a western tea gown that belongs to the British sartorial culture. A tea gown was normally worn in semi-public spaces where the wearer welcomed guests into their homes. While kimonos were finally allowed to enter British upper middle class and upper class households by playing the role of western tea gowns, kimonos were conformed to the Victorian sartorial manner. Kimonos were naturally expected to frame Victorian corseted bodies.

### **“Performed Japan” Presented at the Japanese Native Village and *The Mikado* in 1885**

The 1880s was a remarkable decade in which Japanese kimonos were to be more widely acknowledged through the Japanese Native Village opened in Knightsbridge, London, in January 1885 and the comic opera *The Mikado* performed at The Savoy Theatre, London, in March of the same year; *The Mikado* later travelled to several cities. These two major events gave the people in London opportunities to encounter “Japan” through performances. As the first attempt, real Japanese “people” invited from Japan were “displayed” at the Japanese Native Village; visitors could watch people serving teas, demonstrating craft-making, giving acrobatic performances.<sup>26</sup> The British people could finally see Japonisme “live” instead of the visual and material representation of it. *The Mikado*, too, showed actors in Japanese kimonos dancing and singing. Indeed, not all of those “live” displays or performances were authentic; however, the British encounter with “performed Japan” gave the idea that “Japan” was no longer a still image but, in Roland Barthes’ words, “protensive.”<sup>27</sup> In terms of sartorial experience, the kimono kept on moving with human bodies both in the Japanese Native Village and *The Mikado*. While the movement of the kimono captured in Whistler’s works made the Japanese kimono a “thing to wear,” the “performed Japan” presented in 1885 helped to give the Japanese kimono a continuous and shifting future that went beyond just being a “thing to wear” and shifting it to a “thing to undress.”

---

<sup>26</sup> Noboru Koyama, *ロンドン日本人村を作った男-謎の興行師タナカー・ブヒクロサン 1839-94* [The Man Who Built the Japanese Native Village in London: The Showman of a Mystery, Tanaka Buhikurosan, 1839-94], Fujiwara Shoten, Tokyo, Japan, 2015, pp. 220-221.

<sup>27</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Hill and Wang, New York, New York, United States, 1981, p. 90.

### Théodore Roussel's *The Reading Girl* and Philip Wilson Steer's *The Japanese Gown: Kimono as "Thing to Undress"*

Théodore Roussel (1847–1926), who was born in France but moved to London in 1870, painted a female nude with a kimono during 1886–1887. Roussel's *The Reading Girl* (Figure 11) depicts a naked model sitting on a folding chair. The painting was exhibited at the New English Art Club in 1887 having “the clear intention of counteracting the pervasive power of the Academy.”<sup>28</sup> The dominance of fine art by the Royal Academy began to fade in the second half of the nineteenth century and the representations of Japanese objects/subjects in the paintings also shifted towards more democratic ones.<sup>29</sup> Whilst some critics described the model as robust and healthy, it was also negatively criticised.<sup>30</sup> A critic for *The Spectator* wrote, in April 1887, “The artist's eye seeing only the vulgar outside of his model.”<sup>31</sup> How the female nude is confined within the dark room and how the viewer can have a pseudo experience of peeping at a girl's private moment could be interpreted as erotic intention.



Figure 11:  
*The Reading Girl*,  
Théodore Roussel,  
1886–1887,  
Oil on Canvas,  
152.4 x 161.3 cm,  
© Tate Britain,  
London, England,  
4361.

<sup>28</sup> Sato and Watanabe, op cit., p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Frances Fowle, “Summery,” 8 December 2000, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/roussel-the-reading-girl-n04361>, Accessed 1 November 2019.

<sup>31</sup> Anonymous, “The New English Art Club,” *The Spectator*, 16 April 1887, Robert Stephen Rintoul, London, England, p. 226.

Indeed, how the kimono is discarded on the folding chair suggests that the model had been wearing it a moment ago. The way the nude model sits in the chair in such a relaxed manner can immediately be linked with sensual tension, but the act of reading ensures that she is different from other paintings that show female nudes that were considered scandalous, such as Edouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863) which depicted a prostitute. Roussel was in Whistler's close circle during the 1880s and, "*The Reading Girl* has a Whistlerian restraint in its limited colour and tone, and sense of aesthetic reverie."<sup>32</sup> Because Roussel was interested in the scientific and technological process of matching tones and pigments, he, like Whistler, did not intend to promote Aesthetic dress or to stress the sensuality of Japanese kimonos through his painting.

In *The Reading Girl*, the kimono is represented not as Aesthetic dress that was worn within the artistic circle, or the fashionable tea gown, but as a "dress to undress" that does not focus on the act of "wearing" it but put more focus on the act of "undressing" it. The depiction of a female nude and a discarded kimono is challenging but yet safe because of the kimono's alien and relaxed characteristic. The respectable woman can act a little more boldly due to the presence of a Japanese kimono. The kimono is represented as a "dress to undress" which carries a power to liberate the girl from the Victorian sartorial and behavioural rules.

Furthermore, as seen in the work by the British painter, William Rothenstein (1872–1945), titled, *The Browning Readers* (Figure 12) painted in 1900, the act of "reading" is often represented as a respectable habit of middle class women in the British visual culture. *The Browning Readers* shows two women in the living room, one is sitting by the fire reading, and the other is standing by the bookshelf, searching for a book. Although the girl in Roussel's *The Reading Girl* is completely naked, it is obvious that she is a literate woman who loses herself in what she is reading.

---

<sup>32</sup> Robert Upstone, "Théodore Roussel (1847–1926), *The Reading Girl*, 1886–7," in Alison Smith, Ed., *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, Tate Publishing, London, England, 2001, p. 252.



Figure 12:  
*The Browning Readers*, William Rothenstein, 1900,  
 Oil on Canvas, 76 x 96.5 cm,  
 © Cartwright Hall Art Gallery, Bradford, England, 1911–008.

The next example also confirms the kimono's new role as "thing to undress." Figure 13, titled, *The Japanese Gown* was completed in 1896 by Philip Wilson Steer (1860–1942). It shows a woman in a Japanese kimono that was probably made for export. The model for this work is Rose Amy Pettigrew (1872–1905), a professional model in London.<sup>33</sup> What she is wearing underneath her kimono is visible in this work; she is wearing a loose nightdress. The scene shows either a woman having just changed

<sup>33</sup> There is a preparatory study for *The Japanese Gown*, titled, *Kimono*, painted in 1889 that is stored in York Art Gallery in York, England. The model in *Kimono* is Rose Amy Pettigrew, who was once in a romantic relationship with Steer.

See Anonymous, *Philip Wilson Steer, 1860–1942: Paintings and Watercolours*, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, and the Arts Council of Great Britain, London, England, 1986, pp. 42–43.)



from her dress into her kimono or a woman who is about to remove her kimono to change into her dress. Either way, her act of “changing” her clothes, dressing and undressing, is implied in the picture. Although the Japanese kimono had established its status as “thing to wear” instead of being a collectable decoration in Victorian society from the 1860s onwards, the act of undressing the kimono started to be more and more strongly stressed in later years.



Figure 13:  
*The Japanese Gown*, Philip Wilson Steer, 1896,  
Oil on Canvas, 127.5 x 102.2 cm,  
© The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 264-2.

## Conclusion

This article traced the representations of Japanese kimonos demonstrated in late Victorian paintings. The status and the representation of Japanese kimonos have shifted over time from collectable objects to “things to wear” to “things to undress” through the British encounter with Japanese culture in visual, material, and movable form. The idea of kimonos as “dresses to undress” has become one of the clichéd representations of Japanese kimonos in the West, which continues to today. Putting a focus on the “undressing” side of the Japanese kimono could contain the ideas of sartorial liberation of western women, feminisation of the Orient, and, of course, erotic interpretation. It suggests that the kimono has always been a dress with signs to be interpreted; exotic, Oriental, decorative, feminine, erotic, liberating, et cetera. The selected paintings introduced in this article could suggest how the kimono became Victorian “dress” and which role the kimono played within the dress history of the Victorian period.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Articles

Anonymous, "The New English Art Club," *The Spectator*, 16 April 1887, Robert Stephen Rintoul, London, England, pp. 226-227.

### Primary Sources: Books

Fredeman, William E., Ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England, 2003.

Marillier, Henry Currie, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of His Art and Life*, George Bell and Sons, London, England, 1899.

Rossetti, William Michael, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, Cassell & Company, Limited, London, England, 1889.

Rossetti, William Michael, Ed., *Rossetti Papers 1862-1870*, Sands, London, England, 1903.

Suetees, Virginia, Ed., *The Diaries of George Price Boyce*, Real World, Norfolk, England, 1980.

### Secondary Sources: Articles

Goldstein-Gidoni, Ofra, "Kimono and the Construction of Gendered and Cultural Identities," *Ethnology*, University of Pittsburgh of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 38, Issue 4, 1999, pp. 351–370.

Kirk, Anna Marie, "Japonisme and Femininity: A Study of Japanese Dress in British and French Art and Society, c. 1860–c. 1899," *Costume*, The Costume Society, London, England, Volume 42, 2008, pp. 111–129.

Kramer, Elizabeth, "'Not So Japan-Easy': The British Reception of Japanese Dress in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Textile History*, Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England, Volume 1, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 3–24.

Savas, Akiko, "Dilute to Taste: Kimonos for the British Market at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, Intellect, Bristol, Gloucestershire, England, Volume 4, Issue 2, 2017, pp. 157–181.

Sik, Sarah, "'Those Naughty Little Geishas': The Gendering of Japonisme," Gabriel P. Weisberg, Ed., *The Orient Expressed: Japan's Influence on Western Art, 1854–1918*, Mississippi Museum of Art, Jackson, Mississippi, United States, 2011, pp. 107–126.

### Secondary Sources: Books

Anonymous, *Philip Wilson Steer, 1860–1942: Paintings and Watercolours*, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, and the Arts Council of Great Britain, London, England, 1986.

Barthes, Roland, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Hill and Wang, New York, New York, United States, 1981.

Gere, Charlotte, *Artistic Circles: Design and Decoration in the Aesthetic Movement*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2010.

Koyama, Noboru, ロンドン日本人村を作った男-謎の興行師タナカー・ブヒクロサン 1839-94 [The Man Who Built the Japanese Native Village in London: The Showman of a Mystery, Tanaka Buhikurosan, 1839-94], Fujiwara Shoten, Tokyo, Japan, 2015.

Ono, Ayako, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England, 2003.

Sato, Tomoko and Watanabe, Toshio, *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue, 1850-1930*, Lund Humphries, London, England, 1991.

Upstone, Robert, "The Beloved ('The Bride'), 1865-6," in Andrew Wilton, et al., Ed., *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Watts: Symbolism in Britain 1860-1910*, Tate Publishing, London, England, 1997.

Upstone, Robert, "Théodore Roussel (1847-1926), *The Reading Girl*, 1886-7," in Alison Smith, Ed., *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, Tate Publishing, London, England, 2001.

Wahl, Kimberly, *Dressed As in a Painting: Women and British Aestheticism in an Age of Reform*, University of New Hampshire Press, Durham, New Hampshire, England, 2013.

Watanabe, Toshio, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Peter Lang, London, England, 1991.

Wood, Christopher, *Tissot: The Life and Work of Jacques Joseph Tissot, 1836-1902*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, England, 1986.

### Internet Sources

Fowle, Frances, "Summery," 8 December 2000, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/roussel-the-reading-girl-n04361>, Accessed 1 November 2019.

Issac, Veronica, "The Enigma of Ellen Terry (1847-1928)," 14 November 2018, <https://womenshistorynetwork.org/the-enigma-of-ellen-terry-1847-1928-dr-veronica-isaac>, Accessed 1 November 2019.

Tate Britain, "The Beloved ('The Bride')," June 2019, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/rossetti-the-beloved-the-bride-n03053>, Accessed 1 November 2019.

**Acknowledgements**

The research for this article was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP19J11844. Run by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), JSPS KAKENHI is a competitive grant that supports creative and pioneering research projects.

Copyright © 2020 Allie Yamaguchi  
Email: allyama122@gmail.com

Allie Yamaguchi holds a Master of Arts degree in History of Design and Material Culture from The University of Brighton, England, where she wrote a dissertation on Japonisme and fashion. She published an article, titled, “Kimonos for Foreigners: Orientalism in Kimonos Made for the Western Market, 1900–1920,” in the Autumn 2017 issue of *The Journal of Dress History*. Allie also delivered a lecture on Japanese export kimonos at an event organised by the Oxford Asian Textile Group held at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, England in 2018. She is currently a PhD candidate at The University of Tsukuba, Ibaraki, Japan. In April 2019, she was selected as a Research Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS).

**Of Silk and Statecraft:  
Dowager Empress Cixi (1835–1908) and Power Dressing  
in Late Qing Dynasty China, 1860–1911**

Felicia Yao

**Abstract**

By 1900, Dowager Empress Cixi (1835–1908) was associated with the unmitigated greed and corruption of the rapidly declining Qing Dynasty. In an effort to improve her image and regain stability, Cixi instituted a series of reforms to facilitate modernisation and improve international relations. She abandoned the isolationist policies of her forebears, opening her court to foreign visitors and sharing her image with other national leaders. As a female ruler without precedent, she adapted Manchu sumptuary laws, resulting in the production of many unique articles of women's clothing. This article will examine those garments, then explore the effects of western technology on the production of these garments, before analyzing how these garments fit into her foreign policy.

## Introduction

By the mid to late nineteenth century, China, which had subscribed to an isolationist foreign policy since the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), had been forced by Great Britain, Russia, and Japan to relinquish many of its sovereign and territorial rights. These “unequal treaties” led to the establishment of territorial leases at 15 treaty ports including Shanghai, Qingdao, Weihaiwei, and Hong Kong.<sup>1</sup> Having retired from the global stage for centuries, China was unprepared for the onslaught from its modernised foreign aggressors, resulting in domestic and global instability. In 1861, six-year-old Emperor Tongzhi assumed the throne after the death of his father, Emperor Xianfeng. Tongzhi’s birth mother, known then as Concubine Yi,<sup>2</sup> and Lady Niu, Xianfeng’s childless widow, organised a coup that resulted in the appointment of the two women as joint de facto regents. Concubine Yi was elevated to dowager empress and given the honorific name Cixi, while Empress Xiaozhenxian became Mother Dowager Empress Cian. Because women were forbidden to appear at imperial court sessions, the two empresses ruled from behind a curtain. After Tongzhi died in 1874, Cixi’s nephew became the Guangxu Emperor. Because he was still a minor at the time of his coronation, the two dowager empresses again assumed regency until Cian died in 1881. In 1898, Cixi believed that Guangxu had betrayed China to Japan, and so she imprisoned him within the Forbidden City in Beijing, seizing control of the country until her death in 1908.

After the Boxer Rebellion<sup>3</sup> in 1900, Cixi’s name became synonymous with the increasingly corrupt and rapidly declining Qing government. Amidst growing anti-Manchu sentiments, Cixi was accused of a myriad of offences, among them murdering foreigners and Chinese Christians. In order to bolster public image and improve international relations, she initiated a series of modernisation efforts to help China obtain electricity, telegraphs, western medicine, and steam engines, as well as a modern army and navy. She reformed the legal and education systems, and publicly rebuked herself, renouncing the anti-foreign faction she had previously supported.

---

<sup>1</sup> Valery M. Garrett, *Chinese Clothing: An Illustrated Guide*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1994, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Little has been written about her early life and sources vary on the details. Qing court records refer to her as Lady Yehenara (a combination of her family name and clan) until the birth of her son. As the birth mother of Emperor Xianfeng’s only son and heir, she was given the honorific title Concubine Yi.

<sup>3</sup> Led by a group known as the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, the Boxer Rebellion or *Yihetuan* was a violent rebellion in 1900 against imperialist powers in China. It was put down by European, American, and Japanese forces in 1901, and China was forced to sign the Protocol of 1901 and pay reparations, worsening an already crippling national debt.



She also ended the closed-door policies of her predecessors and invited foreign dignitaries to China. She also worked to establish relationships with their wives; she was particularly close to Sarah Pike Conger, the wife of American Minister to China, Edwin H. Conger (1843–1907).<sup>4</sup>

As part of her efforts to improve foreign relations, she commissioned oil paintings from western artists, which she allowed to be displayed in international art exhibitions. Cixi also embraced the modern western technology of photography. Cixi referred to photographs of Queen Victoria, then perhaps the most photographed woman in the world, prior to sitting for her own court photographer Yu Xunling, the younger brother of her confidant, Princess Der Ling.<sup>5</sup> Yu had studied with photographers in Paris prior to attending the Qing court. Cixi spread her image across the globe; from April 1904 to August 1906, Cixi sent her photos to officials from Germany, Austria, Japan, Britain, the United States, France, Mexico, Italy, and the Netherlands. In both paintings and photographs, she is depicted wearing garments that departed from previous Qing standards of dress.

This research is part of a larger study of women's clothing in China from the nineteenth century and end of the Qing Dynasty through the early Republic (1912–1949). A large body of unusual garments was produced at the end of the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. This article will begin with an examination of the unusual attributes that began to appear on women's court dress during the regency of one of China's most powerful women. The second section of this article will then consider the ways in which technology and modernisation affected the production and appearance of Qing court women's dress. The third section of this article will explore how these garments related to and were part of Dowager Empress Cixi's foreign policy. This research will explore the changes that she made to the strict vestimentary order of the Qing and how those changes fit into a larger system of reforms in regard to industrialism and foreign policy.

---

<sup>4</sup> Sarah Conger's letters about her time in China are published in:

Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China: With Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China*, A.C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1910.

<sup>5</sup> Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City*, Moffat, Yard, and Co., New York, New York, United States, 1911, p. 216.

## Re-Writing the Dress Code

When the Manchus invaded China and established the Qing Dynasty in the seventeenth century, they were, as John Vollmer says, “...keenly aware of the challenges facing non-Chinese rulers and the fate of assimilation that eventually defeated previous conquerors from the north. Issues of ethnic separation and cultural accommodation were central to Manchu government policy.”<sup>6</sup> From the dynasty’s inception, sumptuary laws were essential in instituting and enforcing Manchu power structures. The Qing enshrined their language and costume in legislation designed to signal their ethnicity and demonstrate their political dominance. They also imposed Manchu dress on all government servants reinforcing Qing authority over their predominantly Han Chinese subjects.

In 1759, the Qianlong Emperor<sup>7</sup> issued the *Huangchao Liqi Tushi* [An Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia],<sup>8</sup> an extensive dress code that detailed what should be worn for all manner of occasions from the emperor himself down to the lowest ranking officials. The edict was intended to preserve Manchu identity and simultaneously align the image of the emperor with Confucian ideals and codes of behaviour and manners. Vollmer writes, “Textiles were part of a Confucian tradition of state, in which appropriate apparel and furnishings were deemed essential to the display of proper conduct.”<sup>9</sup> Throughout much of Chinese history, Vollmer states, garments “were vital to the identities of their wearers” and for centuries, “remained crucial to the success of specific political and family events, ranging from the most modest wedding to annual state sacrifices, made on behalf of ‘all under heaven’ by the emperor himself.”<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> John Vollmer, *Ruling from the Dragon Throne: Costume of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)*, Ten Speed Press, Berkeley, California, United States, 2002, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The Qianlong Emperor was born in 1711 and died in 1799. He ruled from 1736 to 1795.

<sup>8</sup> There are multiple translations of the title of the *Huangchao Liqi Tushi* that all essentially establish it as a visual guide to ritual or ceremonial paraphernalia.

<sup>9</sup> John Vollmer, “Clothed to Rule the Universe: Ming and Qing Dynasty Textiles at the Art Institute of Chicago,” *Museum Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2000, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

As the emperor's mother, the dowager empress was the most powerful woman in China. She was therefore allocated more materials for her wardrobe than anyone else. Annually, Cixi received "one hundred sixty bolts of silk of various types, twenty skeins of gold thread, fifty six caddies of woollen thread, cotton thread and cotton wool, four hundred buttons of sundry sizes, and one hundred twenty four pieces of sable, sea otter and other furs."<sup>11</sup> While a dowager empress ranked second only to the emperor due to Confucian familial and social hierarchies, it was taken for granted that she would never exercise that authority. Despite receiving such an extensive wardrobe, the *Huangchao Liqi Tushi* only mentions what a dowager empress should wear for official rites and observances, on the emperor's birthday, and the New Year. It contains nothing about what a dowager empress she should wear for public appearances or travel, implying that she was rarely seen and even more infrequently set foot outside the grounds of the Forbidden City. Cixi was the exception to this unspoken rule as she made frequent trips to her beloved Summer Palace, bringing an extensive wardrobe with her. Being in an unprecedented position, Cixi adjusted standards of dress to accommodate her leadership. This involved departing from strict guidelines designed for male emperors.

The *Huangchao Liqi Tushi* divided clothing into official and non-official categories, then further subdivided them by degree of formality for both men and women. The *chaofu* [official court raiment] was reserved for formal audiences or ceremonies (Figure 1). Despite the emphasis on Manchu culture, the official formal robes were based on dragon robes with which the Manchus were familiar, having received them as gifts from the previous Ming court.<sup>12</sup> The *chaofu* was comprised of a *chaopao* [a full-length garment] worn over a pleated skirt cut from a single length of silk.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Ming Wilson, Ed., "Introduction" by Ming Wilson, *Imperial Chinese Robes from the Forbidden City*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2010, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Valerie Steele and John S. Major, *China Chic: East Meets West*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, United States, 1999, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Garrett, op cit., p. 49.



Figure 1:  
*Man's Audience Robe*,  
Silk Satin Embroidered with Silk and Metallic Thread,  
circa 1850–1900, China,  
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, New York, United States, 1935, 35.84.3.

*Chaopao* for women were similar to men's in design. They featured projecting epaulettes, hoof-shaped cuffs, *piling* [detached collars], and attached pleated skirts. They were decorated with flowers, roundels signifying longevity, and dragons whose characteristics denoted the wearer's rank.<sup>14</sup> The arrangement of dragons on a woman's official robe reflected the position of her husband, or if unmarried, her father. The highest ranking women at court which included the dowager empress, the empress, and first-degree consorts were expected to wear yellow official court robes. Princesses and other female members of the royal family also wore yellow, but of a different shade to those above them.

---

<sup>14</sup> The number of claws or the facing direction of the dragons, along with the colour of the robe, indicated the wearer's status.

The official *jifu* [semi-formal robe] was worn for regular court business (Figure 2). *Jifu* were long with front flaps that folded over one another and had long sleeves that ended in hoof-shaped cuffs like the *chaofu*. They also typically featured emblems of rank. The *jifu* had a slightly shorter skirt than the *chaofu* and additional slits on the front and back, an alteration made to accommodate a full range of motion which testified to the Manchus' active lifestyle.



Figure 2:  
*Emperor's Jifu (Semiformal Court Robe),*  
Silk, Slit, and Satin Tapestry Weave, Painted Details, Impressed Ribs,  
circa 1825-1850, China,  
© The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1913.158.



For daily life, men and women wore *changfu* [non-official informal robes], usually with a short jacket, a sleeveless vest, or an overcoat.<sup>15</sup> *Changfu* were also worn with a detached band at the neck that folded over the wearer's shoulder, which denoted their rank at court. While decoration on *changfu* varied, by the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, they were usually quite ornate (Figure 3).



Figure 3:  
*Women's Changfu*,  
Silk, Slit and Dovetailed Tapestry Weave;  
Ribbons: Silk and Gold-Leaf-over-Lacquered-Paper-Strip-Wrapped Cotton,  
Stripes of Satin Weave and Stripes of Plain Weave; Metal Buttons,  
circa 1900-1910, China,  
© The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1932.38.

---

<sup>15</sup> Garrett, op cit., p. 59.



As a woman assuming a level of authority typically reserved for male rulers, Cixi modified the previous standards of dress. Unlike male emperors, she needed to highlight her power and make herself visible. Dress was a way to do just that. During her regency, Cixi elevated the status of the *changfu* to that of a semi-formal garment and often wore it while ruling from behind a screen. Because empresses traditionally oversaw the country's production of silk and fine textiles, garments worn at court, especially the informal robes worn by women that were not detailed in the *Huangchao Liqi Tushi*, expressed the tastes and predilections of particular empresses. Robes and vests began to feature large jade buttons in the shapes of plants and animals. Folded sleeves with heavy bands of ornamentation and contrasting borders drawn from Han Chinese dress became popular, as did attached standing collars. While she did not abandon the official robes for certain occasions, when possible, Cixi preferred to eschew the official robes which she found to be unflattering against her complexion<sup>16</sup> in favour of *changfu* adorned with flowers and auspicious symbols.

Her regency saw the popularisation of large embroidered floral motifs on women's court clothing. Wisteria and narcissus bulbs were among some of the most frequently occurring designs. Butterflies were also a favourite pattern of Cixi's and appeared on a large number of late nineteenth and early twentieth century women's garments. Butterflies remain auspicious symbols in Chinese culture and are associated with immortality. They are also used to express the hope of reaching old age as the second syllable of the popular name for a butterfly shares a homophone with the word for a septuagenarian. Butterflies are usually associated with the temperate summer, but illustrate the transition to autumn when depicted with chrysanthemums.

---

<sup>16</sup> Der Ling, op cit., p. 188.

In a photograph (Figure 4) dated circa 1903–1905, Cixi is pictured in a garden with her attendants. Snow is on the ground and on tree branches around her. She wears a long straight cape, a style she popularised at court, embroidered with a motif of flowering boughs. The plush white fur lining of the cape is visible in the photograph. Plants and flowers embroidered on garments dictated when a piece could be worn. For example, plum and cherry blossoms were associated with winter as the photograph suggests. Peonies symbolised spring, and lotus flowers summer. Chrysanthemums were worn in autumn. Seasons and their corresponding garments changed in accordance with preset dates each year. Winter robes would be trimmed with sable or otter fur, while those worn in the summer would be edged with silk brocade.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 4:

*The Dowager Empress Cixi in Snow,*  
*Accompanied by Attendants, Eunuchs, and Fourth Princess,*  
circa 1903–1905, Photographed by Yu Xunling,

© Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, United States, FSA A.13 SC-GR-279.

---

<sup>17</sup> Garrett, op cit., p. 48.

A light green vest in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (Figure 5 and Figure 6), is a fine example of the atypical garments produced from the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. The opulent decoration was produced using the laborious *kesi* or “cut silk” weaving technique, a process that would have taken at least a year to execute by hand. The vest is covered with butterflies, which also appear along the black border of the garment.



Figure 5:  
*Women's Sleeveless Jacket*,  
Tapestry-Woven Silk and Metallic Thread (*Kesi*), circa 1880–1910, China,  
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, New York, United States, 45.125.15.



Figure 6:  
Detail,  
*Women's Sleeveless Jacket*,  
Tapestry-Woven Silk and Metallic  
Thread (*Kesi*),  
circa 1880–1910, China,  
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, New York, United States,  
45.125.15.

In her memoirs about her time spent at the Qing court, Princess Der Ling describes one ensemble that Cixi carefully selected for an audience with American Admiral Evans and his wife:

“She chose a blue gown embroidered with one hundred butterflies, and wore a purple sleeveless jacket, which was also embroidered with butterflies. At the bottom of this gown were pearl tassels. She wore her largest pearls, one of which was almost as large as an egg, and was her favourite jewel. She only wore this on special occasions. She wore two jade butterflies on each side of her headdress. Her bracelets and rings were also all designed in butterflies, in fact everything matched.”<sup>18</sup>

In a photograph taken by court photographer Yu Xunling dated circa 1903–1905 (Figure 7), ostensibly as part of a group of images taken prior to the meeting with Admiral Evans detailed in Der Ling’s memoirs, Cixi is shown in her audience chamber. She wears a *changfu* covered in *shou* roundels (symbols of longevity) and butterflies of different sizes. The hem of the robe is decorated with tassels, each ornamented with a pearl, like the one described in Der Ling’s account. She presents herself in the photograph as though in the process of receiving foreign guests. This suggests that she considers this garment as part of how she wants the international public to see her, regardless of whether they are in her audience chambers.

---

<sup>18</sup> Der Ling, op cit., p. 193.



Figure 7:  
*Cixi, Dowager Empress of China, 1835-1908,*  
circa 1903-1905, Glass Plate Negative, Photographed by Yu Xunling,  
© Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., United States,  
Purchase FSA A.13 SC-GR-257.

### Modernisation à la Mode

As the de facto ruler of China during a tumultuous period at home and in the face of foreign modernised aggressors, Cixi was forced to consider how she might lead her country into the twentieth century. Her own image was particularly in need of repair after the disastrous 1900 Boxer Rebellion. She needed to distance herself from the anti-western and anti-modernisation faction with which she had previous associations. In order to maintain control and keep her dynasty afloat, Cixi began a series of efforts to industrialise China and reform its foreign policy. Modernisation and the court dress that was produced during Cixi's regency are thus inextricably linked.

Women's informal clothing was one of the few spheres over which Qing court ladies had any authority. As China's silk production was overseen by empresses, and had been for centuries, clothing was a means by which high-ranking women were able to assume meaning and identity. In fact, dress and national identity as conveyed by rulers was neither new nor exclusive to China. For example, in Europe, Queens and other women who represented institutions of power had long used clothes to encourage national production and spur patriotic fervour. Consider Cixi's contemporary, Queen Victoria, and the impact of the white wedding gown that she wore for her marriage to Prince Albert in 1840 and the effect of the garment on the nation's lace-makers. In fact, virtually everything Queen Victoria wore in public was to promote British manufacturers and industry.<sup>19</sup>

Cixi presented some of the first images of a powerful woman in China to global audiences through the new technology of photography. What she wore mattered down to the tiniest detail and the accounts of Der Ling and Sarah Conger paint a picture of a woman working tirelessly to express herself to the world through her appearance. To reduce the lavish garments of Cixi's regency and the many images of her wearing them to mere shows of vanity by an extravagant despot would be to dismiss the historical precedent set by other high ranking women who supported domestic production through their sartorial displays, or treating such a tradition as an exclusively western phenomenon. Even as she took a position of power over male emperors, Cixi used dress to help articulate her aspirations for her court and country.

---

<sup>19</sup> Aneira Davies, "Things You Didn't Know about Queen Victoria's Fashion," 7 October 2016, <https://www.goodhousekeeping.com/uk/fashion-beauty/a564160/things-you-didnt-know-about-queen-victorias-fashion/work>, Accessed 12 October 2019.



Antonia Finnane states that “New forms of technology, industry, commerce, and communications were central to” the “process of vestimentary change.”<sup>20</sup> This was certainly the case in China at the start of the twentieth century as western industrialisation profoundly impacted China’s silk production. New technologies resulted in silk overtaking tea as China’s primary export.

Consumption increased at home and abroad, as the booming area of trade catered to a growing merchant class which contributed to the rivalry with hereditary aristocracy.<sup>21</sup> Finnane describes the impact of China’s bureaucratic order “from the sixteenth century onward,” as “being challenged by the expansion of trade and the rise of urban elites.”<sup>22</sup> The rise of the non-Manchu merchant class with more and more disposable income fed into the increased appetite and access to sartorial luxury. This in turn set in motion the trappings of a fashion system, which departed from the strict Confucian guidelines of dress of past generations.

Larger loom capacities led to a greater volume of production. European fabrics flooded into China, and Chinese manufacturers responded by creating imitations at lower costs and modifying foreign goods to meet local needs.<sup>23</sup> Women’s garments both in and outside of court were produced using foreign fabrics and flat die-cast buttons. Slimmer silhouettes based on European dresses were also seen at court and new jacquard mechanisms on hand looms resulted in a proliferation of trims and ribbons on all manner of women’s garments.

New synthetic dyes were also introduced, which delivered bold hues, such as mauveine.<sup>24</sup> The vibrant colours as well as the pastel hues that resulted from the new synthetic dyes appealed to Cixi. Late nineteenth century court garments feature traditional embroidery and weaving techniques combined with some of the new modern technologies, separating them from the clothes of the earlier Qing court. While western elements such as ribbons, dyes, and flat metal buttons were entering into Chinese court dress, Cixi viewed other aspects of western dress with disdain, particularly the way that they limited the body.

---

<sup>20</sup> Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, and Nation*, Columbia University Press, New York, New York, United States, 2008, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Vollmer, 2000, op cit., p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Finnane, op cit., p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Vollmer, 2000, op cit., p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> Mauveine or “Perkin’s Purple” dye was invented in England in 1856 by William Henry Perkin (1838–1907).

The European worldview during Great Britain's "Imperial Century" was one in which Europe and America viewed non-western societies as inferior and as a result viewed themselves as the opposite of what they perceived these "others" to be. The European world viewed fashion as inextricably entwined with notions of modernity, which they perceived non-western societies as failing to possess. Western "progress placed much store on clothing" Finnane points out, "which separated the savages from the civilized, but the essential decorum of Chinese's women's dress challenged western observers, whose own clothing fostered a deep tension between tendencies to conceal and reveal the body in a sexual aspect."<sup>25</sup> While day dress tended to cover the body in Europe and America, Victorian women's evening wear left much of the neck and bosom uncovered. In an excerpt from George Moore's *Drama in Muslin*, the author details the display of female flesh at a ball, comparing women's shoulders to types of roses:

"Shoulders were there of all tints and shapes. Indeed it was like a vast rosary, alive with white and cream-colored flowers...Sweetly turned adolescent shoulders, blush white, smooth and even as the petals of a Marquiso Mortemarle; the strong commonly turned shoulders, abundant and free as the fresh rosy pink of the Anna Alinuff."<sup>26</sup>

Manchu dress on the other hand, was very concerned with propriety and also allowed for a free range of motion. In her memoirs, Princess Der Ling mentions her own relief at being able to give up her French gowns to wear Manchu garments for the sake of comfort and mobility declaring that, "...to sit on the floor is all right for Chinese clothes, but of course it was out of the question with Paris gowns, and I felt very uncomfortable, but did not like to say so. I wanted to change into Manchu clothes, for I knew they were comfortable and easy to work in."<sup>27</sup> Cixi, while interested in looking at western women's dress, questioned its tendency to expose and restrict the female body. She found such clothing dated (perhaps articulating her own sense of modernity) and in the same vein tried<sup>28</sup> to ban the practice of foot binding in her own country in 1902.

---

<sup>25</sup> Finnane, op cit., p. 37.

<sup>26</sup> George Moore, *A Drama in Muslin*, Boni and Liveright, New York, New York, United States, 1922, p. 153.

<sup>27</sup> Der Ling, op cit., p. 77.

<sup>28</sup> She was unsuccessful and eventually had to call off the ban. The practice was officially banned in 1912 after the collapse of the Qing.

In addition, "...fashion as a style of dress given at any time to changing tastes was very much present in China at the Qing court"<sup>29</sup> during Cixi's lifetime. The late nineteenth century shows, as Finnane describes, "...early signs of sharp rupture with conventional styles of the Qing."<sup>30</sup> At this time, Cixi was breaking with traditional Qing models of leadership headed by male emperors. Dress has long been a way by which highly visible women attempted to support local culture and industry. By allowing western technology to be displayed through her clothing in photographs for all the world to see, Cixi expresses some interest in modernising the country while preserving its autonomy in international spaces.

### **Frivolity and Foreign Policy**

Even before her arrival at the Qing court as a teenage concubine, Cixi had been carefully groomed to charm and beguile. How she presented herself would be crucial to her success, as this was virtually the only way a woman could gain influence within the rigidly patriarchal Qing social and political structures that dictated that women could not rule. Clothes were used to present oneself with every social and political advantage. Dress and personal adornments were consequently not matters to be taken lightly and the importance of performing an identity was not lost on Cixi. Cixi had seen how her predecessors had fared by closing the Qing court to all foreigners and refusing to acknowledge shifts in global power. Antonia Finnane states that "identity formation, so important to sartorial decisions, is by no means entirely reducible to the effects of the political climate. But for much of the twentieth century, China was mired in a constantly transmutating struggle for its survival, sovereignty, and its international standing."<sup>31</sup> Establishing a national political identity could not be divorced from what Cixi wore while ruling the country, particularly since her foreign policy reforms involved the dissemination of her image to other world leaders.

---

<sup>29</sup> Finnane, *op cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

Cixi had photographs taken in formal, as well as informal robes (Figure 8). For each sitting, Cixi painstakingly crafted the scene. She would carefully choose her garments, accessories, and jewels as described in the previous discussion from Princess Der Ling's memoirs about the photographs taken a month prior to the dowager empress' audience with Admiral Evans.<sup>32</sup> In Der Ling's account, the dowager empress tells her as she prepares for Evans' visit, "I know the American Admiral will go home and tell his people about me, and I don't want him to have a wrong impression."<sup>33</sup> Each outfit—and the way it was presented—was thoroughly prepared, down to the smallest detail, by the dowager empress.



Figure 8:  
*Cixi, Dowager Empress  
of China, 1835–1908,*  
circa 1903–1905,  
© Freer Gallery of Art  
and Arthur M. Sackler  
Gallery Archives,  
Smithsonian Institution,  
Washington, DC,  
United States,  
Purchase FSA  
A.13 SC-GR-262.

---

<sup>32</sup> Der Ling, op cit., p. 193.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

This rich blue satin *changfu* (Figure 9), circa 1875–1908, in The Minneapolis Institute of Art is purported to have been owned by Cixi. The sleeves have three wide bands, and the robe is decorated with large gold *shou* medallions and flowering narcissus bulbs, associated with spring and the new year. The vibrant colour and prominent floral motif are characteristic of garments produced for the Qing court at the end of the nineteenth century. In one of the most widely seen images of the dowager empress, she wears a garment with strikingly similar decoration.



Figure 9:  
*Manchu Woman's Unofficial Informal Court Robe*,  
Embroidered Satin, circa 1875–1908, China,  
© The Minneapolis Institute of Art,  
Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, 41.74.7.



In 1903, Cixi commissioned a portrait from the American artist Katharine Augusta Carl<sup>34</sup> to be featured in the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition (Figure 10) in an effort to improve relations with the United States. Carl describes her time spent with the dowager empress in her 1907 memoirs which she published to quell the negative rumours surrounding Cixi and “modify the generally accepted idea which prevailed as to Her Majesty’s character” and slanderous statements that “were daily appearing in the papers.”<sup>35</sup>



Figure 10:  
*Portrait of  
Dowager Empress Tse Hsi,*  
Katharine Carl,  
1904,  
Oil on Canvas,  
©Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution,  
Washington, DC,  
United States,  
s2011.16.1-2a-ap.

---

<sup>34</sup> Katharine Augusta “Kate” Carl (1865–1938) was a friend of Sarah Pike Conger.

<sup>35</sup> Katharine Carl, *With the Empress Dowager of China*, The Century Company, New York, New York, United States, 1907, pp. xix–xxi.



In this portrait (Figure 10), Cixi wears an imperial yellow robe, but instead of the official formal robe, she wears a *changfu* adorned with *shou* roundels and narcissus bulbs like the one at The Minneapolis Institute of Art (Figure 9). The painting was placed in an elaborately carved frame and sent with an entourage of Qing noblemen to the American exhibition, after which this painting was given in 1904 as a gesture of goodwill to United States President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919).

Cixi knew that her image would be seen by the general public across the world at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, and the fact that she wears the garment that she elevated to court status is not coincidental. It is an assertion of power. Choosing to present herself in an unofficial robe while directing the country's affairs was certainly unorthodox, but then a powerful female ruler actively overseeing all state affairs was in itself certainly unheard of in any part of the world, particularly in a country where such a practice was expressly forbidden. Cixi commissioned a second portrait from Carl,<sup>36</sup> which remains in the Beijing Palace Museum Collection. Carl describes Cixi's attire while sitting for the portrait as the following:

“[The Empress Dowager wears] a gown of Imperial yellow, brocaded in the wisteria vine in realistic colors and richly embroidered in pearls. It was made, in the graceful Manchu fashion, in one piece reaching from the neck to the floor; fastened from the right shoulder to the hem with jade buttons. The stuff of the gown was of a stiff transparent silk and was worn over a softer under-gown of the same color and length. At the top button, from the right shoulder, hung a string of eighteen enormous pearls separated by flat brilliant, transparent green jade. From the same button was suspended a large carved pale ruby, which had yellow silk tassels terminating in two immense pear-shaped pearls of rare beauty! At each side, just under the arms, hung a pale blue, embroidered handkerchief and a scent-bag with long black silk tassels. Around her throat was a pale blue two-inch wide cravat embroidered in gold with large pearls. This cravat had one end tucked into the opening on the shoulder of her gown, and the other hanging.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> This second painting was not a duplicate of the one sent to the American exhibition, but rather one that Cixi kept in her own collection. The dowager empress is depicted wearing a yellow robe differing from the one sent to Theodore Roosevelt in 1904.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

Carl's account of Cixi's garments highlight some of the attributes of women's court attire that mark the years of Cixi's regency, including the attached collar, flat carved jade buttons, and prominent wisteria decoration. The same ensemble is described in Der Ling's memoirs regarding the dowager empress' sittings for her portrait. In Carl's portrait, Cixi is bedecked in jewels as she calmly and regally meets the presumably European or American viewer's gaze. Carl depicts Cixi as the unquestionable leader of China even over a male emperor. The opulent garments cement the image of Cixi as a wealthy and powerful woman confidently ruling her country despite the ongoing internal and external upheaval.

Cixi's relationship with clothing was exhaustively well documented from the quantity of various garments she owned to her fascination with foreign dress, to the photographs of meticulously selected ensembles. In addition to her personal interest in dress, she was part of a dynasty whose power had been cemented by the use of a strict dress code. Dressing carelessly was simply not an option. Furthermore, of the understanding that her photos would be seen by powerful world leaders, Cixi would have considered the purpose or meaning of everything she wore.

Cixi's sartorial choices reflected her attempt to build China's economy and her efforts to connect with the wives of foreign ministers as part of her foreign policy. By cultivating friendships with the women behind influential men, Cixi used the domestic and familiar to influence the political and global. Clothing figured heavily in growing these connections. In their memoirs about Cixi, Katharine Carl and Princess Der Ling go into great detail discussing clothing and garments and the circumstances and encounters that surround them.

Der Ling recounts how the dowager empress asked her and her sister to appear at the Manchu court in European dress when they first arrived, "as it would give her an opportunity to study the foreign way of dressing."<sup>38</sup> In one account from *Two Years in the Forbidden City*, one of the Manchu princesses tells Der Ling:

---

<sup>38</sup> Der Ling, op cit., p. 8.

Just now she wishes to see your Paris gowns, because she wants to know how foreign ladies dress on different occasions. She thought that some of the ladies came to the Garden Party dressed in woolen clothes. We thought that foreign ladies were not so extravagant as we are until we met Madame Plancon the other day. Do you remember what Her Majesty said to you? 'That Madame Plancon was so different from many ladies she had met, and also dressed differently.' It was a chiffon dress, with hand paintings, which Madame Plancon wore, which pleased Her Majesty very much.<sup>39</sup>

Dress, textiles, and personal adornments were a point of contact between women in both European and Qing societies and was a way that Cixi directly bonded with foreign women. In the photographs and portraits including Carl's, Cixi used her opulent attire and carefully constructed appearance to reach foreign leaders as an equal.

## Conclusion

Almost immediately after Cixi's death, many of the decorative elements that appeared on garments during her regency vanished; less than four years after her death, the Qing collapsed, signaling the birth of the Republic of China (ROC). As one of the most controversial and powerful figures in China during the tumult of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Cixi's departures from pre-existing and strictly enforced Qing court dress reveal her attempts to create a new China that would be sustainable in the rapidly changing world with which it had to contend. The use of western technologies is visible in the unusual body of women's court clothes of Cixi's regency, suggesting an interest in modernising, but doing so on the terms of China's Qing government. The lavish clothes, and ubiquitous images of Cixi wearing them, represent the efforts of the last powerful Qing ruler, who brought her nation into the twentieth century. Her clothes represent her ability to engage on a level playing field with other international players on the world stage.

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Books

Carl, Katharine, *With the Empress Dowager of China*, The Century Company, New York, New York, United States, 1907.

Conger, Sarah Pike, *Letters from China: With Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China*, A.C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1910.

Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City*, Moffat, Yard, and Co., New York, New York, United States, 1911.

### Secondary Sources: Articles

Vollmer, John, "Clothed to Rule the Universe: Ming and Qing Dynasty Textiles at the Art Institute of Chicago," *Museum Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2000, pp. 12-51.

### Secondary Sources: Books

Finnane, Antonia, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, and Nation*, Columbia University Press, New York, New York, United States, 2008.

Garrett, Valery M., *Chinese Clothing: An Illustrated Guide*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1994.

Moore, George, *A Drama in Muslin*, Boni and Liveright, New York, New York, United States, 1922.

Steele, Valerie and Major, John S., *China Chic: East Meets West*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, United States, 1999.

Vollmer, John, *Ruling from the Dragon Throne: Costume of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)*, Ten Speed Press, Berkeley, California, United States, 2002.

Wilson, Ming, Ed., "Introduction" by Ming Wilson, *Imperial Chinese Robes from the Forbidden City*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2010.

### Internet Sources

Davies, Aneira, "Things You Didn't Know about Queen Victoria's Fashion," 7 October 2016, <https://www.goodhousekeeping.com/uk/fashion-beauty/a564160/things-you-didnt-know-about-queen-victorias-fashion/work>, Accessed 12 October 2019.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to offer my thanks to the peer reviewers and editors of The Journal of Dress History. My completion of this project could not have been accomplished without the assistance, advice, love, and support of Min-Chih Yao, Zachary Klos, and Gary Ayvazov.

Copyright © 2020 Felicia Yao

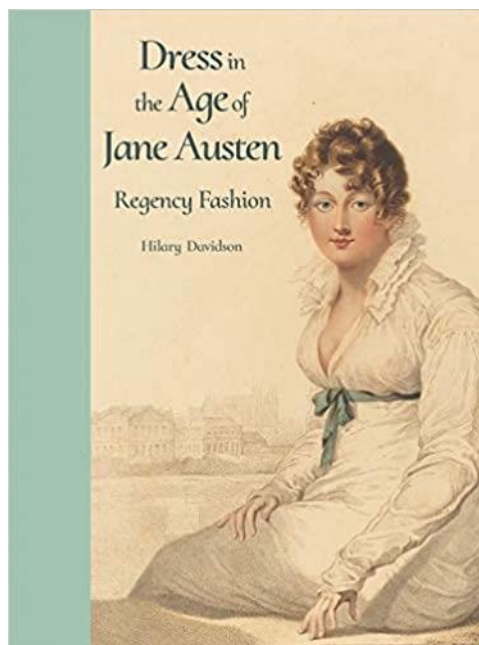
Email: [f.yao.costume@gmail.com](mailto:f.yao.costume@gmail.com)

Felicia Yao is an independent researcher and writer based in New Orleans, Louisiana, United States, who works in costumes for film and television. She also creates clothing and costumes for local performers. Ms. Yao was previously an Asian art specialist and consultant and also served as the curatorial assistant to the Asian Art Department of The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas. She holds an MA in Art History from Leiden University in Leiden, Netherlands, with concentrations in Contemporary Art and East Asian Art and Material Culture. Ms. Yao also has degrees in English and Art History from The University of South Carolina in Columbia, South Carolina, United States, where she also studied fashion merchandising. Ms. Yao's current research focuses on women's dress and fashion in China and Chinese diasporic communities, from the nineteenth century through the present day.



## **Book Reviews**

Academic book reviews are an integral part of The Journal of Dress History. If you have an idea about a dress or textile book that should be reviewed in The Journal of Dress History, please contact [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).



Hilary Davidson, *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion*, Yale University Press, London, England, 2019, Acknowledgments, Notes for the Reader, Appendices, Glossary, Notes, Bibliography, Picture Credits, Index, 180 Colour Illustrations, 336 pages, Hardback, £30.00.

Hilary Davidson is well qualified to be the author of this impressive book, not only as a dress and textile historian with curatorial experience, but also having written previously about Jane Austen and clothes. (See “Reconstructing Jane Austen’s Silk Pelisse, 1812–1814,” *Costume*, Volume 49, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 198–223). She is based between Britain and Australia where she is an Honorary Associate at The University of Sydney.

*Dress in the Age of Jane Austen* gives us a detailed and comprehensive analysis of Regency fashion and is to be much welcomed as a single-volume survey. Falling between the well-documented eighteenth century and Victorian periods, the Regency is often tacked on to one or the other of these categories. This is partly because its dates can be somewhat elastic; although, strictly speaking, the Prince of Wales’ Regency occurred between 1811–1820, the “Regency style” often encompasses several decades from the 1790s to the 1830s. Davidson addresses this issue early on in her Introduction: “For clothing I define my ‘long Regency’ as 1795 to c. 1825” (p. 11). Jane Austen’s publication period, 1811–1817, falls neatly within the true Regency.

This work takes Jane Austen as its starting point and anchor; the references to dress, fashion, textiles, and needlework in her novels and letters draw us directly into the world of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, upper middle class England. The two threads of the book, Davidson tells us, “are the clothes Regency middling sorts wore, and the influences on their wearing, woven into a pattern determined by Austen’s gaze” (p. 285). To add to this fabric Davidson has drawn on many other contemporary literary sources, including diaries, inventories and financial records, and a wealth of visual material.

In assembling and arranging such a wide range of information, she has adopted an unusual—and generally effective—approach by organising her chapters in a series of widening circles. Starting with “Self” she examines clothes as the expression of the individual person, then goes on to “Home” to look in more detail at the foundations of fashion: undergarments, their making, care, and laundering. Extending outwards,

further chapters cover dress worn for everyday life, rural and high fashion (“Village,” “Country,” “City”) and end with two chapters on regional variations and the effects of other countries on British fashions (“Nation,” “World”). This enables her to cover a number of different aspects and topics such as occupational clothing, military dress, accessories, hair styles, shops, shopping, and the dissemination of fashion news. Occasionally it leads to repetition as some items naturally fall into more than one category—riding habits appear in both “Country” and “Nation”—but the benefit is that it places Regency fashion in a broader, more cosmopolitan context than most previous studies of this subject. Essentially, Davidson argues that clothes and clothing systems bind communities together, and they can extend from the nearest village or hamlet to the furthest reaches of empire. Jane Austen’s life is a prime example, as she did not only experience rural Hampshire, Bath, London, and her brother’s country house in Kent, but encountered the wider world by secondhand acquaintance through relatives such as her brothers (two of whom distinguished themselves in the Royal Navy) and her rather exotic cousin and sister-in-law, Eliza de Feuillide.

A close reading of primary sources and surviving garments yields insights into the practicalities of Regency dress. Stockings darned with tough worsted yarn could result in hard lumps that made walking painful, as Thomas Coutts discovered (p. 71). The heavy woollen cloth used for men’s overcoats could weigh upwards of 3 kilograms so it was no wonder Mr. Allen in *Northanger Abbey* “had rather do anything in the world than walk out in a greatcoat” (p. 161). Similarly, we can understand Colonel Brandon’s tendency to wear a flannel waistcoat—so despised by Marianne Dashwood in *Sense and Sensibility*—when reading that it could have helped him acclimatise to the cold English climate after a long posting in India (p. 265).

Curators are usefully reminded that while Regency fashion plates illustrate ball gowns with shortish hems (which allowed freer movement of the feet), in museums these dresses are often displayed as though full length and this can distort our perception of women’s height at this period (p. 200). Another challenge to accepted wisdom is the idea that the high-waisted white muslin gowns were solely inspired by the neo-classical taste. It is possible that Indian fashions or an East Indian Orientalism may have been equally influential on this style (p. 269).

Jane Austen is the subtlest of writers, and readers might not always agree with the interpretation of some passages about dress, as for example, in the assertion that Henry Crawford in *Mansfield Park* was a “dandy” or that Mrs Elton (*Emma*) was a “female dandy” (p. 204). Austen’s extended family, several of whom had the same first name, can also be a trap and there are errors in this respect: confusing, for instance, her niece Fanny Knight with another sister-in-law, Fanny Austen (p. 79) or a friend, Eliza Fowle with a sister-in-law Eliza Austen (p. 82). Jane Austen specialists may spot a few other errors. For non-specialists, however, there are useful

appendices, which include Jane Austen's Family Tree; List of Characters in Jane Austen's Fiction; a visual guide to Changes in the Construction of Women's Gowns, 1790–1820; and a Glossary. There is also an extensive bibliography of manuscripts, primary and secondary sources.

The book is beautifully illustrated with thoughtfully chosen, and often unusual or unfamiliar images, including the striking cover with its intriguing link to Jane Austen. These have been well reproduced, sometimes with close-up details, which make it both a pleasurable and instructive book to look through. Nevertheless, there is a defect in its design: the font size of the text is very small, in grey rather than black print, while the captions to the illustrations are tiny; sadly, this made it a wearisome read, especially when navigating between the main text, captions, and end notes. This is not the fault of the author and the publisher has done her a disservice. No doubt the intention was to keep down the size (and price?) of the book—but as an important body of work this surely justified a larger format, which many readers would be willing to pay for.

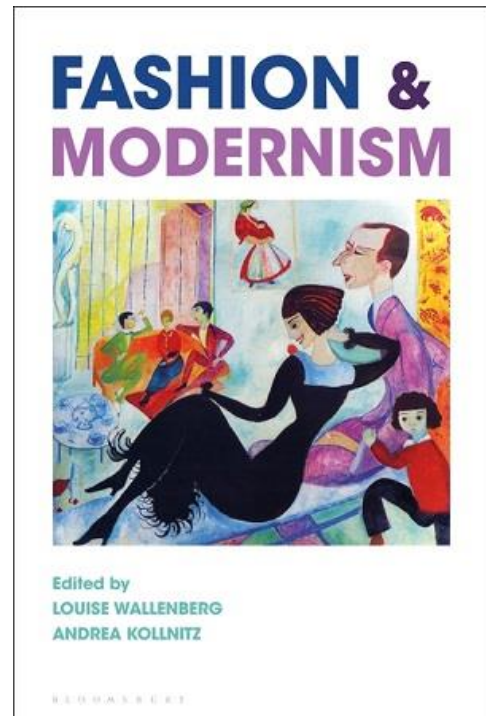
For dress historians this book sets a scholarly and inspiring example, which is bound to remain a standard work of reference for this period.

Copyright © 2020 Penelope Byrde  
Email: [byrderuddock@btinternet.com](mailto:byrderuddock@btinternet.com)

Penelope Byrde read Modern History at St. Andrews University, Scotland, before specialising in the history of dress at The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was Curator at the Museum of Costume and Fashion Research Centre in Bath (now known as The Fashion Museum) until her retirement in 2002. She is currently 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, including *Jane Austen Fashion* (Excellent Press, Ludlow, 1999).

Louise Wallenberg and Andrea Kollnitz, Eds., *Fashion and Modernism*, Bloomsbury Visual Arts, London, England, 2019, List of Figures, Notes on Contributors, Acknowledgements, Bibliography, Index, 44 Black-and-White Illustrations, 239 pages, Hardback, £91.80.

*Fashion and Modernism* presents nine essays on a wide variety of links between fashion and modernism and, as such, is a welcomed addition to the material currently available. The editors, Louise Wallenberg and Andrea Kollnitz, have assembled a broad range of topics through which to study a period when the visual impact of fashion began to be considered seriously. As they note, much previous study of the period, aside from work by Troy, Stern, and Wigley, had concentrated on single artists, or particular designers, such as Erté's fashion illustrations or Sonia Delaunay's robe simultanée, as singular examples of the interchange, leaving fashion largely side-lined in studies of modernism. Working in Stockholm, Wallenberg and Kollnitz assembled scholars less closely related to the subject to provide some of the first research on fashion and modernism from an interdisciplinary perspective.



As the period in which fashion was granted equal status to other art forms such as literature and painting, the position of fashion at this time is of interest both in its own right and for the light it sheds on other areas. Artists became designers and designers' work could be elevated to the status of art. Subjects covered in this book include links between Italian Futurism and fashion, Russian Constructivist fashion, Parisian haute couture and the American market, the self-promotion of Swedish avant-garde artists and an exposition of the role of the slit skirt in tango.

Unfortunately, some of the essays suffered from occasional poor translation into English, which made them difficult to read in places and tended to limit enjoyment, and occasionally understanding, of the work. However, most are easily read. It may be that those essays less fluently translated are those that demand more of the reader in terms of understanding and knowledge of modernism and would appeal most to the modernist scholar whose persistence would be repaid. Others would certainly appeal equally to the more generalist reader.

Each of the essays contextualises its subject socially and culturally whilst looking in depth at the topic using a great deal of contemporary evidence such as photographs, advertisements, newspaper articles, or comment from the time. The wide range of evidence brought to bear on the history of fashion and modernism is laudable. Space does not permit a full discussion of each essay, so a selection is presented.

We are introduced firstly to Simmel's 1905 "Philosophy of Fashion," an early theory about fashion "as a key to society's evolutionary dynamics" (p. 30) and an indication that fashion might now be viewed as a subject worthy of serious consideration, at least in terms of social control as "equally dressed people behave in relatively the same manner" (p. 31). The much-discussed trickle-down theory of today is shown to have originated at this point.

In the discussion of Italian Futurism and Fashion, Calefato notes that Futurists mocked the rules while appearing to observe them, dressing as a dandy might and employing clothes for originality and provocation. Conversely, fashion for women was viewed as a shallow preoccupation incorporating unnecessary expense.

As Vainshtein also points out in her dissection of Constructivist fashion, Rodchenko and Stepanova are noted as denouncing fashion as a form of slavery for women in its unnecessary expense, curiously echoing the view of Marinetti at the other end of the political spectrum. For Constructivists, fashion was primarily for the bourgeoisie, and as such should be replaced by clothes with no value other than their utilitarian nature. This was a dichotomy for the Constructivists themselves, as Vainshtein notes that they hoped to see their own designs disseminated. Vainshtein also highlights then dismisses parallels between the outputs of Constructivists and Sonia Delaunay. In conclusion, she offers the suggestion that Constructivist designs did not constitute fashion but proved to be fruitful influences for the next generation of designers.

Evans uses the interesting concept of a single dress through which to study Jean Patou's self-promotion at the time. She highlights the modernist aspects in the design and the various avenues for advertising and promotion afforded by the dress which might legitimately designate this dress as an engine for modernism. Evans gives Levenson's definition of modernism as encompassing not just "soft culture" but the "hard, causal powers of modern action" (p. 127), which extended to the pace of walking and the tensing of muscles, which Wollen then sees as a "modernist body," rational and stream-lined (p. 128). This, of course, fitted with the concept of Taylorism in the workplace.

Patou's dress, with an Eiffel Tower emblazoned on the front, with a light which could be operated from a switch in the pocket, was clearly modern. It highlighted all that was modern in Paris, whilst making Paris the foremost thought in the dress. In calling



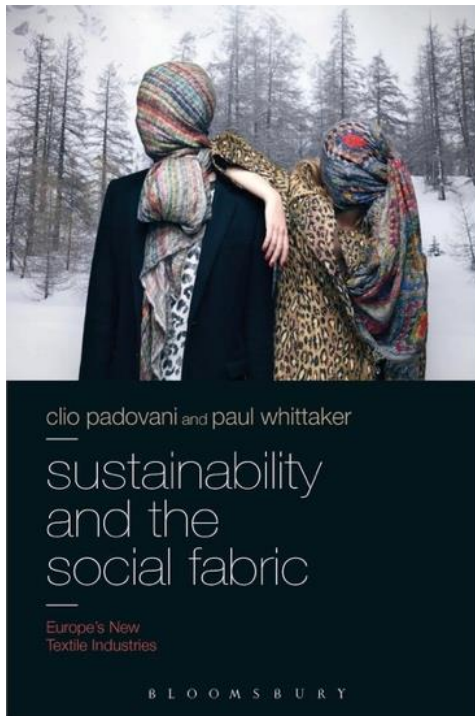
the model “Advertising,” there was little doubt as to Patou’s aim of appealing to an American buying public, coupled with his much-publicised employment of American models and use of American music and a bar at his shows. This could work both ways, bearing in mind the French love for all things American at that time, dubbed “Americanophili” by Morand (p. 147). For the American market, this strategy clearly paid off, as Evans notes that Americans saw Paris as “the sole arbiter of style” (p. 150). In “The Slit Skirt,” Vaccari suggests that the slit skirt of the tango contributed to modernism by extending the “culturality of vision” (p. 157) when the slit revealed the leg in movement. The modernist focus on movement is repeated and tied in with the movement newly available in cinema. The point about the modernist gaze may seem somewhat stretched, but there is a compelling argument for the dance craze driving changes in fashion. As the Castles stated in their book *Modern Dancing* (1914), in a chapter on Modern Dances as Fashion Reformers, the new slit was “the beginning, the opening gun in the war of the Dance upon the Designer.” They concluded that dance had won, making people “lithe and slim and healthy”—a further step towards the streamlined modernist body (p. 163). Vaccari concludes that her work opens the way for further study into the relationship between fashion and modernism in terms of scandal culture, seen as key to relationships between fashion and modernism.

Overall, this is an enjoyable book. Occasionally, theory and modernist argument outweigh fashion content but this was a minor quibble. The book will be of interest to general scholars of the modernist period as well as those with a specific interest in dress and fashion history.

Copyright © 2020 Georgina Chappell

Email: G.Chappell@mmu.ac.uk

Georgina Chappell is a lecturer in Fashion Cultures at Manchester Fashion Institute at Manchester Metropolitan University. After many years working in technical system design for the banking industry, her academic background in history led her back to dress history. Georgina’s research interests include the influence of the avant-garde on fashion in the early twentieth century; early twentieth century beauty culture; fashion in the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR); and *Eve* magazine, 1919–1929. Georgina completed a Master’s degree at Manchester Fashion Institute and Manchester School of Art with a dissertation, titled, *An Investigation into the Influence of the Avant-Garde, Bohemia, and Modernism on Women’s Lifestyle and Fashion, 1919–1929, with Particular Reference to Eve Magazine*.



Clio Padovani and Paul Whittaker, *Sustainability and the Social Fabric: Europe's New Textile Industries*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London, England, 2017, List of Figures, List of Contributions, Acknowledgements, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 31 Black-and-White Illustrations, 188 pages, Hardback, £67.50.

*Sustainability and the Social Fabric: Europe's New Textile Industries* is an insightful study, one that presents the growing interest in questioning the intricacies of the textile and clothing business within the context of socioeconomic challenges. While the concept of sustainability in textile manufacture has been the focus of extensive research, a great deal of this has centered on

materials and practices and their environmental impact. Padovani and Whittaker argue that when sustainability becomes a dynamic transaction within the community, social gain should not be separated from creative innovation and economic success. The textile industry in Europe is explored through the lens of social sustainability, tilting the attention from the materiality of textile design to the industry's positive exchange with the communities from which the products stem. In particular, Padovani and Whittaker examine how effective leadership, and a commitment to a form of working that can add value, are crucial to the development of a social and sustainable enterprise.

The publication features six case studies that engage with the notion of sustainability, and they are formatted to blend the experience of artisans, entrepreneurs, and textile businesses across Europe. From luxury woolen mills in Italy to Spanish textile cooperatives, the study explores how new hubs for textile design and manufacture have emerged in response to the 2008 Recession, developing inclusive approaches for the production of textiles. Each case study introduces a different way of engaging with social sustainability and, where pertinent, is supported by structured interviews with industry professionals or comparisons to the global textile industry.

Chapter 1, "Museums and the Knowledge Economy: Developing Competitive Advantage for the Future," demonstrates how by integrating themselves within the social, cultural, and oftentimes technological capital of the community, textile organisations can play a role in international knowledge transfer projects, as well as in the creation of new models for industrial and artisanal activity. Padovani and Whittaker suggest that the "extension of the textile museum's traditional social

learning and education function, together with the leadership displayed in assisting behavioral change, is helping to ensure sustainability of the industries and their extended stakeholders” (p. 28).

Chapter 2, “Weaving a Social Structure: Achieving Specialist Distinction,” examines the theme of sustainability from the view of mutual and collective benefit. It shows how a Spanish social project, Teixidors, through their process of production (or the narrative of making), captivated and gained a loyal following. The chapter draws from the critical thinking of Walter Benjamin to start a conversation around authenticity in both the production of, and our relationship with, material objects. A comparison is presented by illustrating the authentic traditions of textile production of the organically sourced American company Alabama Chanin. The chapter discusses how communities have “established innovation focused on knowledge management, the availability of resources, the promotion of change through the durability of products, the resilience of individuals, and the permanence of tradition” (p. 62).

Chapter 3, “Collaborative Leadership, Provenance, and the Power of Place,” develops the concept of social sustainability by exploring the significance of leadership, the acknowledgement of authentic experience, and the value of local networks. The chapter centers on the Harris Tweed weaving community in the Outer Hebrides in Scotland, a craft-based group that before 2006 dealt with business constraints. The authors present an understanding of how collaborative leadership can produce economic value for the community, which in turn can sustain a weakening society. In order to survive, Harris Tweed adopted an assortment of practices that depended on shared leadership, such as the transfer of weaving expertise and the development of smart specialisation strategies supported by the European Commission.

Chapter 4, “Enterprise and Social Value: Responsible Innovation in the Denim Industry,” makes a case for environmental sustainability and the social well-being of the workforce via technological discovery and entrepreneurial innovation. The authors explore key enabling technologies (KETs), taking into account goods and services that the European Commission believes to be the social challenges of tomorrow. The Portuguese company Pizarro serves as the subject for observing an entrepreneurial process driven by environmental sustainability, which has allowed them to promote nontoxic processes and reduce industrial accidents caused by treating denim. The chapter references Porter and Kramer to frame a discussion around the concept of shared value, the element between competitive advantage and corporate social responsibility.

Chapter 5, “Social Enterprise, Creative Arts and Community Development for Marginal or Migrant Populations,” examines social sustainability from the view that business enterprise can promote a narrative of individual and community empowerment by fostering spaces that are “more socially inclusive, more cohesive, and self-sufficient” (p. 7). The different experiences of refugee populations and youth unemployment are detailed through the leadership of two companies in Australia, The Social Studio and The Social Outfit, together with Fashion Enter, a training and manufacturing company based in London, England. Fashion Enter presents how adversity originating from unemployment has been converted by a social project that offers its candidates paths to professional qualifications, at the same time it promotes and sustains fashion technical skills. In the case of the Australian companies, the cultural background of the refugees informs the designs produced by the social enterprises, which in turn offer independent training and business development networks.

Chapter 6, “Made in Italy: Reclaiming Social Heritage and Artisan Know-How,” concludes the study of social sustainability by exploring how the endurance of knowledge and practice coupled with local means and approaches, opens up opportunities for strengthening the design and manufacture of textiles. The Italian textiles manufacturer Faliero Sarti allows the authors to consider how the “sustainability of socially based employment clusters, as well as the transmission of knowledge across generations, assists innovation, diversification, and competition in the luxury accessories market” (p. 142).

*Sustainability and the Social Fabric: Europe’s New Textiles Industries* shows how a number of companies have restructured their local social fabric to stimulate consumer participation through education, wellbeing, and enterprise. Padovani and Whittaker argue that such “companies not only represent innovative models for successful business but [...] their creative and economic success is linked to their contribution to local society” (p. 8). The book is a significant contribution to the rising body of research on the topic of sustainability in textile design and production; it outlines to students and industry professionals how local and traditional craftsmanship can have a positive impact through the use of alternative practices.

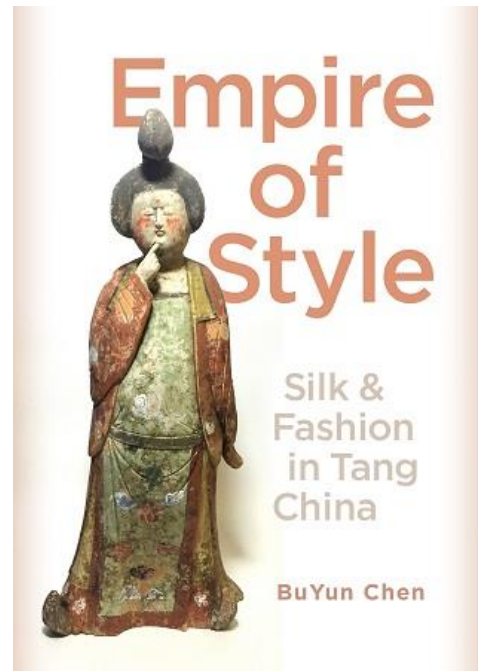
Copyright © 2020 Mariza Galindo

Email: galindomariza@gmail.com

Mariza Galindo is Digital Communications Officer of The Association of Dress Historians. She is a fashion scholar and behavioural analyst with a global perspective on fashion and emerging technologies. She is an MPhil/PhD candidate in Textiles at The Royal College of Art, London, and holds an MA in Fashion Studies from Parsons School of Design, New York. Mariza's research investigates the Fourth Industrial Revolution by specifically looking at the relationship between biology, technology, and design. Mariza is passionate about advancing public interest in sustainable practices of textile design and manufacturing, and actively seeks collaborations that can exert intergenerational responsibility and help reduce the fashion industry's social and environmental impact.

Bu Yun Chen, *Empire of Style: Silk and Fashion in Tang China*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington, United States, 2019, Acknowledgements, Appendix, Glossary, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 96 Colour Illustrations, 23 Black-and-White Illustrations, 288 pages, Hardback, £58.00.

*Empire of Style: Silk and Fashion in Tang China*, sets out to overturn our expectations about the traditional dress of China. It succeeds in doing this as, through a wealth of fresh evidence, it convincingly reveals that a more fashion-based system was in place as early as Tang Dynasty China, (618–907) a development that had not been fully explored before. In essence the Tang fashion system was a foretaste of what western capital cities only achieved many centuries later. A system which still prevails today.



The success of the modern fashion industry in Europe depends, of course, on constant changes. Throughout any year fashionistas are faced with new choices of colours, textiles, and clothing styles, which are designed to make consumers spend, thereby generating an income for design houses and luxury cloth manufacturers. The history of more traditional clothing is usually given a different approach as familiar garments continued to be made to last alongside the shorter life span of the latest fleeting styles. Well not any longer.

Author Bu Yun Chen is assistant professor of history at Swarthmore College in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, United States. Her scholarly research has uncovered an intriguing early fashion history which is the focus of this interesting book; the first to focus on fashion in premodern China. It is an erudite work published by an academic press and is based on a wealth of primary evidence, some from archaeological digs, including documents, silk cloths, paintings, and small figurines wearing fashionable versions of traditional dress.

Chen's approach, although indebted to former scholars, diverges from previous studies that treat fashion solely as an expression of modernity. From the start, fresh evidence makes the reader aware that fashion is not simply clothing: there is an important difference. As the Introduction makes clear, the focus here is "the experience of dress and adornment as fundamentally one of meaning-making for the maker, wearer, viewer and chronicler" (p. 6). The text highlights shifting interpretations of dress that were just as important as the costly materials and stylistic



elements. We are told that connotations of “textiles, garments and accessories were relational and culturally constructed, such that a style of dress lost or gained meaning and value depending on its relevance to the wider fashion system” (p. 6).

Using great depth of knowledge acquired from her primary research, Chen fluently argues that fashion was fundamental to the lives of many Tang citizens. This was because the empire had placed cloth at the centre of the economic structure and it acquired associated moral principles. Demands for regular changes in dress, furthermore, came from a growing elite group of wealthy consumers. A skilled artisan workforce responded to meet the demand. This was encouraged by the economic, political, and social changes then prevailing, which encouraged the production of luxury goods to flourish.

Chen writes about many technical aspects as well as political and social factors that were all influential. Silk is rightly given a lot of attention. This manifests itself not only in discussions of its well-known aesthetic and sensual values but also its symbolic, and political elements reflecting power and influence, as well as the fashionable taste of those who could afford this costly cloth. It was an important aspect of a written idealised dress code and innovative weavers frequently produced luxurious silks with fashionably new designs on a regular basis.

The author identifies the “two main motors that powered fashion” (p. 9). The first is the textile industry, with its ability to supply an increasing variety of decorative cloth for clothing, without which no fashion system could survive. The other factor was the ongoing engagement between Tang subjects and their material world that is described as “Aesthetic play” (p. 10), through which sensual desires of the body merged with formal social behaviour. Sartorial codes utilise hierarchies of silk and colour for example. Textiles give shape to the human form, decorate its exterior and impact on movement and posture. This section is rich with examples of how Tang men and women created a sense of self from gazing at others and being gazed at.

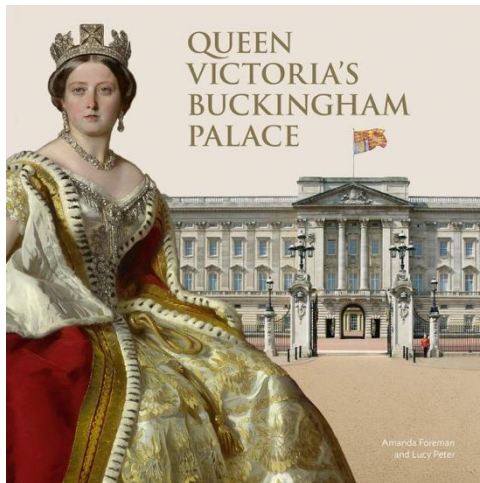
In summary, this publication clearly reveals just how important this fashion history is as it encompasses a significant aspect of cosmopolitan Silk Road trading that was underway centuries before Paris became known as the fashion capitol of the world. During the Tang era, fashion, with its diversity and sensuality, was more of a global phenomenon, at a much earlier stage than was once thought.

A lot of care has gone into the design of this luxurious book. The enviable quantity of the images is a wonderful addition to the text. Many have detailed captions which augment the detailed main text. There are a magnificent 96 full colour images throughout, not just reduced to one section. They are in-line with the appropriate text, the ideal approach for such a visual subject that is not always available to many

authors. The images and the fine quality of the acid free paper all point to high production values, that are doubtless there to reflect the status of the subject. Yes, the price reflects this, but I think it is well worth purchasing this fascinating book. It is a volume that will be dipped into again and again over time. The academic language may not be to all readers' taste, but the depth of study and varied contexts really do give this publication a rightful place in the canon devoted to global fashion history.

Copyright © 2020 Brenda King  
Email: [bm.king@btinternet.com](mailto:bm.king@btinternet.com)

Dr. Brenda King is Chair of the Textile Society (UK). She is an independent scholar and curator. Her on-going post-doctoral research has produced three books, numerous exhibitions and conference papers on the creative Wardle Family of Leek and their transformation of the wild silks of India. William Morris was famous for his textile designs printed by Thomas Wardle in Leek. Her most recent publication *The Wardle Family and Its Circle: Textile Production in the Arts and Crafts Era*, was published by Boydell Press in 2019. It contributes new material to the histories of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Aestheticism, Art Needlework, and Gothic revivalism.



Amanda Foreman and Lucy Peter, *Queen Victoria's Buckingham Palace*, Royal Collection Trust, London, England, 2019, List of Illustrations, 120 Colour Illustrations, 128 pages, Hardback, £12.95.

This book was published to accompany the Summer Opening of the State Rooms at Buckingham Palace in 2019, which celebrated the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Queen Victoria's birth. The heavily illustrated book features objects from the

Royal Collection on display in the exhibition and relating especially to Queen Victoria. For a dress historian, the highlights are the costumes and paintings appertaining to the celebrated balls held at Buckingham Palace: occasions for the celebration of history, and a showcase for the country's textile industry.

In Foreman and Peter's work, we learn that the medieval revival of the mid nineteenth century (led by Romantic medievalists such as Walter Scott, William Morris, and John Ruskin) fuelled a desire to recreate the splendour of the past, and had a great influence on public taste. Therefore, it was apt that the first *Bal Costumé* held at Buckingham Palace, in 1842, was the Plantagenet Costume Ball. Foreman and Peter suggest that by taking up this theme, Queen Victoria styled her reign as another Golden Age. Edward III's reign was closely associated with the age of English chivalry, as he founded the Order of the Garter in 1348. The Plantagenet age was thus an inspired choice for setting the tone of the new monarchy. In the book we see a portrait painted by Sir Edwin Landseer of Victoria and Albert which depicted their costumes, designed under the supervision of James Robinson Planché, and made by the firm of Vouillon & Laure.

Planché was a respected authority on historic dress, as evidenced by his encyclopaedic *History of British Costume*, as well as being a herald of the College of Arms. He took as his source the tomb effigies of Edward III and his consort, Queen Philippa, located in Westminster Abbey. Queen Victoria's costume for the occasion was particularly lush: a skirt of velvet, a surcoat of gold and blue brocade, with flowers of silver and brilliants over a gold background that was woven at Spitalfields. The ball's costumes were important for more than just their aesthetics, however: *The Times* noted that the event caused an "extraordinary improvement" in the struggling weaving industry, with over 200 additional looms employed and with a new style of weaving developed.

A magnificent *Souvenir of the Bal Costumé...the Drawings from the Original Dresses* was published in 1843, with illustrations undertaken by John Richard Coke Smyth, in collaboration with Planché. In the work, Planché reinforced the idea that the ball was not only a glittering spectacle but also an informative historically grounded event, underlined by costumes made from British fabrics.

The most glamorous of the Queen Victoria's surviving clothes, and the *pièce de résistance* of the exhibition, was the dress she wore to the Stuart Ball of 1851 inspired by the court of Charles II. It is made of silk and lace and decorated with gold braid, silver fringing and seed pearls and accessorized with an exquisite lace berthe. The emphasis was again on British manufacture. The Restoration era constituted the return of the Stuart monarchs following the end of the Commonwealth, and was also a great period of lace-making. Queen Victoria hoped the ball would provide a much-needed fillip to the lace-making industry in Devon, which produced the celebrated Honiton lace. Eugène-Louis Lami, a French painter, lithographer, illustrator and designer, was commissioned to design the dress. Queen Victoria so liked his results that she made sketches of it in her journal, writing that the costumes were "really beautiful and so correct." Lami also painted a watercolour as a souvenir of the event.

This is a delightful and captivating book. Those interested in art and dress, and political and social history, will learn much from this study. The text is lively and well written, supported by magnificent photographs and the attention to detail of Royal Collection Trust publications. The interested reader may wish to look out for publications from a complementary exhibition, which was held at Kensington Palace in 2019, titled, *Victoria: Woman and Crown*, which featured many rare survivals from her private wardrobe.

Copyright © 2020 Alice Mackrell  
Email: aamackrell@googlemail.com

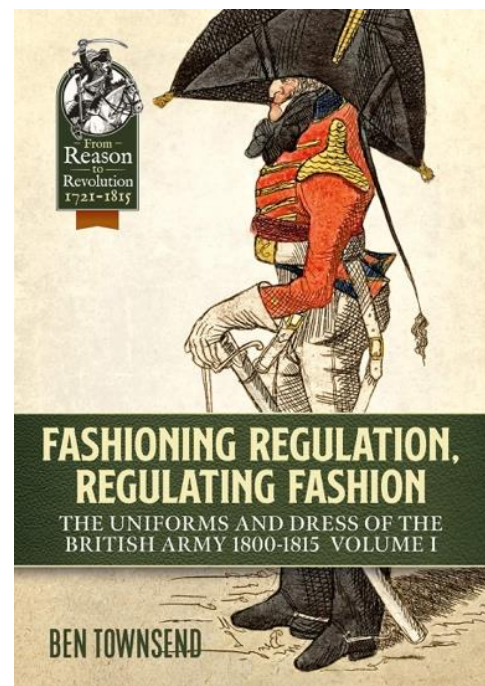
Dr Alice Mackrell received her MA in the History of Dress with Distinction and her PhD in the History of Art, both from the Courtauld Institute of Art in London. She is the author of *Art and Fashion: The Impact of Art on Fashion and Fashion on Art*. She has contributed entries to the *Macmillan Dictionary of Art* and to the *Phaidon Fashion Book*.

Ben Townsend, *Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion: The Uniforms and Dress of the British Army, 1800-1815*, Volume I, Helion & Company, Warwick, England, 2019, 21 Colour Illustrations, 47 Black-and-White Illustrations, Bibliography, Index, 363 pages, Hardback, £37.50.

Ben Townsend holds a History BA from The University of Wales and is an historical consultant specialising in the Napoleonic and Georgian eras, on which he has published articles and books. He has interests in costuming, swordsmanship, martial arts, and horses.

Volume One of *Fashioning Regulation* addresses the British Army authorities' regulation of the Army uniform, and what was actually worn, with mixed results. The substantial body of excellent archival research is thoughtful, well written, and provides an exemplary analysis of many sources; but sometimes falls short in exploring deeper meanings and impacts. The book continues Hew Strachan's essential, primary-source *British Military Uniforms 1768-1796* by providing reprints of many hitherto neglected, original sources which Townsend devotedly unearthed, and these constitute about half the book's content. A highlight is a relevant (but obscure) complete portion of the late nineteenth century work Macdonald, *History...Dress Royal Artillery*, which provides the sort of lengthy, intriguing, and most valuable personal observations on dress that so rarely survive. The research is supplemented by 66 published primary sources, and secondary works: yet a disappointment is the omission of the years 1797-1799, which come after Strachan's time period but before Townsend's, and was a crucial era of transformation. The chapters chronologically address each year's Regulations interspersed with thematic chapters that clarify more detailed aspects of the role of the Boards of General Officers, the influence of Volunteer and Rifle dress, Royal Artillery fashions, the 1802 fashions, officers' forage caps, regimental Orders, the Board of General Officer Reports in regulating fashion, the often-overlooked subjects of hair powdering and facial hair, and an outstanding essay addresses the hussar craze. Townsend argues convincingly that "a serious study" of Army clothing can "only be conducted at the regimental level" (p. 181).

Analysis in this essentially antiquarian work is generally excellent but circumscribed in scope, and does not significantly go beyond the subject of the interplay between the Regulations and what was actually worn. It omits engaging with some of the relevant scholarship, such as Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, the authors of such works being



described as “uniformologists” (p. 207)—a category from which Townsend appears to exclude himself. A comment on the National Record Office’s “usual archive population of the overeducated and underemployed” (p. x), is unfortunate, presuming that advanced education is useless or even negative, and that the point of scholarship is essentially about employment rather than advancing analysis, understanding, and knowledge. There is also an occasional tendency to make claims with too little or only vaguely broad, unspecific citations of evidence.

A crucial and central aspect is this era’s sometimes amazingly fastidious fixation on the endless petty details and subtleties of “mere appearances” that the author presents. This raises intriguing questions in the revolutionary era, which saw a deep-seated, transitional sea-change in both genders’ fashions, and while male civilian and military modes shared some developments such as a tighter fit, in the main they diverged dramatically. The latter blossomed into sometimes lavishly rich, ornamentally extravagant styles, especially in the elite cavalry, and with so many fastidious uniform variations for specific duties and occasions. A striking feature is the frequent minor adjustments made in the evolution of the many endless details of the dress. Also intriguing is the frequently repeated officials’ and ordinary soldiers’ complaints about items as being useless or even worse (which continued well beyond the 1854–1856 Crimean war). This shows that despite the authorities’ often minute analysis of uniform, physical practicality long remained subordinate to appearances, yet Townsend barely touches on why this was the case. Another issue that this research raises—but does not address—concerns the influence of the collective British aesthetic taste on the evolution of military uniforms as a highly visible, symbolic dimension of the image of the British crown, state, and nation.

Townsend makes an unconvincing claim about the Duke of Kent’s being recalled from his command at Gibraltar in 1802 after a mutiny erupted in his own regiment, which the author linked to his relentless obsession with the most exacting military appearances. The author asserts that Kent’s disciplinary approach was “not excessive by home standards,” and only occurred because of the Other Ranks’ false “perception...that different standards applied on foreign service” (p. 115). The latter appears true, and Townsend rightly points out the need to end the prevailing indiscipline, and that some Home Service commanders also enforced perfectionist standards. But the overall argument is unsupported by evidence and there is more to the situation that Townsend ignores, including Kent’s severely restricting the Other Ranks’ only escape in alcohol. In an age when a gentleman inflicting brutality on underlings was not considered especially abnormal, Kent “awarded” up to 400 lashes for trifling dress faults. Townsend asserts without evidence that Kent had previously enforced his standards “successfully in the regiments of which he was colonel” (p. 115). But he had been removed by the government from Gibraltar in 1791 for his severity to the garrison and was transferred to Canada where he provoked an aborted



mutiny at Quebec, and once again in his own regiment. Biographer Roger Fulford describes Kent's military management with the most remarkably lurid terms as being "completely inhuman and bestially severe" and that he was a "violent, sadistic lunatic" (*Royal Dukes*, pp. 164, 170). A major later stated that three or four floggings with as many as 800 lashes were inflicted almost daily, and that to avoid this punishment, several soldiers committed suicide (*Medical Gazette*, 9 July 1837). Despite his repeated, anguished pleas after Gibraltar for another command, Kent never got one.

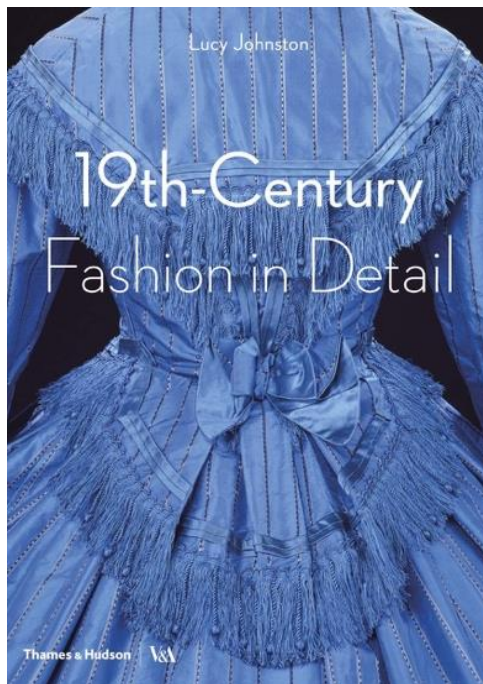
Additionally, Townsend's characterisation of Captain George Augustus Quentin as having "many officer-like qualities" (p. 262) is also questionable. While he may have possessed exquisite sartorial taste, when colonel of the 10th Hussars his own officers accused him of incompetence and cowardice, and in 1814 he was convicted on one count at a court-martial. While controversial, this affair was hardly an endorsement of Quentin's abilities and he was only saved by his long friendship with the Prince Regent, who, after 24 officers petitioned that Quentin be cashiered, instead dismissed all of them.

Yet such quibbles do not significantly detract from the substantial contribution to the field that is made by this fulsome study. *Fashioning Regulation* raises this remarkable sartorial phenomenon to new levels of information and knowledge, and even surpasses Strachan's work in some respects. This book is absolutely essential for connoisseurs, collectors, antiquarians, reenactors, the most sophisticated of costumers, as well as scholars. It would make a fascinating, engaging subject for clothing history survey courses as a supplementary text, especially for seminars, and could provide a broader dimension for cultural history surveys as a bold foray into this often-ignored, specialised subject. Because of the endless details, complexities and the required knowledge to possess a significant background in military history, this field has long been largely avoided by dress historians writing in English, yet martial dress has exerted a crucial influence on the evolution of both genders' clothing and can potentially illuminate deeper understandings. As poet William Wordsworth observed, "people in trifles are less on their guard than in matters of greater importance...consequently, the[ir] real character...is often best detected" (*Letters*, III: pt 1, 107, ft.).

A review of Volume Two, *Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion*, will follow in a subsequent issue of The Journal of Dress History.

Copyright © 2020 Scott Hughes Myerly  
Email: [scottmyerly@yahoo.com](mailto:scottmyerly@yahoo.com)

Scott Hughes Myerly holds a PhD in Military History from The University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, a Master's degree in American History and Museum Studies from The University of Delaware, and a Bachelor's degree in European History from the University of California at Los Angeles. He is the author of *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Harvard University Press, 1996); a finalist for the Longman-*History Today* Book of the Year Award in 1996 and has published articles and book reviews in scholarly journals. A former history professor and museum curator, Dr. Myerly now pursues scholarly research and writing on British men's military and civilian fashion, circa 1340–1860. He lives in Evansville, Indiana, United States.



Lucy Johnston, with Marion Kite and Helen Persson, Photographs by Richard Davis, Drawings by Leonie Davis, *19th-Century Fashion in Detail*, Victoria and Albert Museum/Thames & Hudson Ltd., London, 2016, References, Acknowledgements, Glossary, Further Reading, Index, 460 Illustrations, 240 pages, Softback, £24.95.

*19th-Century Fashion in Detail* is a collaborative work written by Lucy Johnston with Marion Kite and Helen Persson, with photography by Richard Davis and drawings by Leonie Davis. This book is a visual feast for the eyes, combining the work of its contributors through text, photographs, and artist renderings in a thematic layout. The text is

organised by chapters highlighting different construction or design elements: Introduction; Construction Techniques; Tailoring; Trimmings; Printed and Woven Textiles; Embroidery; Buttons and Fastenings; Innovations; Collars, Sleeves, and Pockets; and Accessories. Additionally, there is an endnote section organised by chapter, a substantial Glossary and a helpful Further Reading section. This volume is beautifully illustrated with stunning colour photographs of specific design elements of each highlighted garment. These images are often so clear that the various textures of the garments seem to jump off the page. Additionally, the photographs are complemented by clean line drawings of the garments in their entirety. These illustrations, combined with Johnston's written contextualisation, present the reader with a mini-exhibition experience. This work provides great insight into the Victoria and Albert Museum's nineteenth century collections. It is a good primer to fashion history studies for the period and serves as visual inspiration to costumers and fashion historians alike.

For those not familiar with the *Fashion in Detail* series, detailed photos of garments provide a special access vantage point to inspire the reader, while technical drawings provide an overview of cut, and the text situates the garment within an historical and design context. Many of these images are on the V&A database so they can easily be seen on a computer screen; however, having a compendium is without question a more useful source for consultation. Not only is having these items curated in one volume very useful, viewing the images in a tangible format provides a kind of satisfaction that only holding a physical large-size book can provide. A reader can put their nose into a book without a worry of smudging a screen. While this new edition

comes out in the age of Instagram, Pinterest, and online collection searches, the quality of the pictures, line drawings, and text still have the competitive edge.

For those who have read the first edition of *19th-Century Fashion in Detail* (2006), the images and the information will be familiar. While some language has been edited in the 2016 edition, the brunt of the text has been recycled. It is a little disappointing that there are no new garments featured nor is there a lot of new text corresponding with the extant garments. The most apparent updates are a revamped introduction and a reorganisation of the contents. The introduction takes the reader on a jaunt, decade by decade, through the nineteenth century history of middle and upper class British fashion. Each decade is broken down by theme and Johnston addresses transformations of silhouette and innovations that affected clothing design. This section is a great primer on nineteenth century British fashion: however, it would have been strengthened by more endnotes, as there are conclusions drawn that need supporting evidence. The notes are also a small change from the 2006 edition, in that the new edition endnotes are organised by chapter in the back of the book, whereas the 2006 edition used footnotes within each chapter.

The new chapter headings are a useful addition to the new volume while also being a testament to the well-rounded text. A strength of the text is how seamlessly the non-edited work fits into the new themes of each chapter. Construction notes, manufacturing information, and sometimes social or cultural context is included, allowing for these descriptions to be effectively re-organised. Each heading grounds the garments in their designs and allow them to fit timelessly into those categories. The new headings allow the reader to think within the context of the nineteenth century. If the reader is familiar with the first edition, they will remember that the structure and chapter titles proved problematic. Often the old framework placed the garments into categories that, arguably, were modern interpretive ideas placed on the nineteenth century garments such as historicism, exoticism, and romantic styles. The chapter titled “Exoticism” was the greatest issue as it perpetuated colonial ideas for the modern reader, even if such ideas were in circulation in the period. These issues have been addressed by re-framing how the objects are perceived through the new arrangement of this edition.

In the introduction for the older and newer editions, Johnston does address the socio-economic and geographical context of the garments featured in the book. This contextualises all the garments the reader will soon enjoy. It is important that Johnston precisely places the garments within their cultural and class context to not perpetuate an assumption of a Eurocentric, wealthy history. However, while this is an updated edition of an older volume, titling the book *19th-Century Fashion in Detail* is arguably too broad of a title for this collection of objects, as there were no fashions featured outside of Anglo-European design.

As is the case in most museum collections, this volume is more representative of woman's fashion. In fact, there are only approximately 30 male garments featured somewhat equally dispersed across the nineteenth century. Both womenswear and menswear examined in the book include around one-third representing the period 1800–1850, and roughly two-thirds representing 1850–1900. However, the number of women's garments, approximately 105 entries, is more than double the number of men's garments examined.

In summary, this book is indispensable for anyone studying nineteenth century English men's and women's dress. In the introduction Johnston acknowledges that some of the garments were too fragile to mount. This fact illustrates the importance of this style of book. The degradation of extant garments is an issue in nearly every collection around the world. Having close up shots of selected garments does not replace studying clothing in person, but it does create the impression that the reader has special access to these clothes. The book should be a staple for any fashion or theatre designer, material culturist, fashion historian, nineteenth century historian, or enthusiast studying high-end Anglo-European clothing.

Copyright © 2020 Sarah Woodyard  
Email: [sewncompany@gmail.com](mailto:sewncompany@gmail.com)

Sarah Woodyard is an independent scholar and maker, researching free and enslaved mantua-makers and their products from the long eighteenth century. Sarah is the owner of Sewn Company and is committed to hand-sewing preservation as a teacher and practitioner. With Sewn, she seeks to reconnect people with themselves and their past through hand-sewing to "remember what their hands can do." Sarah became a Journeywoman Milliner and Mantua-maker in 2015 after completing her seven-year apprenticeship at the Margaret Hunter Millinery Shop in Colonial Williamsburg, where she worked for ten years. She earned an MA from The University of Alberta, Canada, with a dissertation, titled, *Martha's Mob Cap?: A Milliner's Hand Sewn Inquiry Into Eighteenth-Century Caps ca. 1770-1800*, which studied English styled caps from the late eighteenth century through the perspective of a maker. She is currently sewing a reproduction of a 1795 gown.

## Recent PhD Theses in Dress History

The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) is proud to support scholarship in dress history through its international conferences, events such as ADH members' 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 recurring article, which contains an updated selection of recently completed PhD thesis titles and abstracts in dress history. This list is important as it illustrates new, cutting-edge research in dress history that is currently being executed by PhD candidates, listed in this article in alphabetical order per surname.

This list of recent PhD thesis titles and abstracts contains theses in dress history that are registered at The British Library, London, England, the official theses repository of the region in which *The Journal of Dress History* is published. The titles and abstracts were taken directly from the published thesis entry on The British Library website. Most of these theses are available for immediate download, in full and for free, through The British Library portal, <http://ethos.bl.uk>. Additionally, this article includes those PhD thesis titles and abstracts of ADH members whose theses are not registered at The British Library. If you are an ADH member and would like your PhD thesis title and abstract included in the next issue of *The Journal of Dress History*, please contact [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).



Katherine Mary Lampitt Adey, *Knitting Identities: Creativity and Community amongst Women Hand Knitters in Edinburgh*, PhD Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2016.

**Abstract:**

This thesis explores how women form, perceive and communicate their sense of identity by hand knitting for leisure. Leisure, defined here as time outside of work or caring responsibilities, was selected as the focus of this research because women have some choice over how they spend this time and express themselves. Writing on contemporary knitting has tended to frame knitting within political, artistic or commercial contexts (such as Black, 2005, 2012 and Elliot, 2015). This leaves a gap in our understanding of why women who knit for leisure do so. This is partially addressed by recent empirical research (for example Fields, 2014) that has studied social processes within knitting groups. However, research has devoted less attention to the wider motivations of women who knit alone or in groups. This is important if we consider that identity formation happens in a broader context, and may involve a constant interaction with people (Jenkins, 2004), objects and ideas, as is suggested by the findings of this study. The research employs a qualitative approach based on Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory by way of a staged design which aims to respond to the data and minimise the influence of preconceived ideas. This aim is particularly important given the historical and contemporary stereotypes associated with knitting, and my own background as a textile historian and maker. Application of social research methods also aims to further develop the role played by empirical research in the area of textile scholarship. Data was collected in three stages; a pilot study, questionnaires with women textile bloggers and the main research stage which consisted of semi-structured interviews with knitters living in Edinburgh. Interviewees were contacted by volunteer and snowball sampling. Content analysis was supported by QSR\*NVivo and involved descriptive and theoretical coding in order to identify themes in the data. Analysis suggests knitting provides immediate social interaction and support. This could be associated with Jenkins' (2004) proposition that identity is formed by ongoing social interaction. However, there is another dimension here as knitting also enables the solitary knitter to access interactions with ideas and other people through objects and the personal memories held within them as well as through online communities. Three key findings are that knitting presents a way to be creative, productive and social. Firstly, respondents describe knitting as a balance between challenge and perceived ability, as might be described as 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002 [1992]). Secondly, this meets a need for a leisure activity that produces a tangible manifestation of effort and skill. However, the process of knitting is also seen to be as important, if not more so, than the final product. This insight reinforces the usefulness of empirical study of the experience of making textiles, and reveals additional data than studying only the final object. Thirdly, knitting is presented as a means to access meaningful social interactions and a sense of belonging to a community whether or not the knitter is a member of a knitting group. Such

interactions might be online or provide a sense of continuity with previous generations of knitters in their families or women in general. Knitters see this as a way of building social capital and support. Overall, findings suggest that identity formation and communication should be seen as a complex process that does not only involve direct social interactions but interaction with the idea of other knitters, past and present, and the practical experience of making.

**Victoria Rae Bartels, *Masculinity, Arms and Armour, and the Culture of Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Florence*, PhD Thesis, The University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, 2020.**

**Abstract:**

My thesis investigates the cultural role of arms and armour in Cinquecento Florence, roughly spanning the reigns of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and his two sons Francesco I and Ferdinando I, 1537-1609. My study primarily draws on records from the Otto di Guardia e Balìa, the magistracy responsible for handling judicial and criminal affairs in Medicean Florence. I also rely on documents from the grand ducal Medici del Principato collection of letters. Contemporary legislation, account books, inventories, and material objects additionally feature in my analysis. The introduction of my PhD illustrates the period's affinity for warfare. I then review the literature that discusses Renaissance masculinity, violence, dress, and arms and armour, before introducing the four principle research areas discussed in my thesis. The first chapter "Everyday Armour: Civilians and Arms in Sixteenth-Century Florence" investigates the day-to-day prevalence of weapons and violence in the early modern city and its dominion. It focuses on the types of arms outlawed, the fiscal and corporal penalties commonly doled out to perpetrators, and the procedures for obtaining arms' licences legally from the state. I also examine supplications requesting pardons and reductions in fines and sentences submitted to the court. "The Making, Adornment, and Maintenance of Armour" is my dissertation's second chapter, which explores the materiality of arms and armour. This study investigates the extreme dearth of armourers active in Florence in this period, as well as reviews the processes of armour manufacturing and the technological advances in methods of adornment. The systems in place for obtaining armour at the Medici court are also discussed. In the third chapter, "The Modern Man: Firearms in Sixteenth-Century Florence," I explore the effects of firearms, most notably the wheellock pistol, in Grand Ducal Tuscany. I review the practices, customs, and risks of using these new-fangled weapons, as well as discuss a handful of extant weapons from museum collections. Legislative procedures surrounding guns are also explored, as well as the workarounds that some inhabitants used to circumvent contemporary prohibitions. Arms and armour and their relation to contemporary men's fashion is discussed in my fourth chapter, "Dressed to Kill: Male Fashion in Renaissance Italy." This research explores the connection between arms, armour, and dress, particularly for the elite man in sixteenth-century Florence.

Focusing on the account books of Niccolò di Luigi Capponi, this study examines the basic components of contemporary men's fashion, the city's sumptuary laws, and the role offensive weapons and defensive garments played in relation to men's fashion. I lastly examine how wearing certain arms and armour on the body affected male behaviour and concepts of identity. My dissertation concludes by briefly revisiting the findings from the four chapters discussed above. Under this new lens, I review the tension that existed around arms, civility, and stately control. Finally, I close the thesis by examining how this period was reimagined by armour collectors in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. With these men in mind, I demonstrate how Renaissance arms and armour became emblems of another kind of masculinity exhibited centuries later.

**C.R. De Camargo, *A Uniform Not Uniform: An Ethnography of Police Clothing, Performance, Gender and Subculture in Neighbourhood Policing*, PhD Thesis, The University of Salford, Manchester, England, 2016.**

**Abstract:**

Police officers are distinct and unique actors in public spaces. They experience a peculiar familiarity with wider society: they often do not personally know the citizens in the areas they patrol but everyone knows that they are part of the police by their uniform. Beyond the visual iconography of the basic clothing that police officers wear, the characteristics of 'the police' are embedded in everything that police officers use to do their job effectively: clothing, equipment (including discretionary equipment) and vehicles. This thesis examines the construction and communication of the police uniform and how this is conveyed through individual roles, ranks and gender. In recent years the police service has undergone a number of changes with the introduction of neighbourhood policing (NP) being one of the most significant. The arrival of neighbourhood police officers, neighbourhood beat officers and police community support officers have enabled a new position from which to analyse the uniform. Within this context, the thesis utilises an in-depth ethnography to examine the practical and symbolic uses of officer uniforms. The research involved approximately seventeen days on patrol (equating to roughly 140 hours) over a period of four months across four research sites in a northern police force. The findings reveal the strength of dominant policing discourses linked to the uniform, gender, identity and performance show the ways that these discourses are also infused and subverted by different sets of meanings and behaviours. The police constables (PCs) and police community support officers (PCSOs) involved in the study were seen to manoeuvre and navigate these contested discourses and fragmented nature of policing culture through the lens of their uniforms. Using Erving Goffman as a theoretical framework, along with the complementary work of Judith Butler (1993; 1999) and Malcolm Young (1991; 1992), this thesis contributes to the theoretical debate on the influence of the police uniform on the wearer; provides a gendered analysis of how

equipment, vehicles and accoutrements are used to feminise and masculinise ‘unisex’ police clothing; and it provides an account of how rituals of purification are used in an attempt to avoid the symbolic, moral and physical contamination of the police occupation. The concluding discussion of the thesis presents a number of contributions in relation to contested binaries and polarities present through the use of occupational uniforms in neighbourhood policing.

**Toolika Gupta, *The Influence of British Rule on Elite Indian Menswear: The Birth of the Sherwani*, PhD Thesis, The University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, 2016.**

**Abstract:**

‘The Influence of British Rule on Elite Indian Menswear: The Birth of the Sherwani’ is a study of the influence of politics on fashion and the resulting development of new garments. This research is designed to demonstrate the effect on elite Indian menswear of the two centuries of British rule in India. It is an effort to understand how the flowing garments worn by elite Indian men in the 18th century gradually became more tailored and fitted with the passage of time. The study uses multiple sources to bring to light lesser known facts about Indian menswear, the evolution of different garments and especially of the sherwani. The sherwani is a knee-length upper garment worn by South-Asian men, and is considered to be India’s traditional menswear. My study highlights the factors responsible for the birth of the sherwani and dispels the myth that it was a garment worn by the Mughals. Simultaneously, this study examines the concept and value of ‘tradition’ in cultures. It scrutinises the reasons for the sherwani being labelled as a traditional Indian garment associated with the Mughal era, when in fact it was born towards the end of the 19th century. The study also analyses the role of the sherwani as a garment of distinction in pre- and post-independence India.

**Elizabeth Ann McGovern, *Fashioning Identity in Eighteenth-Dynasty Egypt: Costume, Communication, and Self-Presentation in the Tombs of the Nobles*, PhD Thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York, New York, 2019.**

**Abstract:**

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly during the reign of Amenhotep III (ca.1391–1353 BCE), Egypt reached new heights in terms of both the geographic extent of its empire and contact with the larger Mediterranean world. Trade and diplomacy flourished, the army and bureaucracy expanded, and the city of Thebes thrived. The royal tombs and mortuary temples of the period were located on the west bank of the Nile, opposite the great Temple of Amun at Karnak, and nearby, nestled into the rocky hills of the low desert, were the tombs of the nobles who served the royal family and priesthood. The majority of these tombs had three parts: an exterior terraced courtyard, a T-shaped chapel, and a subterranean shaft and burial chamber. The

tomb chapels were open to the public and decorated with a series of colorful and captivating wall-paintings long termed by scholars “scenes of daily life”. These scenes should be understood not only as preserving for eternity what was literally depicted, but also as multi-faceted tools in which the architecture, art, and text worked in tandem for the regeneration and eternal well-being of the tomb owner by communicating and eternalizing his identity, an integral part of successfully achieving rebirth in the Afterlife. This dissertation explores, for the first time, the extensive and detailed representation of costume in these scenes and how it functioned as a means of communicating and reinforcing identity, a critical component of the decorative program that has not been sufficiently addressed in previous scholarship. The term “costume” encompasses any combination of clothing, hair, jewelry and other accoutrements, and body modifications (such as tattooing, piercings, etc.) used by one individual to communicate with another. Costume is an effective means of communicating information that could be considered awkward to relay verbally, information such as age, gender, sexual preference and availability, marital status, etc. Therefore, it often provides a wealth of information that would otherwise be unavailable to the viewer due to rules of decorum. Here, two case studies are presented to show how costume was used as a form of non-verbal communication to help establish and maintain the identity of the tomb owner and other individuals present in the tomb chapel decorative programs: the tomb of Nebamun (British Museum) and Menna (TT 69), two officials in the court of Amenhotep III. While costume has long been acknowledged as a form of non-verbal communication, it remains to be a topic explored in depth in Egyptology. There is no established framework within the field for undertaking such a study; therefore, approaches developed by anthropologists and sociologists for studying the use of costume will be combined with art-historical and archaeological examinations of the scenes to arrive at a model for analyzing the use of costume in this context. Further themes that will be explored include the efficacy of non-verbal communication within the tomb chapels, theories regarding the establishment and expression of identity, and issues surrounding the authenticity of the identity being expressed and the ways in which costume could be manipulated to alter identity.

**Lauren Downing Peters, *Stoutwear and the Discourses of Disorder: Constructing the Fat, Female Body in American Fashion in the Age of Standardization, 1915–1930*, PhD Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden, 2018.**

**Abstract:**

This dissertation examines how fashion media discourses created the conditions through which the fat, female body was both known and constructed within the context of the early large-size garment industry in the United States, or what between the years 1915 and 1930 was known as “stoutwear.” Drawing on a wide array of media

sources, including women's and fashion magazines, trade journals, catalogs and style guides, and employing Michel Foucault's archaeological method, the dissertation examines the productive nature of fashion discourse in the construction and constitution of the fleshy body, or how the discourses of stoutwear brought order to the disorderly, fat, female body. While previous studies of the relationship between dress and the body have theorized how the body is fashioned, this dissertation builds upon these works through its focus on how discourse manifests fashion practices and thereby gives shape to the cultural body. The first chapter provides an overview of this premise, reviews the small body of extant literature on plus-size fashion and defines key terms used in the dissertation. As an extension of the introduction, the second chapter outlines key methodological and theoretical concerns, including the practice of studying a history of fashion "without fashion," discourse analysis, visual analysis, technologies of the body, fashion media discourse and dress as a situated bodily practice. The ensuing analytical chapters are organized so that they proceed from "macro" practices (i.e. the construction and constitution of the industry, stoutwear design and advertising strategies) to the "micro" (i.e. embodied dress practices) so as to evidence how the discourses of stoutwear touched every level of fashion practice. Chapter three provides a broad historical foundation for the study by examining the origins of the stoutwear industry and identifying the key actors and firms who were instrumental in consecrating the idea of a stoutwear industry separate from, but adjacent to, the burgeoning ready-to-wear industry. Thereafter, chapter four explores the design discourses of stoutwear and how these intersected with the aesthetics of modernism and the nascent technology of standardized sizing. Chapter five examines the practice of selling stoutwear, and specifically how stoutwear was advertised within the women's and fashion press and how it was sold within department stores. Key issues in this chapter include the representational conventions of depicting fat women in the fashion media and the segregation of stoutwear into separate departments. Chapter six considers what it meant to look stout and how the stigma of stoutness was constructed within mainstream fashion media and ancillary to the slender ideal. Finally, chapter seven looks closely at style guides as a site of self-fashioning discourses. The dissertation concludes that stoutwear discourses were underpinned by a "slenderness imperative," or a disciplinary regime that manifested a "stout ideal," or a stout body that visibly aspired toward slenderness. In its entirety, this interdisciplinary dissertation illuminates a history that has been almost entirely neglected within conventional histories of fashion at large, and within American fashion specifically, while also contributing to the theoretical literature on the relationship between fashion, dress and the body.



A.M. Sadkowska, *Arts-informed Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Understanding Older Men's Experiences of Ageing through the Lens of Fashion and Clothing*, PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, England, 2016.

**Abstract:**

The aim of this research was to investigate the possibility of adopting the lens of fashion and clothing in order to explore the older men's experience of ageing. In this vein, as a creative practitioner, I sought to explore the vantage point and the relationship between fashion and clothing, embodiment and the physical and social processes of growing older in relation to individuals' experiences. A multi-disciplinary literature review revealed that fashion and clothing is a significant, yet often overlooked, element of individuals' experiences of ageing. Furthermore, this contextual review exposed an array of various influential stereotypes especially in regards to gender and ageing. Notably, the topic of older men and fashion seems to intersect two stereotypical assumptions; firstly, that fashion is a sphere exclusively reserved for women; and, secondly, that individuals' interest and engagement with fashion ceases significantly as they grow older. As a consequence, the majority of the existing studies investigating this phenomenon tend to focus on older women, their experiences and expectations towards clothing. While there is no doubt that such scholarship is valuable, such an imbalance needs to be addressed. Via this thesis I aim to contribute to the fulfillment of this identified gap in knowledge. In this research, I have developed a novel hybrid methodology, Arts-Informed Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. Rooted in phenomenology and arts, this methodology put to the test the concept of 'making' as a valid way of data analysis, equal to writing. My research process built on the concept of the hermeneutic circle; the subsequent activities of writing and making allowed me to constantly move between different elements of the participants' experiences, which in turn facilitated the conditions for more in-depth and holistic understanding and enhanced interpretations. In addition, such an approach gave me the opportunity to utilise my skills and sensibilities as an artist and designer and to blur the boundaries between the artificially disconnected domains of fashion research and practice. This research found that ageing, fashion, clothing, men and masculinities are not disjointed. Fashion and clothing was not only revealed as a valid and useful lens through which individuals' experiences of ageing can be analysed and interpreted but also the experiences of men in this study proved to be rich and meaningful. This research culminated in a unified body of work that has relevance to the fields of psychology, sociology, as well as art and design. A composition of the research outcomes consisted of a series of suit jackets, short films and written accounts offering novel insights into a particular sample of men's individual and shared experiences of ageing. In addition, such a multi-layered composition of research outcomes has the potential to reach audiences beyond academia. Contributions to knowledge are claimed in the three following areas: The novelty of the topic of investigation into mature men's experiences of ageing through the lens of fashion and clothing; The uniqueness of the developed hybrid

methodology, Arts-Informed Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis; The originality of the outcomes arising from this investigation.

**Ellen Sampson, *Worn: Footwear, Attachment, and Affective Experience*, PhD Thesis, Royal College of Art, London, England, 2016.**

**Abstract:**

This research by practice explores our relationship with and attachment to shoes. Focusing upon the shoe as an everyday object, and on the embodied experience of wearing, it examines how through touch and use we become entangled with the things we wear. Drawing on anthropological and psychoanalytic perspectives on attachment, affect and the self, it asks: How can the act of wearing create attachment between the wearer and the worn? What is our relationship with the used and empty shoe – the shoe without the body, the shoe no longer worn? It suggests that our particular relationship to footwear is located in our intimate and tactile relationship to it; that touch and duration of wear create attachment. This research suggests that through use and wear shoes become, not only a record of the wearer's lived experience, but also an extended part of them – a distributed aspect of the self. That the affective power of the worn shoe is a result of this intermingling, the cleaving of garment and self. Despite a growing body of research on footwear, the worn and the used shoe is absent from much of fashion research. The shoe tends to be interpreted as a symbolic, metaphorical, or imaginary artefact; its material qualities and the embodied experience of wearing the shoe are seldom referred to. This research seeks to place the artefact, the shoe, at its centre. Through an iterative process of making, wear, and observation, it aims to make apparent the intimacies of our relationship with shoes. Rather than record the narratives which we apply to footwear, it seeks to highlight the material traces of these relationships: to present the ways they are embodied within the artefacts themselves. This research is research through practice, into the nature of our relationships with shoes, through making artefacts and images (installation, film and photographs). It is material culture research enacted through the production of artefacts. It situates itself as art practice; the shoes produced are not footwear in a conventional sense but instead are objects designed to amplify and make explicit their role as records of gesture and experience. These empty shoes are records of an absent performance, of gestures which are lost to the viewer, so that only their traces, the marks upon the shoe, remain.

**M. Statton, *Dress, Adornment and Identity in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain*, PhD Thesis, University College London, London, England, 2016.**

**Abstract:**

“Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than to merely keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world’s view of us.” – Virginia Woolf, Orlando. The aim of this thesis is to examine the chronological, spatial and social distribution of brooches, hairpins, finger-rings and bracelets in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain (50 BC – 410 AD), in order to better understand how cultural change in this period was embodied through personal ornamentation, and how different identities were created from mixtures of indigenous and imported traditions. A large corpus of material has been compiled for this study. It has been drawn from a range of sources but the majority is taken from the significant new corpus recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), which is distinctive because the finds derive predominantly from rural sites and as such represent the belongings of the majority of the Romano-British population. The theoretical framework for the project is Structuration Theory, and thus the underlying assumption is that personal adornment is an active element in the practice of ‘appearing’ and therefore that patterns of similarity and difference in the distribution of such objects are potentially significant in terms of ‘identity.’ Distribution maps and graphically illustrated quantitative analyses have been used to explore patterning in the artefact distributions. The traditional argument that brooches are markers of regional identity is challenged and a range of positive and negative conclusions put forward. Overall, it is demonstrated that brooches probably had significance for some aspects of identity, especially in the late Iron Age and later in relation to religious practice, but that on current evidence definitive interpretations are problematic, not least because some patterns of artefactual variation may not have corresponded to noticeable variation in past practices. The project makes a significant contribution to the growing literature on the body and dress and to current debates about cultural tradition and transformation in the Roman period, as well as to the methodology of artefact studies.

**Sian Weston, *Branding Burberry: Britishness, Heritage, Labour, and Consumption*, PhD Thesis, Goldsmiths, The University of London, London, England, 2016.**

**Abstract:**

This thesis examines British fashion company Burberry, and how it moved from its semi-rural craft-based origins in the mid-19th Century, to become a successful, global luxury fashion brand in the 21st Century. The thesis uses different methodological approaches including interviews with factory workers, archive materials, historical government documents, images from branding campaigns, and Internet responses in order to build a rich narrative starting from Burberry’s beginning in 1856. Changes to shifting retail and production landscapes, marketing, consumer

demographics, and management structures are traced over a period of 150 years, and show how a company re-brand in 1997 generated structural contradictions within each of those areas, shaping its future both inside the company and externally. Burberry's use of new technologies and social media in tandem with 'heritage' images and products shows how harnessing them together created new and lucrative global markets for the brand. Similarly, its long history is used to create an idealised 'old England' for the export market, particularly for consumers with a purely online relationship with the brand, though analysis of international and national markets reveals how contradictions in campaigns created outcomes that could not be predicted. The company re-brand is used as a focus to examine how Burberry attracted young, British working-class consumers, and how that caused sections of the UK media and the general public to protest against those seen as 'bad' consumers, capable of damaging brand value. Equally, issues of class and ethnicity cut across the company, primarily in terms of 'whiteness', showing how the brand has been used to further devalue the cultural capital of working class consumers and a single so-called 'celebrity chav'. The thesis shows how although Burberry positions itself within the luxury market, its meaning remains mobile, which is simultaneously precarious, contradictory and paradoxical.

## A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research

Jennifer Daley

Online sources for dress history research have been increasing in scale and quality. This article provides online sources that are of a professional quality and that play a role in furthering the academic study of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Categorised alphabetically per country, the following online collections reflect the interdisciplinarity of dress history research that can be accessed through searchable banks of images, objects, and texts.

This article includes online collections in the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Wales, and the United States. For inclusion in this article, the museum, archive, or other professional organisation must offer online sources in English. If a website link in this article initially prompts non-English text, simply activate the translation tool on the webpage, which will provide automatic translation into English. Additionally, the museum, archive, or other professional organisation must offer online sources for dress history research that can be officially referenced at an academic level; for example, items or images must include a unique identifying number (such as an inventory number, accession number, or museum identification number).

The following descriptive texts were taken directly from the individual websites, which are hyperlinked and can be easily utilised from the downloaded (pdf format) journal issue. This article is a living document and will be updated and published in future issues of *The Journal of Dress History*. Additions, suggestions, and corrections to this article are warmly encouraged and should be sent to [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).

## Australia

---

### **The Australian Dress Register, Sydney**

The Australian Dress Register is a collaborative, online project about dress with Australian provenance.

<https://australiandressregister.org>

### **Museums Discovery Centre, Sydney**

The Museums Discovery Centre is a collaboration between The Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Australian Museum, and Sydney Living Museums. The Centre includes the material heritage of Australian culture, history, and lifestyle. There are more than 500,000 separate items in the collection, including dress and fashion.

<https://collection.maas.museum>

### **The National Gallery of Australia, Canberra**

The National Gallery of Australia is the Commonwealth of Australia's national cultural institution for the visual arts and is a portfolio agency within the Department of Communications and the Arts.

<https://artsearch.nga.gov.au>

### **The National Gallery of Victoria, Fashion and Textiles Collection, Melbourne**

Select the Collection tab at the top menu, then view the search tool and all curatorial departments, including The Fashion and Textiles Collection. The earliest international works are Egyptian Coptic textiles dating from around the sixth century AD while later holdings include sixteenth century lace, eighteenth century dress, embroidery and textiles, as well as contemporary fashion from around the globe.

<https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au>

### **The National Museum of Australia, Canberra**

Scroll through this page to research many interesting examples of clothing and accessories.

<http://www.nma.gov.au/explore/collection/collection/clothing>

## Belgium

---

### **Fashion Museum of Antwerp and The University of Antwerp, Antwerp**

This online collection was compiled for the sole purpose of being accessible to study, research, training, and inspiration.

<http://128.199.60.250/omeka/items/browse>



## Canada

---

### **Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto, Ontario**

The Bata Shoe Museum is home to the world's largest and most comprehensive collection of shoes and footwear-related objects. On the following webpage, click on "Select a Story" then click on the story of your choice; on the next page, click on "Enter" to view text and images of that story. On the left-hand side menu of each story page are more story options while on the right-hand side menu are images of shoes, with descriptive text and accession numbers.

<http://www.allaboutshoes.ca/en>

### **The McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, Quebec**

The online collection includes clothing and accessories belonging to Canadian men, women and children, covering three centuries; garments from Montreal designers, manufacturers, and retailers; quilts, coverlets, and other handmade domestic textiles.

<http://www.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collections>

### **Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario**

The Textiles and Fashions Collection is one of many that are listed on this page.

<http://collections.rom.on.ca/collections>

### **Ryerson University, Fashion Research Collection, Toronto, Ontario**

This collection offers a wide selection of fashion and textiles.

<http://ryersonfashion.pastperfectonline.com>

### **Textile Museum of Canada, Toronto**

A rich and diverse collection, more than 15,000 textile-related artefacts (including clothing) are featured from around the world.

<http://collections.textilemuseum.ca>

### **The University of Alberta, Anne Lambert Clothing and Textiles Collection, Edmonton, Alberta**

Founded in 1972, the collection includes everyday wear and designer clothes for men, women, and children from different continents, and over 350 years of history.

<https://clothingtextiles.ualberta.ca>

### **The University of Calgary, Theatrical Scene and Costume Design Collection, Calgary, Alberta**

This collection features designs dating to the mid nineteenth century.

<http://www.ucalgary.ca/costumedesign>

## Chile

---

### **Museo de la Moda, Santiago**

This database offers a timeline of fashion with descriptive information and images.  
<http://www.museodelamoda.cl/linea-de-tiempo>

## China

---

### **The China Silk Museum, Hangzhou**

The China Silk Museum is China's largest professional museum for textiles and clothing, and the largest silk museum in the world. To utilise the museum website, select Collection; then choose either Ancient collection search or Contemporary collection search; then, make a selection in the drop-down menus titled Classification, Technology, and/or Years.  
<http://www.chinasilkmuseum.com>

## Denmark

---

### **The National Museum, Copenhagen**

The National Museum holds a large collection of men's and women's clothes, circa 1700–1980s. For a number of different dresses, suits, special occasion clothes, etc., there are downloaded sewing patterns. The following website features dress history but also links to additional research portals, including celebrations and traditions, cosplay, military history, monarchy, fur, and more.  
<https://natmus.dk/historisk-viden/temaer/modens-historie>

## England

---

### **Art UK, London**

This searchable database is a compilation of public art collections within the UK.  
<https://artuk.org>

### **Ashmolean Museum, Oxford**

The Ashmolean has embarked on a major project to digitise its collections with an initial target of making 250,000 objects available online by 2020.  
<http://collections.ashmolean.org>

**The Bank of England Archive, London**

On this page, select Online Catalogue. The Bank of England Archive contains over 88,000 records relating to all aspects of the Bank's history and work, dating from the founding of the Bank in 1694 to the present day.

<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/archive>

**Bloomsbury Fashion Central and Berg Fashion Library**

This platform offers instant access to scholarly research, iconic images, and quality textbooks. To gain comprehensive access, log in by subscription, which may be available through an affiliated educational establishment or public library.

<https://www.bloomsburyfashioncentral.com>

**The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle**

The online database includes an array of dress and textile artefacts, including items from the wardrobe of Empress Eugenie (1826–1920) and other pieces from the Blackborne Lace Collection.

<http://bowes.adlibhosting.com/search/simple>

**Bridgeman Images**

This online collection has over two million art, culture, and historic images.

<http://www.bridgemanimages.com>

**Brighton & Hove Museums Costume Collection, Brighton**

Brighton & Hove Museums' comprehensive costume collection is of considerable national significance. It embraces men's, women's, and children's dress and accessories from the sixteenth century to the present day.

<https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/collections/fashion-and-textiles>

**British History Online**

This is a digital library of key printed primary and secondary sources for the history of Britain and Ireland, with a primary focus on the period, 1300–1800. BHO was founded in 2003 by The Institute of Historical Research and The History of Parliament Trust.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/using-bho/subject-guides>

**The British Library, London**

The website contains many images, such as illuminated manuscripts, which could support dress history research.

<https://www.bl.uk>

**The British Museum, London**

A search box enables comprehensive research through over four million objects.

<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research>

**The British Newspaper Archive, London**

Access hundreds of historic newspapers from all over Britain and Ireland through the search tool on the following webpage.

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>

*The Illustrated London News* began weekly publication in 1842 as a primarily conservative leaning paper and was the world's first illustrated newspaper.

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/illustrated-london-news>

**British Pathé, London**

The world's leading multimedia resource offers a search tool, a Collections tab, and free availability to view newsreels, video, archive, film, footage, and stills.

<https://www.britishpathe.com>

**The Burgon Society, London**

The following website contains a list of the items of academical dress owned by The Burgon Society, with many images of academical gowns and hoods.

<http://www.burgon.org.uk/society/wardrobe/uk.php>

**Central Saint Martins, London**

This searchable online collection includes art and design of Central Saint Martins alumni and images from the British Artists' Film and Video Study Collection.

<http://collections.arts.ac.uk>

**Chertsey Museum, The Olive Matthews Collection, Chertsey**

This collection features many items of national significance, with over 4000 men's, women's and children's fashionable clothes dating from circa 1700 to the present.

<http://www.chertseymuseum.org.uk>

**The Costume Research Image Library of Tudor Effigies**

This is a Textile Conservation Centre project now hosted by The Tudor Tailor and JMD&Co. The website includes images of sixteenth century effigies in churches in the English counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight. This resource is useful to anyone interested in the cut and construction of sixteenth century dress.

<http://www.tudoreffigies.co.uk>

### **The Courtauld Gallery, London**

The following website includes the complete collection of paintings, sculpture, decorative arts, and drawings, as well as a selection of prints.

<http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk>

### **The Fashion Museum, Bath**

There are almost 100,000 objects in the Fashion Museum collection, some items of which can be accessed on the following website.

<https://www.fashionmuseum.co.uk/collection>

### **The Glove Collection Trust, London**

The Glove Collection Trust owns a collection of historic and modern gloves recognised as one of the finest in the world and includes an unsurpassed collection of seventeenth century gloves as well as original coronation gloves worn by English monarchs. The Trustees of The Glove Collection Trust are appointed by the Court of the Worshipful Company of Glovers of London, one of the Livery Companies of the City of London. To view images of gloves on the webpage, below, select either “View catalogue by date” or “View catalogue by material.”

<http://www.glovecollectioncatalogue.org>

### **Goldsmiths Textile Collection, London**

The Collection, founded in the 1980s by Constance Howard and Audrey Walker, comprises textile art, embroidery, and dress.

<http://www.gold.ac.uk/textile-collection>

### **Hampton Court Palace, Historic Royal Palaces Image Library**

This online database includes images of fashion, caricature, art, portraits.

<http://images.hrp.org.uk>

### **The Imperial War Museum, London**

The collection covers all aspects of conflict involving Britain, its former Empire and the Commonwealth, from the First World War to the present day. The collection includes works by great artists, filmmakers and photographers to intensely personal diaries, letters and keepsakes to pamphlets, posters and proclamations. Explore around 800,000 items via the following website.

<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections>

### **The John Bright Historic Costume Collection, London**

This website is a catalogue of key items from the collection of original garments and textiles belonging to award-winning costume designer, John Bright.

<https://www.thejohnbrightcollection.co.uk>

**Kerry Taylor Auctions, London**

Established in 2003, Kerry Taylor Auctions is a leading auction house specialising in vintage fashion, fine antique costume, and textiles. The website features dress images, description, and pricing.

<https://kerrytaylorauctions.com>

**Knitting in Early Modern Europe**

This online database provides photographs and technical details about knitted caps from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries held in European collections. It offers opportunities to comment on the material and participate in experimental archaeology which is attempting to match the characteristics of the fulled knitted fabric from the era.

[www.kemererearch.com](http://www.kemererearch.com)

**Manchester City Council, Manchester Local Image Collection, Manchester**

The Manchester Local Image Collection, with over 80,000 images, is a unique photographic record of Manchester, its people, streets, and buildings from a period stretching well over 100 years.

<https://images.manchester.gov.uk>

**Marks and Spencer Archive Catalogue, Leeds**

The M&S Company Archive holds thousands of historical records from the days of Michael Marks' Penny Bazaar to the present. It is possible to browse themes, such as Lingerie and Sleepwear, Textile Technology, and Wartime.

<https://archive-catalogue.marksandspencer.ssl.co.uk/home>

**Mary Evans Picture Library, London**

This Picture Library cover a broad range of topics and subject areas.

<https://www.maryevans.com>

**Middlesex University Fashion Collection, London**

The Fashion Collection comprises approximately 450 garments for women and men, textiles, accessories including hats, shoes, gloves, and more, plus hundreds of haberdashery items including buttons and trimmings, from the nineteenth century to the present day.

<https://tinyurl.com/middlesex-fashion>



**The Museum of London, Dress and Textiles Collection, London**

These unique collections include over a million objects from thousands of years of London's history. The Dress and Textiles Collection focuses on clothes and textiles that were made, sold, bought, and worn in London from the sixteenth century to the present. The Paintings, Prints, and Drawings Collection, as well as the Photographs Collection, support research in dress history.

<https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections>

**The National Archives, Kew**

Browse over 75,000 images available to download immediately, spanning hundreds of years of history from The National Archives' unique collections, from ancient maps to iconic advertising.

<https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk>

**The National Army Museum, London**

This online collection holds a large image gallery that could be useful for research in dress history.

<https://collection.nam.ac.uk>

**The National Portrait Gallery, London**

Access over 200,000 portraits from the Tudors to the present day. Scroll through the Primary Collection, Photographs, Prints and Drawings, or use the search tool.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections>

A hundred years of hand-coloured engraved fashion plates can now be explored. Primarily showing women's dress, the fashion plates were published in English and French magazines during 1770-1869, and now form part of the National Portrait Gallery's reference collection to assist portrait and dress research.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/fashionplates>

**The National Trust, Swindon**

Discover great art and collections, including fashion, and explore over 200 historic places (and 921,731 items online) in the care of The National Trust.

<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk>

**People's History Museum, Manchester**

The collections span four centuries of the history of working people in Britain with the majority focusing on the last 200 years. The museum holds one of the largest collections of historic trade union and political banners in the world and is the leading authority in the UK on the conservation and study of banners.

<https://phm.org.uk/collection-search>

**The Public Domain Review, Manchester**

The Public Domain Review is a not-for-profit project dedicated to works that have fallen into the public domain, which are therefore able to be used freely. To find dress history images and text, insert “fashion” into the search box at the top of the page.

<http://publicdomainreview.org>

***Punch*, London**

*Punch*, a British magazine of humour and satire, was published during 1841–2002. The following website offers a searchable database of *Punch* cartoons, many of which portray dress.

<https://www.punch.co.uk>

**Queen Victoria’s Journals, London**

A fully searchable database of Queen Victoria’s journals is freely available online at:

<http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do>

**The Royal Collection, London**

Use the “Search the Collection” tool to navigate through thousands of images to support research in dress history.

<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection>

**The Royal Opera House, London**

Royal Opera House Collections collect, preserve, and provide access to an extraordinary collection that records the history of the House since 1732.

<http://www.roh.org.uk/about/roh-collections/explore>

**The University of Brighton, Dress History Teaching Collection, Brighton**

The aim of the Dress History Teaching Collection is to offer all students and staff at the University of Brighton direct access to closely examine and photograph historical and world fabrics and garments while encouraging the use of the collection within material culture research.

<http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/re/cdh/resources/teaching-collection>

**The University of Brighton, Screen Archive South East, Brighton**

Screen Archive South East (SASE) is a public sector moving image archive serving the South East of England. SASE is part of the School of Media at the University of Brighton. Its function is to collect, preserve, research, and provide access to screen material related to the region and of general relevance to the study of screen history.

<http://screenarchive.brighton.ac.uk>

**Symington Fashion Collection, Barrow-on-Soar**

The Symington corsetry collection was created by the Market Harborough company R. & W. H. Symington, which began to make corsets during the 1850s. The company eventually grew into an international concern and one of its most famous products, the Liberty Bodice, was produced for almost seventy years. The collection includes garments and supporting advertising material, which provide an insight into the development of corsetry, foundation garments, and swimwear from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the 1990s.

<https://tinyurl.com/Symington-corsets>

**The Underpinnings Museum, London**

The Underpinnings Museum is an online archive dedicated to the history of underwear. The goal of the project is to provide free access to an oft-neglected area of fashion study. Each object is accompanied by detailed imagery, technical and contextual information.

<https://underpinningsmuseum.com>

**The University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford**

The John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera is one of the largest and most important collections of printed ephemera in the world. It offers a fresh view of British history through primary, uninterpreted printed documents which, produced for short-term use, have survived by chance, including advertisements, handbills, playbills and programmes, menus, greetings cards, posters, postcards. The Images tab, on the following webpage, contains circa 74,000 items, and a search tool.

<https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson>

**The University of Sussex, Mass Observation, Brighton**

The Mass Observation Archive contains papers generated by the original Mass Observation social research organisation (1937 to early 1950s), and newer material collected continuously since 1981 (Mass Observation Project).

<http://www.massobs.org.uk>

**The Victoria and Albert Museum, Textiles and Fashion Collection, London**

The V&A holds the national collection of Textiles and Fashion, which spans a period of more than 5000 years. The Clothworkers' Centre for the Study and Conservation of Textiles and Fashion is the location at which items can be studied in person.

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk>

**The Wedgwood Museum Collections, Stoke-on-Trent**

The searchable collection includes some interesting images of historic dress, from Wedgwood portrait medallions to a woman's shoe designed with a Wedgwood heel.

<http://www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/collections/search-the-collection>

**The Wellcome Collection Library, London**

The Wellcome Collection is one of the world's major resources for the study of medical history. The online collection offers free downloads of high-resolution images of paintings, drawings, caricatures, photographs, films, posters, books, pamphlets, archives, and sound recordings.

<https://wellcomelibrary.org/collections>

**The William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow**

The William Morris Gallery holds the most comprehensive collection of objects relating to all aspects of Morris' life and work, including his work as a designer, a writer, and a campaigner for social equality and the environment.

<http://www.wmgallery.org.uk/collection/browse-the-collection>

---

**France**

---

**Cluny Museum, National Museum of the Middle Ages, Paris**

Tapestries and textiles can be explored on the following link.

<https://www.musee-moyenage.fr/collection/parcours-decouverte/tapisseries-et-textiles.html>

**The National Centre for Stage Costume, Moulins**

This collection includes costume for performing art, theatre, opera, ballet, dance, and street theatre productions.

<http://www.cncs.fr/collections?language=en-gb>

**The Palais Galliera, Paris**

This fashion museum offers a comprehensive online collection that includes many images to support dress history research.

<http://www.palaisgalliera.paris.fr/en/collections/collections>

**Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Grand Palais, Paris**

Since 1946, the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Grand Palais photo agency (a public industrial and commercial institution under the authority of the French Ministry of Culture) has been officially responsible for promoting collections of France's national museums. On the following link, browse the collections that are included in the database, different themes for research, or insert a keyword (such as dress) in the search tool at the top of the page.

<https://www.photo.rmn.fr/Collections>

**Textile and Decorative Arts Museum, Lyon**

On the following website, select Museums and Collections to search for dress and textiles sources.

<http://www.mtmad.fr/fr/Pages/default.aspx>

---

**Germany**

---

**The Munich City Museum, Fashion and Textiles Collection, Munich**

Access the Fashion and Textiles Collection through the main website. Founded in 1888, the museum collection includes fashion and textiles from everyday clothing to haute couture from the early eighteenth century to the present day.

<https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de>

---

**Hungary**

---

**The Museum of Applied Arts, Textile and Costume Collection, Budapest**

The 17,000 items in the Textile and Costume Collection are mainly from Europe, with some from overseas, representing a wide range of techniques and periods of textile art. Complementing the textiles themselves is a historical collection of equipment used to make them.

<http://www.imm.hu/en/contents/28,Textile+and+Costume+Collection>

## Israel

---

### **The Rose Fashion and Textile Archives, Tel Aviv**

The archive contains a collection of about 4000 items of clothing and accessories ranging from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first century. This is in addition to a collection of ancient, modern, and ethnic textiles made using a wide range of manual and industrial techniques. Of particular interest is the Israeli collection in which clothing, textiles, and accessories were created or worn in Israel from the end of the nineteenth century. For an English version of the webpage, right-click anywhere on the page and select Translate to English.

<https://rosearchive.shenkar.ac.il>

## Italy

---

### **Europeana Fashion International Association, Florence**

Explore fashion from more than 30 European public and private institutions. Digital images include historical clothing and accessories, contemporary designs, catwalk photographs, drawings, sketches, plates, catalogues, and videos.

<https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/collections/fashion>

### **The European Fashion Heritage Association, Florence**

EFHA is an international hub, in which fashion GLAMs (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) and brands share their digital heritage assets and their experiences and best practices in the field of digitisation, access and valorisation of fashion heritage resources.

<https://fashionheritage.eu>

### **Valentino Garavani Virtual Museum, Milan**

Take a virtual tour through this museum, dedicated to the fashion design of Valentino.

<http://www.valentinogaravanimuseum.com>

## Japan

---

### **The Bunka Gakuen Library, Tokyo**

This is a specialised library for fashion and clothing. The library collects rare books, magazines, fashion plates, etc., from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century.

[http://digital.bunka.ac.jp/kichosho\\_e/index.php](http://digital.bunka.ac.jp/kichosho_e/index.php)



### **The Kyoto Costume Institute, Kyoto**

The Kyoto Costume Institute Digital Archives presents image and text information for objects in the collection, from 1700 to today.

[http://www.kci.or.jp/en/archives/digital\\_archives](http://www.kci.or.jp/en/archives/digital_archives)

## **Netherlands**

---

### **Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam**

The collection of the Rijksmuseum includes more than 10,000 items of costumes and accessories. On the following webpage, researchers can search with keywords, such as fashion, textiles, etc, or select the link, Search the library catalogue.

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search>

### **Textile Research Centre, Leiden**

The collection of the Textile Research Centre in Leiden contains over 22,000 textiles, garments and accessories such as headgear, footwear, jewellery and walking sticks. It also includes technical items such as hand spinning and weaving equipment. The objects derive from all over world and date from some seven thousand years ago to the present day. Scroll down the following webpage to search items by country, date, technique, as well as by subject category, such as hats, shoes, belts, etc.

<https://trc-leiden.nl/collection>

## **New Zealand**

---

### **The New Zealand Fashion Museum**

Established in 2010 as a Charitable Trust, the museum records and shares the stories of the people, objects, and photographs that have contributed to the development of the unique fashion identity of New Zealand.

<http://nzfashionmuseum.org.nz>

## **Northern Ireland**

---

### **National Museums Northern Ireland, Belfast**

The museum has several collections, which include art, costume, and textiles.

<https://www.nmni.com/collections/art/costume-and-textiles>

## Russia

---

### **The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg**

The Hermitage includes over 3 million works of art and world culture artefacts, including paintings, graphic works, sculptures, works of applied art, archaeological artefacts, and numismatic objects. A search tool can be used to find dress and textile objects on the following link, Collection Online.

<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/explore/artworks?lng=en>

## Scotland

---

### **The Glasgow School of Art, Glasgow**

The Archives and Collections are available online and include images of art, design, photographs, textiles, and more.

[www.gsaarchives.net](http://www.gsaarchives.net)

### **Heriot Watt University Textile Collection, Edinburgh**

The Textile Collection of archives, fabric, and apparel, charts the evolution of the Scottish textile industry from the mid eighteenth century to the present day.

<https://www.hw.ac.uk/services/heritage-information-governance/textile-collection.htm>

### **The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh**

This online source includes art and design images, medieval manuscripts, maps, photography, sport, theatre, war, and more.

<https://digital.nls.uk/gallery>

### **National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh**

The museum has over three million objects and specimens, ranging from the earliest times to the present day, including a range of fashion and textiles.

<http://nms.scran.ac.uk>

## Spain

---

### **The Virtual Fashion Museum of Catalonia, Barcelona**

This website is a platform to present historical and period costumes of public collections in Catalonia, Spain. More than 6000 pieces of period clothing are held in these collections and this platform tries to expose them to a wider audience. There are 642 costumes digitised in this online catalogue.

<http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca>

## United States

---

### **The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts**

The AAS library houses the largest and most accessible collection of books, pamphlets, broadsides, newspapers, periodicals, music, and graphic arts material printed through 1876 in what is now the United States. The online inventory includes many artefacts that could be useful for dress historians.

<http://www.americanantiquarian.org>

### **The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois**

The Department of Textiles contains more than 13,000 textiles and 66,000 sample swatches ranging from 300BC to the present. The collection has strengths in pre-Columbian textiles, European vestments, tapestries, woven silks and velvets, printed fabrics, needlework, and lace. The Institute also offers digital collections of European painting and sculpture, prints, and drawings.

<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/textiles>

### **Augusta Auctions, New York, New York**

Augusta Auctions represents museums, historical societies, universities, and other institutions bringing to market museum de-accessions and patron donations of clothing, textiles, and accessories.

<https://www.augusta-auction.com>

### **The Brooklyn Museum Library, Fashion and Costume Sketch Collection, 1912–1950, New York, New York**

The Digital Library Collection holds additional collections that could be beneficial in dress history research.

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/archives/set/198>

### **Brown University Library Collections, Providence, Rhode Island**

This page lists the different collections that the library has compiled, many of which contain interesting images of dress. A search box at the top, right-hand corner allows a comprehensive sweep of the whole Brown Digital Repository.

<https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/collections/library>

Brown University also holds The Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, the foremost American collection of material devoted to the history and iconography of soldiers and soldiering, and is one of the world's largest collections devoted to the study of military and naval uniforms.

<https://library.brown.edu/collections/askb>

**Chicago History Museum, Chicago, Illinois**

The Museum's collection of more than 23 million objects, images, and documents records the evolution of Chicago, from fur-trading outpost to modern metropolis.

<https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections>

Chicago History Museum has an especially strong Costume and Textiles Collection, which can be accessed through the following link.

<https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections/collection-contents/costume-and-textiles>

**Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia**

Colonial Williamsburg, an eighteenth century living heritage museum, hosts online resources, a digital library, and special collections. There are both textual and visual objects in this collection.

<http://research.history.org/resources>

**Columbia College, Fashion Study Collection Online Database, Chicago, Illinois**

The Fashion Study Collection at Columbia College Chicago is an exceptional collection of designer garments, fashion history, and ethnic dress. A hands-on, academic, and inspirational resource for students and the public, the collection was founded in 1989 and has grown to house more than 6000 items.

<http://fashioncolumbia.pastperfectonline.com>

**Cornell University, The Costume and Textile Collection, Ithaca, New York**

This collection includes more than 10,000 items of apparel, accessories, and flat textiles dating from the eighteenth century to present, including substantial collections of functional clothing, technical textiles, and ethnographic costume. To view images, scroll down the page and select the link, "Online catalogue database." Then, select "Guest account," which will take you to the searchable database of costume.

<https://www.human.cornell.edu/fsad/about/costume/home>

**Cultural Institutions Online Collections, Newport, Rhode Island**

This database includes items from participating cultural institutions in Newport, Rhode Island, including the Doris Duke Fashion Collection of Newport Restoration.

<http://newportalri.org>

**Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, Washington, DC.**

The DAR Museum's collections include over 30,000 objects reflecting the material culture and social history of the United States prior to 1840. Its strengths are decorative arts, costumes, quilts and needlework.

<https://www.dar.org/museum/collections>

**Drexel University, Historic Costume Collection, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

This is a searchable image database comprised of selected fashion from the Robert and Penny Fox Historic Costume Collection, designs loaned to the project by private collectors for inclusion on the website, fashion exhibitions curated by Drexel faculty, and fashion research by faculty and students.

<http://digimuse.westphal.drexel.edu/publicdrexel/index.php>

**Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising (FIDM), Los Angeles, California**

The collections of the FIDM Museum and Galleries span more than 200 years of fashion history, from Parisian haute couture to iconic film costumes.

<http://fidmmuseum.pastperfectonline.com>

**The Fashion Institute of Technology, The Museum at FIT, New York, New York**

This collection of fashion, textiles, and accessories is fully searchable. The website also includes a Photography Archive that features the work of fashion photographers.

<http://fashionmuseum.fitnyc.edu>

**The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.**

The Folger Shakespeare Library holds the world's largest collection of Shakespearean art, from the sixteenth century to the present day, as well as a world-renowned collection of books, manuscripts, and prints from Renaissance Europe. The Digital Image Collection includes some stage costumes and other dress images.

<https://www.folger.edu/works-of-art>

**HathiTrust Digital Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan**

HathiTrust is a partnership of academic and research institutions, offering a collection of millions of titles digitised from libraries around the world. These books are especially good for textual evidence to support dress history research. Photographs and pictorial works can also be searched in this database.

<https://www.hathitrust.org>

**Historic Deerfield Museum, Deerfield, Massachusetts**

Historic Deerfield Museum holds a collection of approximately 8000 items of clothing and textiles, ranging in date from circa 1650 to 2000. Additionally, the library at Historic Deerfield holds primary and secondary sources related to dress history and fashion studies. The museum has a searchable database, shared with the Five College art museums: Amherst College, Hampshire College, Mount Holyoke College, Smith College, and UMASS Amherst.

<https://www.historic-deerfield.org/textiles-clothing-and-embroidery>

<http://museums.fivecolleges.edu>

**Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana**

The collection of textile and fashion arts comprises approximately 7000 items and represents virtually all of the world's traditions in fabric. Major collecting in this area began in 1906, with the purchase of 100 Chinese textiles and costumes. European holdings feature silks from the late sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, a lace collection spanning 500 years, and nineteenth century paisley shawls woven in England.

<http://collection.imamuseum.org>

**Iowa State University, The Textiles and Clothing Museum, Ames, Iowa**

This online collections includes dress, dating from the 1840s to today.

<http://tcmuseum.pastperfectonline.com>

**The Irma G. Bowen Historic Clothing Collection at The University of New Hampshire in Durham, New Hampshire**

Professor Irma G. Bowen began collecting items in 1920 as a hands-on teaching tool for students in the Home Economics department at The University of New Hampshire.

[https://scholars.unh.edu/bowen\\_collection](https://scholars.unh.edu/bowen_collection)

**The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California**

The collection comprises Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art from the Neolithic to Late Antiquity; European art (including illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings, sculpture, and decorative arts) from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century; and international photography. The images are fully searchable.

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection>

**Kent State University, Gallery of Costume, Kent, Ohio**

This online collection includes an impressive array of dress and historic costume from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century.

<https://www.kent.edu/museum/gallery-costume>

**The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

The Digital Collection holds a wide array of images that can be utilised in dress history research, including The Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. There are several categories from which to research, or a separate search box at the top of the page can be utilised.

<https://www.loc.gov/collections>

**The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California**

This LACMA website includes links to many useful collections, including a collection titled, Fashion, 1900–2000.

<https://collections.lacma.org>

**Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California**

There are several different collections that are freely available and searchable, including travel posters, movie posters, book plates, and fashion plates. The Casey Fashion Plates Collection includes over 6200 hand-colored, finely detailed fashion illustrations produced during 1780–1880 for British and American fashion magazines.

<http://www.lapl.org/collections-resources/visual-collections>

**Margaret Herrick Library Digital Collections, Hollywood, California**

The database contains more than 35,000 digitised images about American cinema, including original artwork and Hollywood costume design.

<http://digitalcollections.oscars.org>

**The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Thomas J. Watson Library, New York, New York**

The following address is the main page, which lists items in The Costume Institute and the Irene Lewisohn Costume Reference Library. Searchable image databases include dress, fashion plates, textual references, and more.

<http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm>

The following webpage includes more than 5000 years of art from across the globe.

<https://metmuseum.org/art/collection>

**The Museum of Chinese in America, New York, New York**

The Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA) has amassed a nationally significant collection, documenting Chinese life in America, including fashion and textiles.

<http://www.mocanyc.org/collections>

**Museum of the City of New York, New York**

The museum presents an online exhibition of 119 garments by Englishman Charles Frederick Worth (1825–1895) and Chicago-born Mainbocher (Main Rousseau Bocher, 1891–1976). This online exhibition of the Costume and Textile Collection of the Museum of the City of New York includes images, museum identification numbers, and complete garment descriptions.

[https://collections.mcny.org/C.aspx?VP3=CMS3&VF=MNYO28\\_4](https://collections.mcny.org/C.aspx?VP3=CMS3&VF=MNYO28_4)

**The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts**

The David and Roberta Logie Department of Textile and Fashion Arts offers a wide range of online materials for dress history research. Scroll down the page to see the links to the Textiles and Fashion Arts Collection. The museum also holds a large collection of prints and drawings, containing almost 200,000 works that range from the beginnings of printing in the fifteenth century to today.

<http://www.mfa.org/collections/textiles-and-fashion-arts>



**The Museum of Modern Art, New York, New York**

The museum contains almost 200,000 works of modern and contemporary art, more than 77,000 works of which are available online.

<https://www.moma.org/collection>

**The New York Public Library Digital Collections, New York, New York**

The New York Public Library offers many different online collections, including Fashion Collections and an Art and Picture Collection.

<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/lane/fashion-collections>

**New York School of Interior Design Archives and Special Collections, New York, New York**

A collection of 23 boxes of material including correspondence, drawings, publications, articles, project specifications, photographs, and miscellaneous items documenting the careers of both Sarah Tomerlin Lee (1910–2001), advertising executive, magazine editor, author and interior designer, and her husband Thomas (Tom) Bailey Lee (1909–1971), designer of displays, exhibits, sets, and interiors.

<http://nysidarchives.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/2>

**Ohio State University, Historic Costume and Textiles Collection, Columbus, Ohio**

This collection is a scholarly and artistic resource of apparel and textile material culture, including the Ann W. Rudolph Button Collection. The site also includes lesson plans for its programme, Teaching History with Historic Clothing Artefacts.

<http://costume.osu.edu>

The Ohio State University Libraries' Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute includes costume and scene designs from more than 50 productions by British designer, Daphne Dare (1929–2000).

<http://drc03.drc.ohiolink.edu/handle/2374.OX/3>

**Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

Many objects from the Museum's collection of over 240,000 are available in the online collections database, include dress historical images with complete citations.

<http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/search.html>

**Philadelphia University, The Design Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

Tapestry is an online resource that catalogues thousands of historic fabric swatches from Philadelphia University's vast textile collection.

<http://tapestry.philau.edu>

**Phoenix Art Museum, Fashion Collection, Phoenix, Arizona**

The Fashion Collection holds more than 4500 American and European garments, shoes, and accessories, and emphasises major American designers of the twentieth century.

<http://www.phxart.org/collection/fashion>

**Prelinger Archives, New York, New York**

Prelinger Archives has grown into a collection of over 60,000 ephemeral (advertising, educational, industrial, and amateur) films.

<https://archive.org/details/prelinger>

**Shippensburg University, Fashion Archives and Museum, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania**

The Fashion Archives' 15,000-item collection, comprised mostly of donations, consists of clothing and accessories worn by men, women and children, dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Primarily focused on middle- and working-class Americans, clothing from all walks of life is represented in the collection.

<http://fashionarchives.org/collection.html>

**Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

The Smithsonian is the world's largest museum, education, and research complex.

<http://collections.si.edu/search>

To search the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, insert "fashion" (for example) for a variety of fashion plates, shoes, and more.

<https://library.si.edu/image-gallery>

The National Museum of American History offers many images and information online. For a list of subject areas, select the following link, which includes Clothing & Accessories as well as Textiles.

<http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/subjects/clothing-accessories>

<https://amhistory.si.edu/costume>

The Smithsonian American Art Museum provides many collections online that could be useful for research in dress history.

<http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search>

**Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas**

The Museum's collection exceeds 45,000 objects spanning the history of European and American art from ancient to contemporary, with broad and significant holdings of East Asian art. Areas of special strength include medieval art; European and American painting, sculpture, and prints; photography; Japanese Edo-period painting and prints; and twentieth century Chinese painting.

<https://www.spencerart.ku.edu/collection>

**State University of New York, Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT), New York, New York**

The address is for the digital collections of the FIT Library's Special Collections and College Archives. On the main page, there is a search box into which any term can be inserted. Images are of high resolution and easily downloaded. At the top of the page, select Images or Collections to view sources for research in dress history.

<https://sparcdigital.fitnyc.edu>

**Staten Island Historical Society, New York, New York**

The Staten Island Historical Society's collections tell the story of the American experience through the lives of Staten Islanders.

<http://statenisland.pastperfectonline.com>

**State University of New York, Geneseo, New York**

To locate primary source material for costume images, go to the link, then on the top menu, select Image Collections.

<http://libguides.geneseo.edu/HistoryofCostume>

**The University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois**

Many different digital collections are listed on this page, including the Motley Collection of Theatre and Costume Design, containing over 4000 items.

<https://digital.library.illinois.edu/collections>

**The University of Michigan, Digital Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan**

On the left-hand column, highlighted in yellow, searches can be run through many different filters. In that yellow column, select Image Collections to access applicable research for dress history.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu>

**The University of Minnesota, Goldstein Museum of Design, St. Paul, Minnesota**

On the following website, select Collection, then Search the Collection. There, use the search tool or select Costumes, Textiles, or Decorative Arts and Design.

<http://goldstein.design.umn.edu>

**The University of North Texas, Texas Fashion Collection, Denton, Texas**

The collection includes over 18,000 items and is an important element to the fashion programme at The University of North Texas.

<https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/TXFC>

**The University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

The Online Books Page is a website that facilitates access to books that are freely available over the Internet and could be useful in textual research in dress history.

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu>

The online archives of The University of Pennsylvania also include issues of *Gentleman's Magazine*, the monthly magazine published in London, 1731–1907.

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=gentlemans>

**The University of Rhode Island Library Special Collections, The Commercial Pattern Archive, Kingston, Rhode Island**

This is a wide collection of vintage sewing patterns.

<https://copa.apps.uri.edu/index.php>

**The University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, Austin, Texas**

There are many collections accessible, representing just a sample of the diverse holdings in literature, photography, film, art, and the performing arts, with many images to support research in dress history.

<https://hrc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital>

**The University of Washington, The Costume and Textiles Collection, Seattle, Washington**

The Henry Art Gallery's Costume and Textile Collection is a unique resource for the study of construction, design, and pattern found on clothing and textiles. These collections reflect trends in historic fashion, preserve information about traditional ethnic dress.

<http://dig.henryart.org/textiles/costumes>

**The University of Wisconsin Digital Collection, Madison, Wisconsin**

This digital collection includes images of millinery, dress-making, clothing, and costume books from the UW-Madison collections.

<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/HumanEcol>

**Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia**

This collection includes a wide variety of military images and text of the Institute, alumni, the American Civil War, the First World War, and the Second World War.

<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu>

**Wayne State University, Digital Dress Collection, Detroit, Michigan**

There are several different collections on this page; however, the Digital Dress Collection is the best for dress history research. The Digital Dress Collection contains images of clothing worn in Michigan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collection offers insight into Michigan life and society. The items shown here are held in the collections of Wayne State University, The Henry Ford, Detroit Historical Society, and Meadowbrook Hall.

<https://digital.library.wayne.edu/item/wayne:collectionDigDressColl>

**We Wear Culture, Mountain View, California**

This project is part of the greater Google Arts and Culture Project, which includes a wealth of information and images, all fully searchable.

<https://artsandculture.google.com/project/fashion>

**Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library, Winterthur, Delaware**

Winterthur's collection of nearly 90,000 objects features decorative and fine arts made or used in America during 1630-1860. The collection is organised in several main categories: ceramics, glass, furniture, metalwork, paintings and prints, textiles and needlework.

<http://museumcollection.winterthur.org>

**The Valentine, Costume and Textiles Collection, Richmond, Virginia**

This address is the main page for the Costume and Textiles Collection at The Valentine, which comprises over 30,000 dress, accessory, and textile objects made, sold, worn, or used in Virginia from the late eighteenth century to the present day. On this page, there is a menu on the right that lists links to the Collections Database Search page and the Archives page.

<https://thevalentine.org/collections/costume-textiles>

**Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, New Haven, Connecticut**

This webpage includes many different Digital Collections, including Civil War Photographs, Postcard Collection, Prints and Drawings, Historical Medical Poster Collection, and more.

<https://library.medicine.yale.edu/digital>

**Yale University, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven, Connecticut**

The Yale Center for British Art holds the largest and most comprehensive collection of British art outside the United Kingdom, presenting the development of British art and culture from the Elizabethan period to the present day. With the Reference Library and Archives, the Center's collections of paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints, rare books, and manuscripts provide exceptional resources.

<https://britishart.yale.edu/collections/search>

---

**Wales**

---

**National Museum Wales, Cardiff, Wales**

This museum network includes National Museum Cardiff, St Fagans National Museum of History, National Waterfront Museum, Big Pit National Coal Museum, National Slate Museum, National Roman Legion Museum, and National Wool Museum. Clothing from many periods is collected, both fashionable and everyday wear, official uniforms, and occupational dress. There are large collections of female dress of the 19th and 20th centuries.

[www.museum.wales/collections/online](http://www.museum.wales/collections/online)

---

**Other**

---

**Archive Grid**

This is a searchable database for archival collections in the United States.

<https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid>

**Artstor**

Artstor is a nonprofit organisation committed to enhancing scholarship and teaching through the use of digital images and media, which includes the Artstor Digital Library and JSTOR, a digital library.

<http://www.artstor.org>

**Digital Public Library of America**

This is an all-digital library for millions of photographs, manuscripts, books, sounds, moving images, and more from libraries, archives, and museums across the United States. DPLA brings together the riches of America's libraries, archives, and museums, and makes them freely available to the world.

<https://beta.dp.la>

**Getty Images**

Royalty-free historic images can be filtered in the search tool.

<https://www.gettyimages.co.uk>

**The Internet Archive**

This is a non-profit library of millions of free books, images, and more. On the top menu, select the images icon to search for images. In the search box in the center of the page, insert “fashion plate” to view and download a wide variety of historic fashion images. Scroll down the homepage to view lists of the top categories.

<https://archive.org>

**North American Women’s Letters and Diaries**

This database is the largest electronic collection of women’s diaries and correspondence ever assembled, spanning more than 300 years. This database is searchable with a free, 30-day subscription; otherwise, access is advised through an academic institution or library.

<https://alexanderstreet.com/products/north-american-womens-letters-and-diaries>

**Old Book Illustrations**

Here’s an enormous library of thousands of old book illustrations, with searchable name, artist, source, date, which book it was in, etc. There are also a number of collections to browse. Many images are in the Public Domain in most countries.

<https://www.oldbookillustrations.com>

**Open Culture**

Browse a collection of over 83,500 vintage sewing patterns. On this page there is also lists to links of art and images, which could be useful in dress history research.

<http://www.openculture.com/2017/06/browse-a-collection-of-over-83500-vintage-sewing-patterns.html>

**Project Gutenberg**

Project Gutenberg offers over 57,000 free ebooks, many of which could support research in dress history, such as the complete 1660s diary of Samuel Pepys.

<http://www.gutenberg.org>

**Vintage Sewing Patterns**

This searchable database includes images of sewing patterns, printed before 1992.

<http://vintagepatterns.wikia.com>



### **The Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)**

This online source contains many different collections that could be useful for dress history research. The search tool on the main page allows global searches across all collections; otherwise, individual collections can be searched.

<https://vads.ac.uk/collections>

### **WorldCat Library Database**

WorldCat connects collections and services of more than 10,000 libraries worldwide.

<https://www.worldcat.org>

## The Editorial Board

The following biographies represent the members of The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History.

### Jennifer Daley, Editor-in-Chief

---

Dr. Jennifer Daley, PhD, FHEA, MA, MA, BTEC, BA, is Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of Dress History and Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. Dr. Daley is a university professor, who researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She earned a PhD from The Department of War Studies at King's College, London, with a thesis, titled, *A History of Clothing and Textiles for Sailors in the British Royal Navy, 1660-1859*. She also earned an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art; a BTEC in Millinery (history, design, and construction) at Kensington and Chelsea College; an MA (with a dissertation on political economics) from King's College, London; and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.

### Ingrid E. Mida, Editor

---

Dr. Ingrid E. Mida, PhD (Art History and Visual Culture) is a Modern Literature Centre research associate at Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada; a contributor to Smarthistory; and also works as an independent curator. Responsible for the revival of the Ryerson Fashion Research Collection, she is the lead author of *The Dress Detective: A Practical Guide to Object-based Research in Fashion* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015) and *Reading Fashion in Art* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2020). She is the recipient of various grants and awards including the Janet Arnold award at the Society of Antiquaries in London (2015) and the Scholars' Roundtable Honor from the Costume Society of America (2016 and 2017). She is a Board Trustee for the Textile Museum of Canada. Ingrid is a member of the Executive Committee of The Association of Dress Historians.

**Georgina Chappell, Proofreader**

---

Georgina Chappell is a lecturer in Fashion Cultures at Manchester Fashion Institute at Manchester Metropolitan University. After many years working in technical system design for the banking industry, her academic background in history led her back to dress history. Georgina's research interests include the influence of the avant-garde on fashion in the early twentieth century; early twentieth century beauty culture; fashion in the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR); and *Eve* magazine, 1919–1929. Georgina completed a Master's degree at Manchester Fashion Institute and Manchester School of Art with a dissertation, titled, *An Investigation into the Influence of the Avant-Garde, Bohemia, and Modernism on Women's Lifestyle and Fashion, 1919–1929, with Particular Reference to Eve Magazine*.

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History would like to thank the following Editorial Assistants, who are working on the journal during their year-long Student Fellowship, sponsored by The Association of Dress Historians.

**Eanna Morrison Barrs**

---

Eanna Morrison Barrs was awarded a 2020 Student Fellowship by The Association of Dress Historians, during which time she is working as an Editorial Assistant at The Journal of Dress History. She is a fashion scholar, writer, and curator. She is a recent graduate with an MA in Fashion Studies from Stockholm University and a BA (Hons) in Art History and Material Culture from the University of Toronto. Eanna has worked in museums across the world, including The Wallace Collection in London, Nordiska museet (The Nordic Museum) in Stockholm, and the Bata Shoe Museum in Toronto. Her current research focuses on cultural heritage and fashion institutions, such as archives, museums, and magazines.

**Zara Kesterton**

---

Zara Kesterton was awarded a 2020 Student Fellowship by The Association of Dress Historians, during which time she is working as an Editorial Assistant at The Journal of Dress History. She is an MPhil student at the University of Cambridge, researching eighteenth century French dress through Rose Bertin, fashion merchant to Marie-Antoinette. Her undergraduate dissertation at the University of Durham investigated female workers in Lyon's historic silk guild in the years preceding the French Revolution. Aside from writing about historical dress, Zara enjoys making and wearing it. She worked for several years at Hever Castle in Kent, playing Anne Boleyn in sixteenth century costume. She hopes to incorporate her hobby of dressmaking into a future PhD, reconstructing historic garments.

**Lynda May Xepoleas**

Lynda May Xepoleas was awarded a 2020 Student Fellowship by The Association of Dress Historians, during which time she is working as an Editorial Assistant at The Journal of Dress History. She is currently pursuing a PhD in Apparel Design at Cornell University. Her research interests revolve around the two-dimensional representation of fashion in print and online. Her dissertation investigates the instrumental role photography played in the process by which several museum collections in New York City became an important resource for the development of the American fashion industry during the First and Second World War. In addition to researching the history and theory of fashion ephemera, Lynda has worked in several cultural institutions including Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Phoenix Art Museum.

## The Advisory Board

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

### **Kevin Almond**, The University of Leeds, Leeds, England

Dr. Kevin Almond is a lecturer in fashion at The University of Leeds. He is a Master's graduate in Fashion Womenswear from The Royal College of Art Fashion School, London. He gained a PhD from The University of Huddersfield with a thesis, titled, *Suffering in Fashion: Relationships between Suffering, the Production of Garments and their Appropriation as Fashionable Items*. He has held various posts in academia and the fashion industry and has published widely. He organised and chaired The International Conferences for Creative Pattern Cutting in 2013 and 2016 at The University of Huddersfield. These events were an opportunity for academics and industrialists to present current research about pattern cutting and to network. Selected articles from the conference were published in two special editions of *The International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, titled, *Creative Cut*. He is a former trustee of The Costume Society and an anonymous peer reviewer for numerous academic journals.

### **Edwina Ehrman**, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England

Edwina Ehrman is a Senior Curator at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. She is a specialist in nineteenth century fashion. Since joining the V&A in 2007, she has curated three exhibitions: the award-winning *Fashioned from Nature* (2018), *Undressed: A Brief History of Underwear* (2016), and *Wedding Dresses, 1775–2014* (2014). During 2009–2013 she was the lead curator for The Clothworkers' Centre for the Study and Conservation of Textiles and Fashion, the V&A's fashion archive at Blythe House in West Kensington, London. Her publications include *Fashioned from Nature* (2017), *London Couture, 1923–1975: British Luxury* (2015) of which she is co-editor and a contributor, and *Wedding Dress: 300 Years of Bridal Fashions* (2011). Prior to 2007 she worked at The Museum of London.

---

**Jane Malcolm-Davies**, The University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

Jane Malcolm-Davies is co-director of The Tudor Tailor, which researches and retails publications and products aimed at improving reproduction historical dress. She is currently working on the Beasts2Craft medieval parchment project, and benchmarking radiocarbon 14 dating fifteenth to sixteenth century textiles with funding from the Agnes Geijer Textile Research Foundation in Stockholm. Her research focuses on Knitting in Early Modern Europe (see [www.kemerresearch.com](http://www.kemerresearch.com)), which was kickstarted with a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellowship at the Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, 2015–2017. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at Aalto University, Helsinki, the University of the Highlands and Islands (Centre for Interpretation Studies), and the University of Southampton. Jane lectured in entrepreneurship and heritage management at the University of Surrey, introduced costumed interpreters at Hampton Court Palace (1992–2004), and coordinated training for the front-of-house team at Buckingham Palace each summer (2000–2010).

---

**Janet Mayo**, Independent Scholar, Bristol, England

Janet Mayo is a member of the Executive Committee of The Association of Dress Historians, a Trustee, and she chairs the ADH Awards Sub-Committee. Janet has been a member of the ADH since its conception as CHODA. Her first degree was in theology at Birmingham University, and she followed it with an MA in History of Dress, taught by Aileen Ribeiro, at The Courtauld Institute of Art, specialising in British eighteenth century dress. Janet wrote her MA dissertation on Aesthetic Dress at the end of the nineteenth century. This combination of degrees led to the publication of *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (B.T. Batsford, 1984). Janet worked as a Costume Supervisor in the theatre and opera, finally head of costume at The National Theatre, London, during the time of Sir Peter Hall and Richard Eyre. In Brussels, Janet worked in the uniforms section of the Textiles Department of The Royal Museum of the Armed Forces and Military History.

---

**Sanda Miller**, Southampton Solent University, Southampton, England

Dr. Sanda Miller is an art and fashion historian and accredited art critic (and member of AICA since 1982). Dr. Miller holds an MA and PhD from The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and a BA (Hons) in Philosophy and History of Art (first class) from Birkbeck College, London. Her PhD thesis on the Romanian artist, Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957), was published as a book, titled, *Constantin Brancusi: A Survey of His Work* (Oxford University Press, 1995). Dr. Miller is the author of books, chapters in books, essays, catalogue texts, articles, exhibition and book reviews, for specialised magazines (including *The Burlington Magazine*), and the national press.

Dr. Miller has also co-authored two books with Peter McNeil, titled, *Writing Fashion and Criticism: History, Theory, Practice* (Bloomsbury, 2014) and *Fashion Journalism: History, Theory, Practice* (Bloomsbury, 2018). Her latest, single-authored book is titled, *Images on the Page: A Fashion Iconography* (Bloomsbury, 2020).

---

**Anna Reynolds**, Royal Collection Trust, London, England

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 8000 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). During 2017–2018, Anna was the Polaire Weissman Fellow at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where she studied John Singer Sargent and fashion. Anna holds an undergraduate degree from Cambridge University, a Diploma from Christie's Education, and a Master's degree in the History of Art from The Courtauld Institute.

---

**Aileen Ribeiro**, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London England

Professor Emeritus Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by an MA and PhD at The Courtauld Institute of Art. She was Head of The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art from 1975 to 2009. She lectures widely and has acted as costume consultant/contributor to many major museum exhibitions in Great Britain, Europe, and North America. Professor Emeritus Ribeiro 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); *A Portrait of Fashion: Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (with Cally Blackman) (2015); and *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600–1914* (2017).



---

**Georgina Ripley**, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland

---

Georgina Ripley is Senior Curator of Modern and Contemporary Fashion and Textiles at National Museums Scotland (NMS), where she is responsible for fashion from 1850 to the present day, including the museum's extensive Jean Muir archive. She is currently working on *Body Beautiful: Diversity on the Catwalk* (opening 23 May–20 October 2019) and the museum's first major temporary exhibition for fashion opening in June 2020. Georgina was the lead curator for the permanent Fashion and Style gallery which opened at the museum in 2016. She has also co-curated *Express Yourself: Contemporary Jewellery* (2014) and 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. Georgina holds a Master's degree in the History of Art from The Courtauld Institute and has previous experience working with The Royal Academy of Arts, The Warner Textile Archive, Museums Galleries Scotland, and the National Galleries of Scotland.

---

**Katarina Nina Simončič**, The University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

---

Dr. Katarina Nina Simončič earned her doctorate from The Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, The University of Zagreb, Croatia, with the thesis, titled, *Kultura odijevanja u Zagrebu na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće* [The Culture of Dress in Zagreb at the End of the Nineteenth and the Beginning of Twentieth Century]. Dr. Simončič is currently an Associate Professor of Fashion History at The Department of Textile and Clothing Design, Faculty of Textile Technology, The University of Zagreb, Croatia. Her teaching areas include fashion and design history, with research strengths that address the relationships between the genres of portrait painting, printmaking, photography, and fashion artefacts, circa 1500–2000. She is the author of several publications related to the cultural history of fashion and its connection with tradition.

---

**Kirsten Toftegaard**, Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen, Denmark

---

Kirsten Toftegaard, curator at Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen, is the keeper of the museum's Dress and Textile Collection. She has arranged several exhibitions at Designmuseum Danmark, including *Rokoko-mania* (2012), *British Post-War Textiles* (2013), the permanent exhibition *Fashion and Fabric* (2014), *Marie Gudme Leth: Pioneer of Print* (2016), and *I am Black Velvet: Erik Mortensen Haute Couture* (2017). In 2015, she curated an exhibition on Modern Danish Tapestry at the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia. Her research field has, in recent years, focused on twentieth century Danish fashion and textiles. Another main research area is eighteenth century textiles and fashion. From 2005 onwards, Kirsten

has been a member of the Conseil du CIETA (Centre Internationale d'Études des Textiles Anciens), representing Denmark. In 2016, Kirsten received a positive evaluation at the PhD level by the research committee under the Danish Agency for Culture.

**Benjamin Linley Wild**, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, England

---

Dr. Benjamin Linley Wild, FRHistS, is a cultural historian and currently Lecturer in Contextual Studies (Fashion) at The Fashion Institute, Manchester Metropolitan University, England. Interested in the dress and appearance of a society's leaders and elite, his research also considers the self- and group-presentation of people marginalised by their community. Specific areas of research interest and publishing include: history of clothing and fashion, fancy dress costume, royal dress and appearance, menswear, and masculinities. Benjamin's most recent book, *Carnival to Catwalk: Global Reflections on Fancy Dress Costume*, was published by Bloomsbury in February 2020.

## Submission Guidelines for Articles

Members of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) are encouraged to consider writing an article for potential publication in The Journal of Dress History. If you are not yet an ADH member but are interested in writing an article, become a member today! ADH memberships are £10 per year and are available at [www.dresshistorians.org](http://www.dresshistorians.org). If you would like to discuss an idea for an article, please contact [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History encourages the unsolicited submission for publication consideration of academic articles on any topic of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Articles and book reviews are welcomed from students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals.

Articles must be between 4000 words (minimum) and 6000 words (maximum), which includes footnotes but excludes the required 150-word (maximum) abstract, 150-word (maximum) author's biography, five (minimum) images with references, and the tiered bibliography in which sources must be separated under the following headers, in this order:

Primary Sources: Unpublished

Primary Sources: Published

Secondary Sources: Articles

Secondary Sources: Books

Secondary Sources: Websites

Please submit articles as a Word document to [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).

By submitting an article to The Journal of Dress History, authors acknowledge and accept the following:

- The article is the author's original work and has not been published elsewhere.
- Authors are responsible for ensuring that their submitted article contains accurate facts, dates, grammar, and spelling.
- Once the article has been accepted for publication in The Journal of Dress History, the article cannot be revoked by the author.
- The article will be submitted to a double blind peer review process.
- The article contains neither plagiarism nor ethical, libellous, or unlawful statements.
- All submissions are subject to editorial revision.
- Authors must adhere to the following guidelines, specified in alphabetical order.

|                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>abbreviation</b>  | <p>Spell out abbreviations at the first appearance in the article; thereafter, only the abbreviation can be used, for example: The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (V&amp;A).</p> <p>No full stops (periods) in academic and monetary abbreviations; for example: MA, PhD, GBP, etc.</p> <p>Use a full stop with abbreviated titles; for example: Dr.</p> <p>Do not abbreviate “et cetera” [etc.]. Write out et cetera.</p> |
| <b>ampersand</b>     | <p>Do not use an ampersand [&amp;] unless it is legally required, as as part of a formal book/magazine title or the name of a company.</p> <p>Ampersands can be used when it an accepted form of identification; for example: V&amp;A.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>artefact</b>      | <p>Write artefact (not artifact)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>articles</b>      | <p>Refer to your “article,” not the “paper.”</p> <p>Definite articles (“the”) must always be included in proper titles, such as <i>The New York Times</i>, The Savoy Hotel, The University of Brighton.</p> <p>Indefinite articles (“a” or “an”) before a word that begins with the letter, h, must be written as follows:</p> <p>An historic<br/>An hotel</p>                                                                          |
| <b>article title</b> | <p>Articles submitted to The Journal of Dress History must include a descriptive title that includes the research topic, a date, and geographical reference; for example:</p> <p>Feminists in High Heels: The Role of Femininity in Second-Wave Feminists’ Dress in Finland, 1973–1990</p> <p>Appearance, National Fashion, and the Construction of Women’s Identity in Eighteenth Century Spain</p>                                    |

**bibliography**

A tiered bibliography must be included and must be organised under these headings (where applicable), in this order:

Primary Sources: Unpublished

Primary Sources: Published

Secondary Sources: Articles

Secondary Sources: Books

Internet Sources

The Bibliography can only include items that were actually cited in the footnotes.

Notice that the bibliographical references differ slightly in format from the footnotes. Bibliographical references do not contain page numbers (unless an article within a journal is cited), and they are listed in alphabetical order with surname first.

Publications written by the same author must be listed in chronological order of publication (with the oldest publication first).

The following is an example of a bibliography.

**Primary Sources: Unpublished**

*Letter Written by Admiral Soandso Regarding Sailors' Clothing*, Caird Library, The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England ADM/Z/449/27 August 1743.

**Secondary Sources: Articles**

Ribeiro, Aileen, "Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress," *Fashion Theory*, Volume 2, Issue 4, 1998, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England, pp. 315–325.

**Secondary Sources: Books**

Reynolds, Anna, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion*, Royal Collection Trust, London, England, 2013.

**Internet Sources**

Conlon, Scarlett, "Burberry Reveals Runway To Retail," 20 September 2016, <http://www.vogue.co.uk/article/burberry-see-now-buy-now-runway-to-retail>, Accessed 7 October 2016.

|                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>birthdate</b> | <p>Include a birthdate and deathdate when introducing a new person; for example:</p> <p>Charles Frederick Worth (1825-1895)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>case</b>      | <p>Use a mixture of uppercase and lowercase letters. Do not type titles or headings in solely UPPERCASE letters.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>century</b>   | <p>Write centuries without hyphens or numbers; for example:</p> <p>The twentieth century design of...</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>clarity</b>   | <p>Clarity of writing is essential. Ensure that each word and each sentence are clearly written, so every reader understands the intended meaning. Write for the reader who does not know your specific research topic. Educate the reader of your article by defining words and explaining concepts.</p> <p>Ensure that each sentence follows in a logical sequence, and each paragraph naturally flows to the next paragraph.</p> <p>When referring to a particular country or region of the world, consider including a map in order to illustrate geographical locations, so the reader will clearly understand.</p> <p>Additionally, ensure that the overall article has employed clarity of organisation (with a clearly defined introduction, body, and conclusion). Ensure that the introduction serves as the roadmap of the article. The introduction must include a thesis statement or brief overview of the entire article.</p> |
| <b>colon</b>     | <p>Do not capitalise the word following a colon [:].</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |



|                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>colonial</b>      | Lowercase the word, colonial; for example:<br>An interesting aspect of dress in colonial America....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>comma</b>         | Only insert a comma in numbers that are five digits or more;<br>for example:<br><br>3000<br>30,000<br><br>With three or more items in a series, insert a comma before<br>the conjunction; for example:<br><br>red, white, and blue                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>compound word</b> | Compound words are generally treated as a single word,<br>without spacing or hyphenation; for example:<br><br>homemade, piecemade, machinemade lace<br>secondhand<br>hardback, softback                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>conclusion</b>    | All articles must conclude with a section heading, titled,<br>Conclusion, which must be robust and comprehensive. The<br>Conclusion must not offer any new evidence or arguments.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>contraction</b>   | Avoid contractions; for example, write “it is” rather than<br>“it’s.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>copyright</b>     | The Journal of Dress History is copyrighted by the<br>publisher, The Association of Dress Historians, while each<br>published author within the journal retains the copyright to<br>their individual article.<br><br>The author is responsible for obtaining permission to<br>publish any copyrighted material. The submission of an<br>article is taken by The Editorial Board to indicate that the<br>author understands the copyright arrangements of the<br>journal. Specifically, work published by The Journal of<br>Dress History retains a Creative Commons copyright license<br>that allows articles to be freely shared, copied, and<br>redistributed in any medium of format but must be<br>attributed to the author and cannot be used commercially or |

remixed or transformed unless the licensor gives permission. More information about this license can be found here: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

In the United Kingdom, copyright of images (for example, paintings, artwork, photography, text) older than the creator's lifetime plus 70 years are automatically in the Public Domain and can therefore be utilised in your article. For example, The Royal Collection/Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II may own a physical painting but the actual image may be out of copyright. Photographs or scans of the work that lack sufficient changes (such as colourisation or restoration) are derivative copies and do not incur any copyright in themselves. For additional information regarding copyright, visit:

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/481194/c-notice-201401.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/481194/c-notice-201401.pdf)

The following is a duration of Crown copyright flowchart:

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/information-management/crown-copyright-flowchart.pdf>

The following is a duration of non-Crown copyright flowchart:

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/information-management/non-crown-copyright-flowchart.pdf>

Ensure any rights or permissions necessary have been secured prior to article submission. If authors have questions about the usage of images within an article, contact [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).

|                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>country</b>          | <p>Be careful when referring to modern states in a historical context, for example:</p> <p>This sentence is incorrect:<br/>Prince Albert was born in Germany in 1819.</p> <p>However, this sentence is correct:<br/>Prince Albert was born in the Saxon duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld in 1819.</p> <p>(Technically, Germany unified both politically and administratively in 1871; therefore, “Germany” should only be used from 1871 onward.)</p> |
| <b>dash</b>             | <p>Insert proper “en dashes” when hyphenating. Do not use the “minus” symbol on the computer keyboard. To insert an en dash in a Word document, place the cursor where you want to insert the en dash, then go to Insert, Symbol, en dash.</p> <p>For long dashes in text—follow the same procedure as above yet insert an “em dash” twice.</p>                                                                                                    |
| <b>date</b>             | <p>Format dates, as follows:</p> <p>29 September 1939<br/>920 BC to 775 AD</p> <p>Datespans must be fully written, such as 1628–1629 (not 1628–29); likewise, with page numbers: pp. 348–370 (not pp. 348–70).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>decade</b>           | <p>Write the word, “during” when describing a decade or century. Do not write, for example, “in the 1930s.” Instead, write “during the 1930s.”</p> <p>Exclude an apostrophe for decades; for example: 1770s</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>early, mid, late</b> | <p>Do not hyphenate with the words, “early,” “mid,” or “late;” for example:</p> <p>During the early twentieth century...<br/>Mid nineteenth century stockings...</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

**ellipsis** Use an ellipsis to indicate an omission of a word or words in a quotation; for example:

“The shirt was pink....and made of linen.”

If you (the author) add ellipses to a direct quotation, then it must be cited in a footnote by stating:

Ellipses added by the author of this article.

**email** The Journal of Dress History requires that authors include their email address at the end of their article, as part of the copyright information. When submitting an article for publication consideration, include an email address that will allow the public to contact you should they have a question or comment about your article. For example, insert a derivation of the following information at the end of your article. Situate it after the bibliography and just above your 150-word author’s biography:

Copyright © 2020 Your Firstname Lastname  
Email: abc@xyz.com

**figure** Every article must include at least five images. Within the article text, there must be a reference for each figure (in parenthesis) within the text, for example (Figure 1). Refer to figures in the text before the figures appear on the page.

See “image caption,” below, for examples of correctly formulated captions.

**footnote** Footnotes (not endnotes) are required in articles. (To insert a footnote in a Word document, simply place the cursor where you wish the footnote number to appear. Select References in the Word menu, then Insert Footnote.)

When appropriate, footnotes must contain page numbers to denote the exact location of the reference.

Footnotes must be used primarily for referencing. Avoid the inclusion of long explanatory language in the footnotes.

Examples of correct footnoting format include:

Footnote for journal articles:

Alexandra Carter, “‘What Severall Worlds Might in an Eare-Ring Bee:’ Accessory and Materialism in the Seventeenth Century Work of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle,” *The Journal of Dress History*, The Association of Dress Historians, London, England, Volume 1, Issue 1, Spring 2017, pp. 37–38.

Footnote where consecutive references are exactly the same:  
Ibid.

Footnote where consecutive references are the same but with a different page number:  
Ibid., p. 172.

Footnote for a book with one author:

Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion*, Royal Collection Trust, London, England, 2013, pp. 10–11.

Footnote for online sources:

Scarlett Conlon, “Burberry Reveals Runway To Retail,” 20 September 2016, <http://www.vogue.co.uk/article/burberry-see-now-buy-now-runway-to-retail>, Accessed 7 October 2016.

Footnote for a book with two or more authors:

Valerie Cumming, CW Cunningham, and PE Cunningham, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2010, p. 79.

Footnote for a work that was previously (but not consecutively) footnoted. Notice how this footnote refers to Anna Reynolds’ book, above:  
Reynolds, op cit., p. 126.

Footnote for a work that was previously (but not consecutively) footnoted, and in which case the author of the work has two or more publications already cited; include the year of publication to distinguish between works, for example:

Ribeiro, 1988, op cit., p. 47.

**“foreign” words**

Do not italicise “foreign” words that have been adopted into the English language; for example, “kimono” or “zeitgeist.”

For other “foreign” words that may not be readily understood by readers, place the word in italics followed immediately by the English translation [in brackets]; for example:

He wore a Swedish *kiortel* [cloak, jerkin, or doublet] that featured silver embroidery.

Also refer to the entry, “language,” below.

**format**

Do not format the article. Do not use “text boxes,” styles, or other formatting features. Do not “wrap” text around images.

**full stop (period)**

Insert a full stop at the end of every image citation, footnote, and bibliographical entry.

In cited quotations, insert the full stop inside the closing quotation mark, with the footnote number following; for example:

“Common assumptions are often wrong, especially in the field of fashion history, where myths can persist unchallenged for years.”<sup>55</sup>

**heading**

Only one heading level can be utilised in articles, which must include Introduction, Conclusion, and other headings in between, to separate topics. It is advised that authors view their list of descriptive headings separately in a list, to ensure that the headings alone make sense and offer a progressive explanation to the article’s argument.

**hyphen**

To insert a hyphen in a Word document, go to Insert, then Symbol, then select the en dash. Do not instead use the “minus” symbol on the keyboard.

Examples of properly placed hyphens include:

a cross-cultural examination of...  
 long-term investment in...(yet there is no hyphen in: a  
 longstanding ADH member)  
 She was the then-favourite of Louis XIV...  
 hand-coloured engraved plates  
 an ill-fated journey  
 non-professional embroiderers  
 long-established museum collections  
 post-revolutionary Cuba  
 present-day Denmark  
 a world-famous collection  
 The art history-based model of fashion history

Hyphen usage with adjectives versus objects:

- They are well-known researchers. (Insert hyphen when used as an adjective).
- He is well known. (No hyphen when used as an object.)

Likewise for “out-of-date:”

- The computer utilises out-of-date technology.
- After the French Revolution, the aristocratic *négligé* became out of date.

Note this rule for the word “everyday:”

- He wore his everyday clothes.
- He ate an apple every day.

**image**

Every article must include at least five images. Within the article text, there must be a reference for each figure (in parenthesis) within the text, for example (Figure 1). The image caption must appear directly underneath the image as plain text (not text within a text box).



**image caption**

Image citations must include a title (in italics), author/painter, date, medium, dimensions (if applicable; and in centimeters, if possible), venue/collection, city, county/state/province (if applicable), country, and the unique identifying number (such as an inventory number, accession number, or museum identification number). The purpose of a citation within the article is to enable the image or item to be located by a reader.

Sample image captions for paintings:

*Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase*, Daniel Mytens, circa 1630–1632, Oil on Canvas, 282 x 408.3 cm, © The Royal Collection, London, England, RCIN 404771.

Sample image captions for works of art in manuscript collections:

*Three Studies of a Woman*, Antoine Watteau, 1717, Sanguine on Paper, 16.5 x 24.8cm, © The National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, NMH 2824/1863.

Sample image caption for art in historic pamphlets:

*A Most Certain, Strange, and True Discovery of a Witch*, Pamphlet Title Page, Artist Unknown, 1643, Printed by John Hammond, London, England, © Ferguson Collection, The University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, Sp Coll Ferguson A1-x.57.

Sample image captions for artefacts:

*British Day Dress*, Aniline Dyed Silk, Lined with Cotton, Trimmed with Satin and Bobbin Lace, Reinforced with Whalebone, Maker Unknown, circa 1870–1873, © The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, T.182&A-1914.

Detail, *Burse for the Great Seal of Elizabeth I*, Maker Unknown, circa 1596–1603, © The British Museum, London, England, 1997,0301.1.

If a researcher has photographed inside an archive, the image caption must include who photographed the item and on which date; for example:

*A Tulup [Long Sheepskin Coat from the Russian губ], circa 1840–1850, © Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, 7467, Photographed by Firstname Lastname, 28 September 2019 (ie, date on which the object was photographed).*

Sample image captions for photographs:

*Five Generations on Smith's Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina, Timothy H. O'Sullivan, 1862, © The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., United States, 98504449.*

*Alf Louth and Chris Cheever Wearing Onshore Suits on St Matthew Street in Hull, Photographer Unknown, 1961, The Private Collection of Alf Louth, Hull, East Yorkshire, England.*

Sample image captions for items in a magazine:

Front Cover, *The Model of a Blue Wedding Dress*, Milena Pavlovic Barilli, 1 April 1940, © *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States.

Advertisement, *Fall Collection of Eldridge de Paris*, *Rolling Stone* Magazine, Special Men's Issue, 9 October 1975, © Wenner Media, New York, New York, United States, p. 65.

Sample image captions for items in a novel or book:

Frontpiece, *Anne of Green Gables*, LM Montgomery, Illustrated by MA and WAJ Claus, 1908, LC Page and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States.

Sample captions for a film still or poster:

Poster, *The Little Foxes*, Artist Unknown, 1941, Directed by William Wyler, Samuel Goldwyn Productions/RKO Pictures, Hollywood, California, United States, © International Movie Database.

Film Still, *The Actress, Evgeniya Sabelnikova, and Her Real-Life Daughter*, from the Film, *Olenja Ohota*, 1981, Directed by Yuri Boretsky, © Gorky Film Studio, Moscow, Russia.

Poster, *Buck Up! — Only You Can Give Them Wings!* Artist Unknown, circa 1939–1945, Lithograph, 37.8 x 152.2 cm, Printed by Stafford and Company, Netherfield, Nottingham, England, Published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, England, © Imperial War Museums Collections, London, England, Art.IWM PST 14261.

Sample image caption for a record or album cover:

Album Cover, *Prince, Dirty Little Mind*, Allen Beaulieu, 8 October 1980, © Warner Bros. Records, Burbank, California, United States.

**indefinite article**

Use “an” (not “a”) as an indefinite article for words beginning with an “h,” as in:

An historical overview

**initials**

Avoid initials. Spell out authors' entire first and last names, unless the author is specifically known by initials; for example, T.S. Eliot.

**italics**

Titles of books and images (such as paintings and photographs) must be italicised.

Museum exhibition titles are unitalicised.

The Journal of Dress History remains unitalicised in text.

**items in a series**

With three or more items in a series, insert a comma before the conjunction; for example:

red, white, and blue

**justification**

Fully justify article text but centre justify images and image captions.

- language** When possible, articles must be written in British English. The only acceptable standard for dictionary references is the *Oxford English Dictionary*, not lesser-known dictionaries or American versions, such as dictionaries published by Merriam-Webster.
- Non-English material can be included in the article but an English translation must accompany it. To include a long passage of translated material, include the English translation into the body of the article, with the original non-English text in a footnote.
- In the bibliography, include an English translation in brackets after any identifying information, for example:
- “Confiscationer I Stockholm,” Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare [The Director at Sea Customs, Public Prosecutor, Ledger], D3, Volume 1-2, 1803, Riksarkivet [National Archives of Sweden], Stockholm, Sweden.
- lowercase** Some examples of lowercase format include:
- court dress  
western attire  
(yet uppercase for a location, such as: in the West)
- movements** Capitalise art and design movements; for example:
- Impressionism  
Arts and Crafts  
Cubism  
The Aesthetic movement...
- not** Condense language for efficiency and clarity. Be aware of the usage of the word, “not;” for example:
- Write “inaccessible” rather than “not accessible.”  
Write “impossible” rather than “not possible.”  
Write “unrestricted” rather than “not restricted.”  
Write “indirectly” rather than “not directly.”  
Write “unclear” rather than “not clear.”

|                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>numbers</b>        | <p>Fully spell out numbers below 10; for example:<br/>one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine</p> <p>But use numerals from 10 onwards; for example:<br/>10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, etc.</p> <p>Use numerals for chapters, such as: Chapter 1</p> <p>Write out “hundreds” and “thousands;” for example:<br/>There were hundreds of garments in the warehouse.</p> |
| <b>origin unknown</b> | <p>If the artist, maker, or photographer are unknown, then specify it in the reference; for example:</p> <p>Artist Unknown<br/>Maker Unknown<br/>Photographer Unknown</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>pages</b>          | <p>Articles must be paginated at the bottom centre page.</p> <p>When referring to page numbers in footnotes and in the bibliography, use the following format.</p> <p>p. 43.<br/>pp. 67–78.<br/>pp. 103–123, 167.<br/>pp. 200–203.<br/>(Do not shorten to, for example, pp. 255–59.)</p>                                                                                           |
| <b>paragraphs</b>     | <p>Ensure that paragraphs are properly balanced; for example, one- or two-sentence paragraphs are unacceptable.</p> <p>Do not indent paragraphs; instead, simply insert a blank line to separate paragraphs.</p>                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>percentages</b>    | <p>Use the percent sign instead of writing out “twenty percent;” for example, write:</p> <p>20%</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

**person** When writing an article, never utilise first person singular (I, me, my, mine) or first person plural (we, us, our, ours).

Never utilise second person singular or plural (you, your, yours).

Instead, only utilise third person singular (he/she/it, him/her/it, his/her/its, his/hers/its) or third person plural (they, them, their, theirs).

**plural possessives** Ensure that plural possessives are correct; for example:

fifteenth century farmers' garments  
tailors' journals

**prefix** Do not hyphenate words with the following prefixes.

co+ words:

coexisting, cooperate, codependent, etc.

inter+ words:

interdisciplinary, interwar, interwoven, international, etc.

multi+ words:

multipronged, multiyear, multifaceted, multicoloured, etc.

non+ words:

nonbinary (except non-professional embroiderers)

post+ words:

postgraduate, postdoctoral  
(exceptions: pre-war and post-war)

pre+ words:

prehistory, preemptive

re+ words:

reexamination, recreate, reenactment, remakers, reuse

under+ words:

underrepresented, understudied, etc.

|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>quotation marks</b>     | <p>“Double” quotation marks must be used for “regular” quotations, with ‘single’ quotation marks used for quotations within quotations, for example:</p> <p>As Steele wrote, “It is as though (critics) believe that collecting and exhibiting clothes in a museum effectively ‘kills’ their spirit.”</p> <p>Quotations of more than three lines of typescript must be indented, without quotation marks or italics.</p>                             |
| <b>seasons</b>             | <p>Within the article text, the seasons are lowercased, eg., spring, summer, autumn, winter.</p> <p>Write “autumn” rather than “fall.”</p> <p>Delete unnecessary words during the writing process; for example, instead of writing, “By the spring of 1913...” write “By spring 1913....”</p> <p>Only capitalise seasons when referring to specific published dates; for example:</p> <p>“In the Winter 1926 issue of <i>Vogue</i> magazine....”</p> |
| <b>spacing</b>             | <p>Single space all text.</p> <p>Insert only one space after colons and full stops (period).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>tense</b>               | <p>History should be written in the past tense, not the present tense.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>time periods</b>        | <p>Uppercase time periods, including:</p> <p>Early Modern<br/>Enlightenment<br/>Medieval<br/>Renaissance</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>titles and headings</b> | <p>Titles of books and images (such as paintings and photographs) must be italicised. (See the entry, “italics,” above.)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |



Always capitalise the first and last words of titles and headings. Verbs must be capitalised within titles. Definite and indefinite articles (ie., the, a, an) and conjunctions (ie., and, but) are not capitalised in titles and headings unless they appear as the first or last word.

**war**

First World War  
Second World War

(Do not write World War One or World War Two.)

**websites**

All website addresses must be linked to the exact web page that has been referenced. All website captions must include the date on which the website was accessed.

**west**

Capitalise the word, West, when referring to a physical location; for example:

This occurred in the West...

However, lowercase the word, western, when used as an adjective; for example:

The concept of western dress emerged...

**z**

Use British spelling in words that otherwise would include the letter, z, in American spelling; for example, write:

organisation (not organization)  
utilises (not utilizes)

## Submission Guidelines for Book Reviews

Members of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) are encouraged to consider writing a book review for publication in The Journal of Dress History. If you are not yet an ADH member but are interested in writing a book review, become a member today! ADH memberships are £10 per year and are available at [www.dresshistorians.org/membership](http://www.dresshistorians.org/membership). If you would like to discuss an idea for a book review, please contact [journal@dresshistorians.org](mailto:journal@dresshistorians.org).

Book reviewers are responsible for ensuring that their submitted book review contains accurate facts, dates, grammar, spelling, and adheres to the following book review guidelines. All book reviews will be edited by the editorial team of The Journal of Dress History; however, the editorial team does not hold a physical copy of the book under review. Therefore, the reviewer alone is responsible for providing accurate facts, dates, grammar, spelling (especially of names, references, and page numbers within the book that the editorial team cannot verify).

By submitting a book review to The Journal of Dress History, reviewers acknowledge and accept that:

- As a reviewer you do not hold any bias or conflict of interest; for example:
  - Do not write a book review if you personally know the author of the book under review.
  - Do not write a book review if the book under review was published by the same publishing house that has published your own book.
- The review is the author's original work and has not been published elsewhere;
- Once the review has been accepted for publication in The Journal of Dress History, the review cannot be revoked by the reviewer;
- The review contains neither plagiarism nor ethical, libellous, unlawful statements;
- The review follows the submission guidelines and style guide of The Journal of Dress History;
- All reviews are subject to editorial revision before publication.

**Substance:**

- Book reviews should include some insight into the author's background, experience, or qualifications.
- Book reviews must contain a critical analysis of the book, which could include the following five steps, in this order (as a suggestion):
  1. Provide an overview of the book
  2. Identify important information in the book
  3. Place this book into the wider context and literature
  4. Critically analyse the book, including:
    - Organisation and clarity of writing
    - Identification of logical flaws
    - Critical assessment of research methods
    - Use of sources
  5. In conclusion, articulate an academic opinion of the book
- At the end of the book review, reviewers must provide guidance on whether the readers of *The Journal of Dress History* should consider purchasing the book or view the work as an important point of reference for a particular field.
- Errors of fact or typographical errors can be pointed out but should not be dwelt upon unless the reviewer feels the errors compromise the validity of the work as a whole.
- Please balance critical observations with a recognition of the contributions that the text might offer.
- Criticism must be substantiated with reference to appropriate alternative scholarly work.
- Reviews must aim to be professional, courteous, and temperate and not include attacks on the author as personal attacks will not be published.
- Due care and attention must be paid to diversity, equality, and the avoidance of generalisations.
- Footnotes are not permitted.

**Form:**

- Book reviews must be between 700 words (minimum) and 1200 words (maximum), which excludes the book title information at the top of the review and the required 150-word (maximum) reviewer's biography.
- Book reviews must be submitted as a Word document (with a .doc or .docx extension, never as a .pdf), written in block paragraphs.
- The Word document must be saved with your name, for example:  
Sally Ford, book review.docx

- For questions regarding writing style and format, please refer to the submission guidelines for articles, published in the previous chapter of this journal issue.
- Reviews must begin with the author(s)/editor(s), the book title, the publisher, city of publication, county/state/province (if applicable), country of publication, year of publication, (and then the following information as a guideline): notes, appendices, bibliography, credits, index, illustrations (and/or additional information that is included in the book), number of pages, softback or hardback, and price (in British pounds sterling), eg:

Aileen Ribeiro, *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914*, Yale University Press, London, England, 2017, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 170 Colour Illustrations, 80 Black-and-White Illustrations, 572 pages, Hardback, £55.00.

- Quotations should be used where appropriate, using “double” quotation marks.
- When the book under review is quoted, the page number(s) must be cited at the end of the quotation, for example:
  - “This is an example of quoted material in a book review” (p. 93).
  - This is an example of unquoted (yet referenced) material in a book review (pp. 293-295).
- When writing a book review, never utilise first person singular (I, me, my, mine) or first person plural (we, us, our, ours). Never utilise second person singular or plural (you, your, yours). Instead, only utilise third person singular (he/she/it, him/her/it, his/her/its, his/hers/its) or third person plural (they, them, their, theirs).
- At the end of the book review, insert the copyright information (as the reviewer will hold the copyright to their own book review) and your email address in the following format:

Copyright © 2020 Your Firstname Lastname  
Email: abc@xyz.com

- Follow the copyright notice with a 150-word (maximum) biography of yourself (written in essay format in the third person), which will be published with your book review.

## **Index of Articles and Book Reviews**

Listed in alphabetical order per authors' surnames, the following articles and book reviews have been published in The Journal of Dress History, inclusive of this issue. You are invited to read all articles and book reviews, which are freely available at [www.dresshistorians.org/journal](http://www.dresshistorians.org/journal).

## Articles

| Author              | Title                                                                                                                                                                   | Issue       |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Kevin Almond        | Eliminating the Bust Dart:<br>The Role of Pattern Cutting in the 1960–<br>2002 Career of British Fashion Designer,<br>Sylvia Ayton                                      | Summer 2019 |
| Toni Bate           | From Morality Play to Court Masque:<br>A Study of Allegorical Performance<br>Costume from Medieval Religious Dramas<br>to Secular Theatre of the Seventeenth<br>Century | Spring 2017 |
| Anabela Becho       | Contemplating a Madame Grès Dress<br>to Reflect on Time and Fashion                                                                                                     | Autumn 2017 |
| Laura Beltran-Rubio | Portraits and Performance:<br>Eighteenth Century Dress and the Culture<br>of Appearances in Spanish America                                                             | Winter 2018 |
| Ariana Bishop       | “The Importance of Being Jeweled:”<br>Patriotism and Adornment in the<br>United States during the First World War                                                       | Spring 2019 |
| Raissa Bretaña      | Bloomerism in the Ballroom:<br>Dress Reform and Evening Wear in 1851                                                                                                    | Spring 2018 |
| Lizanne Brown       | Masking Reality:<br>Prosthetics and Adaptable Clothing<br>during the First World War                                                                                    | Spring 2019 |
| Nora Ellen Carleson | Harry Collins and the Birth of American<br>Fashion, 1910–1950                                                                                                           | Summer 2018 |

|                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |             |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Maria Carlgren              | The (Saint) Birgitta Schools:<br>Dressmaking and Fashion between<br>Tradition and Renewal in Stockholm,<br>1910–1935                                                | Autumn 2018 |
| Alexandra Carter            | “What Severall Worlds Might in an<br>Eare-Ring Bee:”<br>Accessory and Materialism in the<br>Seventeenth Century Work of<br>Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle | Spring 2017 |
| Alexa Chan and Heidi Lempp  | Garment +:<br>Challenging the Boundaries of Fashion for<br>Those with Long-Term Physical Disabilities                                                               | Spring 2018 |
| Lena Dahrén                 | To Represent a King:<br>The Clothing of Duke Johan, Second Son of<br>King Gustav I of Sweden, Produced for His<br>Audience with Queen Elizabeth in 1559             | Spring 2017 |
| Jennifer Daley              | A Guide to Online Sources for<br>Dress History Research                                                                                                             | Winter 2019 |
| Olga Dritsopoulou           | Conceptual Parallels in Fashion Design<br>Practices:<br>A Comparison of Martin Margiela<br>and John Galliano                                                        | Autumn 2017 |
| Alison Fairhurst            | Women’s Shoes of the Eighteenth Century:<br>Style, Use, and Evolution                                                                                               | Autumn 2017 |
| Kimberley Foy               | To Cover or Not to Cover:<br>Hat Honour at the Early Stuart Court,<br>1603–1642                                                                                     | Spring 2017 |
| Thomas P. Gates             | Tina Leser Sketchbooks, 1942–1962:<br>Crossing Continents and Interpreting<br>Ethnic Dress for American Sportswear                                                  | Autumn 2017 |
| Inga Lena Ångström Grandien | An Analysis of Dress in Portraiture of<br>Women at the Swedish Royal Court,<br>1600–1650                                                                            | Spring 2017 |
| Inga Lena Ångström Grandien | “She Was Naught...of a Woman Except<br>in Sex:”<br>The Cross-Dressing of Queen Christina<br>of Sweden                                                               | Spring 2018 |
| Alice Gurr                  | The Trench Coat:<br>Fashioning British Gender Identities in<br>War and Peace, 1851–1930                                                                             | Winter 2019 |



|                                      |                                                                                                                                                   |             |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Laura Pérez Hernández                | Appearance, National Fashion, and the Construction of Women's Identity in Eighteenth Century Spain                                                | Spring 2017 |
| Carole Hunt                          | Dressed for the Part: Clothing as Narrative Enquiry into Gender, Class, and Identity of Pauper Lunatics at Whittingham Asylum, England, 1907-1919 | Summer 2019 |
| Lovisa Willborg Jonsson              | How to Cross-Dress in Eighteenth Century Sweden: Skills, Props, and Audiences                                                                     | Spring 2018 |
| Gabriela Juranek                     | The Libertine Body: Bare Breasts in French Fashion, 1775-1800                                                                                     | Winter 2019 |
| Anna Knutsson                        | Out of the Darkness into the Market: The Role of Smuggling in Creating a Global Market of Textiles in Late Eighteenth Century Sweden              | Spring 2017 |
| Calina Langa                         | Interwoven Boundaries: Various Stylistic Influences in Romanian Court Costume                                                                     | Spring 2018 |
| Alison Larkin                        | Professional and Domestic Embroidery on Men's Clothing in the Later Eighteenth Century                                                            | Spring 2017 |
| Landis Lee                           | Tangomania: A 1913 Dance Craze and Its Influence on Women's Fashion                                                                               | Winter 2018 |
| Martina Licata                       | Scottish Influences on British Women's Fashion: The Role Played by Queen Victoria, 1837-1852                                                      | Spring 2020 |
| Elena Madlevskaya and Anna Nikolaeva | Challenging Boundaries in the Field of Traditional Russian Costume                                                                                | Spring 2018 |
| Sarah Magill                         | Standardised or Simplified? The Effect of Government-Imposed Restrictions on Women's Clothing Manufacture and Design during the Second World War  | Summer 2018 |
| Jane Malcolm-Davies                  | Shedding Light with Science: The Potential for Twenty First Century Studies of Sixteenth Century Knitting                                         | Spring 2017 |

|                                               |                                                                                                                                    |             |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Lucy Elizabeth McConnell                      | The Rise and Fall of the Paisley Shawl through the Nineteenth Century                                                              | Spring 2020 |
| James Middleton                               | “Their Dress is Very Different:”<br>The Development of the Peruvian Pollera and the Genesis of the Andean Chola                    | Spring 2018 |
| Alicia Mihalić                                | Liberating the Natural Movement:<br>Dance and Dress Reform<br>in the Self-Expression of<br>Isadora Duncan (1877–1927)              | Autumn 2019 |
| Axel Moulinier                                | Paintings Undressed:<br>A Sartorial Investigation into the Art of<br>Antoine Watteau, 1700–1720                                    | Autumn 2018 |
| Rosa Edith Moya<br>and Angela Bernice Kennedy | Emperor Maximilian I and<br>Empress Charlotte Habsburg:<br>Their Impact on Mexican Dress, 1864–1867                                | Summer 2018 |
| Erica Munkwitz                                | Wearing the Breeches:<br>Riding Clothes and Women’s Work<br>during the First World War                                             | Winter 2018 |
| Diana Rafaela Pereira                         | Fashion Victims:<br>Dressed Sculptures of the Virgin<br>in Portugal and Spain                                                      | Spring 2018 |
| Michael Ballard Ramsey                        | Adopted and Adapted:<br>The Cross-Cultural Appropriation of the<br>Eighteenth Century Blanket Coat<br>(or Capote) in North America | Spring 2018 |
| Michael Ballard Ramsey                        | Plaiding the People:<br>Party-Coloured Plaid and Its Use in the<br>North American Colonies, 1730–1800                              | Autumn 2019 |
| Aileen Ribeiro                                | Truth and Imagination:<br>How Real Is Dress in Art?                                                                                | Spring 2017 |
| Georgina Ripley                               | “A New Kind of Menswear for a<br>New Kind of Man:”<br>Constructs of Masculinity at<br>JW Anderson and Loewe, 2008–2017             | Summer 2018 |
| Julie Ripley                                  | Swimming Stars of the Silver Screen<br>and the Construction of Gender<br>in the British Surf, 1890–1967                            | Winter 2019 |
| Clare Rose                                    | The Fashion Trade in<br>First World War France                                                                                     | Spring 2019 |

|                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |             |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Elise Urbain Ruano      | The Nègligé in Eighteenth Century French Portraiture                                                                                                                                                     | Spring 2017 |
| Emmy Sale               | “It Is Not Impossible to Look Nice Sitting about on the Beach:”<br>The Influence of Magazines in the Making and Wearing of Hand-Knitted Bathing Suits by Young Working Women in England during the 1930s | Autumn 2018 |
| Rachel Sayers           | “For God and Ulster:”<br>Political Manifestation of Irish Dress and the Ulster Volunteer Medical and Nursing Corps, 1912–1918                                                                            | Spring 2019 |
| Scott William Schiavone | Luxury and Excess:<br>The Fan as the Ultimate Fashion Accessory, 1850–1900                                                                                                                               | Spring 2020 |
| Svitlana Shiells        | Redressing Japonisme:<br>The Impact of the Kimono on Gustav Klimt and Fin de Siècle Viennese Fashion                                                                                                     | Spring 2018 |
| Katarina Nina Simončič  | Women’s Fashions in Zagreb, Croatia, 1914–1918                                                                                                                                                           | Spring 2019 |
| Lorraine Hamilton Smith | Support and Uplift:<br>How Technology Defined the Bra during the Twentieth Century                                                                                                                       | Autumn 2018 |
| Stephanie Sporn         | Creativity amidst Conflict:<br>The Marchesa Luisa Casati and the Avant-Garde in Wartime Rome, 1915–1918                                                                                                  | Spring 2019 |
| Ondřej Stolička         | Clothing as a Means of Representation of Baroque Nobles in Central Europe, 1650–1700                                                                                                                     | Spring 2017 |
| Solveig Strand          | The Norwegian <i>Bunad</i> :<br>Peasant Dress, Embroidered Costume, and National Symbol                                                                                                                  | Autumn 2018 |
| Kirsten Toftegaard      | Paris, 1982–1994:<br>The Fashion Designs of Danish Couturier, Erik Mortensen, for Balmain and Jean-Louis Scherrer                                                                                        | Autumn 2017 |
| Emma Treleaven          | Living Garments:<br>Exploring Objects in Modern Fashion Exhibitions                                                                                                                                      | Autumn 2017 |

|                 |                                                                                                                            |             |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Emma Treleaven  | Dressed to Disappear:<br>Fashion as Camouflage during the<br>Second World War                                              | Spring 2018 |
| Arja Turunen    | Feminists in High Heels:<br>The Role of Femininity in Second-Wave<br>Feminists' Dress in Finland, 1973-1990                | Autumn 2018 |
| Fausto Viana    | The Clothes Worn in 1785 for the<br>Betrothal and Wedding of<br>Carlota Joaquina of Spain<br>and Dom João of Portugal      | Autumn 2017 |
| Rainer Wenrich  | Coding/Recoding/Defining/Redefining:<br>Discussing Boundlessness and Anticipation<br>in the Fashion System, 1998-2011      | Summer 2018 |
| Lucie Whitmore  | "Chic Rag-and-Tatter Modes:"<br>Remnant Fashions during the<br>First World War                                             | Winter 2018 |
| Hannah Wroe     | Dress Economy for the British Home Front:<br>Flora Klickmann's <i>Needlework Economies</i><br>(1919)                       | Spring 2019 |
| Allie Yamaguchi | Kimonos for Foreigners:<br>Orientalism in Kimonos Made for the<br>Western Market, 1900-1920                                | Autumn 2017 |
| Allie Yamaguchi | "Thing to Wear" to "Thing to Undress:"<br>Representation of Japanese Kimonos in<br>Late Victorian Paintings                | Spring 2020 |
| Felicia Yao     | Of Silk and Statecraft:<br>Dowager Empress Cixi (1835-1908)<br>and Power Dressing in<br>Late Qing Dynasty China, 1860-1911 | Spring 2020 |
| Tamsyn Young    | Cloth of the Sixteenth Century Yeoman:<br>Thick, Itchy, and Blanket Like,<br>or Carefully Engineered for Relevance?        | Spring 2017 |

## Book Reviews

| Reviewer              | Title                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Issue       |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Olaf Bachmann         | <i>Pious Fashion:<br/>How Muslim Women Dress</i><br>By Elizabeth Bucar                                                                                                                                   | Autumn 2019 |
| Gail Baxter           | <i>The Lace Samples from Ipswich,<br/>Massachusetts, 1789–1790:<br/>History, Patterns, and Working Diagrams<br/>for 22 Lace Samples Preserved<br/>at the Library of Congress</i><br>By Karen H. Thompson | Summer 2019 |
| Laura Beltran-Rubio   | <i>Exquisite Slaves:<br/>Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima</i><br>By Tamara J. Walker                                                                                                          | Autumn 2019 |
| Art Blake             | <i>Liberated Threads:<br/>Black Women, Style, and the Global<br/>Politics of Soul</i><br>By Tanisha C. Ford                                                                                              | Summer 2018 |
| Jay McCauley Bowstead | <i>Peacock Revolution:<br/>American Masculine Identity and Dress<br/>in the Sixties and Seventies</i><br>By Daniel Delis Hill                                                                            | Winter 2018 |
| Andrew Breer          | <i>Fashionability:<br/>Abraham Moon and the Creation of<br/>British Cloth for the Global Market</i><br>By Regina Lee Blaszczyk                                                                           | Summer 2018 |

|                         |                                                                                                                                                |             |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Raissa Bretaña          | <i>London Society Fashion, 1905-1925:<br/>The Wardrobe of Heather Firbank</i><br>By Cassie Davies-Strodder, Jenny Lister,<br>and Lou Taylor    | Winter 2018 |
| Constance Karol Burks   | <i>Tweed</i><br>By Fiona Anderson                                                                                                              | Summer 2018 |
| Penelope Byrde          | <i>Inside the Royal Wardrobe:<br/>A Dress History of Queen Alexandra</i><br>By Kate Strasdin                                                   | Summer 2018 |
| Penelope Byrde          | <i>Dress in the Age of Jane Austen:<br/>Regency Fashion</i><br>By Hilary Davidson                                                              | Spring 2020 |
| Irene Calvi             | <i>Fashion Curating:<br/>Critical Practice in the Museum and Beyond</i><br>By Annamari Vänskä and Hazel Clark                                  | Spring 2019 |
| Irene Calvi             | <i>Fashion, History, Museums:<br/>Inventing the Display of Dress</i><br>By Julia Petrov                                                        | Summer 2019 |
| Georgina Chappell       | <i>Fashion and Modernism</i><br>By Louise Wallenberg and Andrea Kollnitz                                                                       | Spring 2020 |
| Elizabeth Coatsworth    | <i>Textiles and Clothing, c.1150-1450 (4):<br/>Finds from Medieval Excavations in London</i><br>By Elisabeth Crowfoot<br>and Frances Pritchard | Winter 2018 |
| Shaun Cole              | <i>Menswear Revolution:<br/>The Transformation of Contemporary<br/>Men's Fashion</i><br>By Jay McCauley Bowstead                               | Autumn 2018 |
| Jennifer Daley          | <i>Clothing and Landscape in Victorian<br/>England:<br/>Working-Class Dress and Rural Life</i><br>By Rachel Worth                              | Summer 2018 |
| Doris Domoszlai-Lantner | <i>Designed in the USSR: 1950-1989</i><br>By Moscow Design Museum                                                                              | Autumn 2019 |
| Olga Dritsopoulou       | <i>Balenciaga:<br/>Shaping Fashion</i><br>By Lesley Ellis Miller                                                                               | Autumn 2018 |
| Julie Eilber            | <i>Making Vintage 1940s Clothes for Women</i><br>By Sarah Magill                                                                               | Autumn 2018 |

|                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                       |             |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Helen Elands                         | <i>African Wax Print Textiles</i><br>By Anne Grosfilley                                                                                                                               | Autumn 2019 |
| Alison Fairhurst                     | <i>Fashioning the Early Modern:<br/>Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe,<br/>1500–1800</i><br>By Evelyn Welch                                                                   | Spring 2017 |
| Alison Fairhurst                     | <i>How to Read a Dress:<br/>A Guide to Changing Fashion from the<br/>Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century</i><br>By Lydia Edwards                                                       | Autumn 2017 |
| Alison Fairhurst                     | <i>Pretty Gentlemen:<br/>Macaroni Men and the<br/>Eighteenth-Century Fashion World</i><br>By Peter McNeil                                                                             | Autumn 2018 |
| Alison Fairhurst                     | <i>Treasures Afoot:<br/>Shoe Stories from the Georgian Era</i><br>By Kimberly S. Alexander                                                                                            | Summer 2019 |
| Fiona Ffoulkes                       | <i>The House of Worth, 1858–1954:<br/>The Birth of Haute Couture</i><br>By Chantal Trubert-Tollu,<br>Françoise Tétart-Vittu,<br>Jean-Marie Martin-Hattemberg,<br>and Fabrice Olivieri | Summer 2018 |
| Fiona Ffoulkes                       | <i>Fashioning Spaces:<br/>Mode and Modernity in<br/>Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris</i><br>By Heidi Brevik-Zender                                                                       | Summer 2019 |
| Harper Franklin                      | <i>Hats</i><br>By Clair Hughes                                                                                                                                                        | Autumn 2019 |
| Sidsel Frisch<br>and Rosalind Mearns | <i>Tudor Fashion</i><br>By Eleri Lynn                                                                                                                                                 | Autumn 2018 |
| Mariza Galindo                       | <i>Sustainability and the Social Fabric:<br/>Europe's New Textile Industries</i><br>By Clio Padovani and Paul Whittaker                                                               | Spring 2020 |
| John Gillow                          | <i>National Uzbek Headgears:<br/>19th to 20th Centuries</i><br>By Nafisa Sodikova<br>and Gayabullayeva Yulduz Anvarovna                                                               | Winter 2019 |

|                       |                                                                                                                                                    |             |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Victoria Garrington   | <i>Fashion Game Changers:<br/>Reinventing the 20th Century Silhouette</i><br>By Karen Van Godtsenhoven,<br>Miren Arzaluz, and Kaat Debo            | Summer 2019 |
| Katie Godman          | <i>Collectable Names and Designs<br/>in Women's Shoes</i><br>By Tracy Martin                                                                       | Winter 2018 |
| Caroline Hamilton     | <i>Costume in Performance:<br/>Materiality, Culture, and the Body</i><br>By Donatella Barbieri,<br>with a Contribution from<br>Melissa Trimmingham | Summer 2019 |
| Laura Pérez Hernández | <i>Moors Dressed as Moors:<br/>Clothing, Social Distinction and Ethnicity<br/>in Early Modern Iberia</i><br>By Javier Irigoyen García              | Autumn 2018 |
| Tracey Jones          | <i>Wearing the Trousers:<br/>Fashion, Freedom, and the Rise of the<br/>Modern Woman</i><br>By Don Chapman                                          | Summer 2018 |
| Vanessa Jones         | <i>Fashion History:<br/>A Global View</i><br>By Linda Welters and Abby Lillethun                                                                   | Winter 2018 |
| Vanessa Jones         | <i>The Golden Thread:<br/>How Fabric Changed History</i><br>By Kassia St. Clair                                                                    | Summer 2019 |
| Jasleen Kandhari      | <i>Unbroken Thread: Banarasi Brocade Saris<br/>at Home and in the World</i><br>By Anaemic Pathak, Abeer Gupta,<br>and Suchitra Balasubrahmanyam    | Autumn 2019 |
| Djina Kaza            | <i>One Study of High Fashion and High Art:<br/>Maison Barilli, Belgrade/New York</i><br>By Stefan Žarić                                            | Summer 2019 |
| Brenda King           | <i>Empire of Style:<br/>Silk and Fashion in Tang China</i><br>By Bu Yun Chen                                                                       | Spring 2020 |
| Landis Lee            | <i>The Fashion Chronicles:<br/>The Style Stories of History's Best Dressed</i><br>By Amber Butchart                                                | Spring 2019 |



|                     |                                                                                                                                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Leren Li            | <i>Changing Clothes in China:<br/>Fashion, History, Nation</i><br>By Antonia Finnane                                                | Winter 2019 |
| Victoria de Lorenzo | <i>The Wardle Family and Its Circle:<br/>Textile Production in the<br/>Arts and Crafts Era</i><br>By Brenda M. King                 | Winter 2019 |
| Madeleine Luckel    | <i>Fashioned from Nature</i><br>By Edwina Ehrman                                                                                    | Autumn 2018 |
| Madeleine Luckel    | <i>Dior and His Decorators:<br/>Victor Grandpierre, Georges Geffroy,<br/>and the New Look</i><br>By Maureen Footer                  | Winter 2018 |
| Alice Mackrell      | <i>Rei Kawakubo/Comme des Garçons:<br/>Art of the In-Between</i><br>By Andrew Bolton                                                | Autumn 2017 |
| Alice Mackrell      | <i>Heavenly Bodies:<br/>Fashion and the Catholic Imagination</i><br>By Andrew Bolton                                                | Autumn 2018 |
| Alice Mackrell      | <i>Napoleon:<br/>The Imperial Household</i><br>By Sylvain Cordier                                                                   | Winter 2018 |
| Alice Mackrell      | <i>Visitors to Versailles:<br/>From Louis XIV to the French Revolution</i><br>By Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide<br>and Bernard Rondot | Summer 2019 |
| Alice Mackrell      | <i>Camp: Notes on Fashion</i><br>By Andrew Bolton                                                                                   | Autumn 2019 |
| Alice Mackrell      | Queen Victoria's Buckingham Palace<br>By Amanda Foreman and Lucy Peter                                                              | Spring 2020 |
| Sarah Magill        | <i>CC41 Utility Clothing:<br/>The Label that Transformed British Fashion</i><br>By Mike Brown                                       | Winter 2018 |
| Marion Maule        | <i>Textiles and Clothing of Viet Nam:<br/>A History</i><br>By Michael C. Howard                                                     | Summer 2018 |
| Janet Mayo          | <i>Clothing Art:<br/>The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600–1914</i><br>By Aileen Ribeiro                                              | Autumn 2017 |

|                         |                                                                                                                                                                |             |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Paul McFadyen           | <i>Medieval Clothing and Textiles 14</i><br>By Robin Netherton<br>and Gale R. Owen-Crocker                                                                     | Winter 2019 |
| Eliza McKee             | <i>The Clothing of the Common Sort,<br/>1570–1700</i><br>By Margaret Spufford and Susan Mee                                                                    | Autumn 2019 |
| Marie McLoughlin        | <i>Dressing for Austerity:<br/>Aspiration, Leisure and Fashion<br/>in Postwar Britain</i><br>By Geraldine Biddle-Perry                                         | Autumn 2017 |
| Mariaem Manuela Messina | <i>La Parisienne in Cinema:<br/>Between Art and Life</i><br>By Felicity Chaplin                                                                                | Autumn 2019 |
| Ingrid Mida             | <i>Refashioning and Redress:<br/>Conserving and Displaying Dress</i><br>By Mary M. Brooks and Dinah D. Eastop                                                  | Summer 2019 |
| Ninya Mikhaila          | <i>Clothing the Past:<br/>Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to<br/>Early Modern Western Europe</i><br>By Elizabeth Coatsworth<br>and Gale R. Owen-Crocker | Autumn 2019 |
| Caroleen Molenaar       | <i>Dresses and Dressmaking:<br/>From the Late Georgians to the Edwardians</i><br>By Pam Inder                                                                  | Autumn 2019 |
| Scott Hughes Myerly     | <i>Historical Style:<br/>Fashion and the New Mode of History,<br/>1740–1830</i><br>By Timothy Campbell                                                         | Spring 2017 |
| Scott Hughes Myerly     | <i>Signs and Symbols:<br/>Dress at the Intersection between<br/>Image and Realia</i><br>By Sabine de Günther<br>and Philipp Zitzlsperger                       | Spring 2019 |
| Scott Hughes Myerly     | <i>Ottoman Dress and Design in the West:<br/>A Visual History of Cultural Exchange</i><br>By Charlotte Jirousek<br>with Sara Catterall                         | Summer 2019 |
| Scott Hughes Myerly     | <i>Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion:<br/>The Uniforms and Dress of the<br/>British Army, 1800–1815, Volume I</i><br>By Ben Townsend                   | Spring 2020 |

|                         |                                                                                                                                 |             |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Pamela Parmal           | <i>Fashion in European Art:<br/>Dress and Identity, Politics and the Body,<br/>1775-1925</i><br>By Justine De Young             | Winter 2018 |
| Martin Pel              | <i>Dolly Tree:<br/>A Dream of Beauty</i><br>By Gary Chapman                                                                     | Summer 2018 |
| Margaret Peters         | <i>Threads of Life:<br/>A History of the World through the<br/>Eye of a Needle</i><br>By Clare Hunter                           | Winter 2019 |
| Allison Pfigst          | <i>Fashion and Popular Print in<br/>Early Modern England:<br/>Depicting Dress in Black-Letter Ballads</i><br>By Clare Backhouse | Autumn 2018 |
| Chrys Plumley           | <i>Late Medieval and Renaissance Textiles</i><br>By Rosamund Garrett and Matthew Reeves                                         | Winter 2018 |
| Lorraine Portelli       | <i>European Fashion:<br/>The Creation of a Global Industry</i><br>By Regina Lee Blaszczyk<br>and Véronique Pouillard            | Spring 2019 |
| Vivienne Richmond       | <i>The Rag Trade:<br/>The People Who Made Our Clothes</i><br>By Pam Inder                                                       | Winter 2018 |
| Georgina Ripley         | <i>Managing Costume Collections:<br/>An Essential Primer</i><br>By Louise Coffey-Webb                                           | Autumn 2017 |
| Julie Ripley            | <i>From Goodwill to Grunge:<br/>A History of Secondhand Styles<br/>and Alternative Economies</i><br>By Jennifer Le Zotte        | Winter 2018 |
| Hendrik van Rooijen     | <i>Fashion in the Middle Ages</i><br>By Margaret Scott                                                                          | Autumn 2019 |
| Emmy Sale               | <i>The Anthropology of Dress and Fashion:<br/>A Reader</i><br>By Brent Luvaas and Joanne B. Eicher                              | Autumn 2019 |
| Scott William Schiavone | <i>Fashioned Text and Painted Books</i><br>By Erin E. Edgington                                                                 | Autumn 2019 |

|                         |                                                                                                                                                      |             |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Andrea J. Severson      | <i>Fashion and Fiction:<br/>Self-Transformation in<br/>Twentieth-Century American Literature</i><br>By Lauren S. Cardon                              | Summer 2018 |
| Rebecca Shawcross       | <i>Shoes:<br/>The Meaning of Style</i><br>By Elizabeth Semmelhack                                                                                    | Summer 2018 |
| Katarina Nina Simončič  | <i>Medieval Clothing and Textiles, Volume 13</i><br>By Robin Netherton<br>and Gale R. Owen-Crocker                                                   | Summer 2018 |
| Lorraine Hamilton Smith | <i>The Silhouette:<br/>From the 18th Century to the Present Day</i><br>By Georges Vigarello                                                          | Spring 2017 |
| Naomi Sosnovsky         | <i>Looking at Jewelry:<br/>A Guide to Terms, Styles, and Techniques</i><br>By Susanne Gänsicke<br>and Yvonne J. Markowitz                            | Autumn 2019 |
| Emily Taylor            | <i>Dressing the Scottish Court, 1543-1553:<br/>Clothing in the Accounts of the<br/>Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i><br>By Melanie Schuessler Bond | Autumn 2019 |
| Tara Tierney            | <i>Fashion Victims:<br/>The Dangers of Dress Past and Present</i><br>By Alison Matthews David                                                        | Autumn 2017 |
| Frances Tobin           | <i>Making Vintage 1920s Clothes for Women</i><br>By Suzanne Rowland                                                                                  | Summer 2019 |
| Emma Treleaven          | <i>Military Style Invades Fashion</i><br>By Timothy Godbold                                                                                          | Autumn 2017 |
| Emma Treleaven          | <i>House of Fashion:<br/>Haute Couture and the Modern Interior</i><br>By Jess Berry                                                                  | Summer 2019 |
| Valerie Wilson Trower   | <i>Tailored for Freedom:<br/>The Artistic Dress around 1900 in Fashion,<br/>Art and Society</i><br>By Ina Ewers-Schultz<br>and Magdalena Holzhey     | Summer 2019 |
| Janice West             | <i>The Hidden History of American Fashion</i><br>By Nancy Diehl                                                                                      | Winter 2018 |

|                                      |                                                                                                                               |             |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Milly Westbrook                      | <i>How to Read Fashion:<br/>A Crash Course in Understanding Styles</i><br>By Fiona Ffoulkes                                   | Autumn 2019 |
| Sarah Woodyard<br>and Michael Ramsey | <i>18th-Century Fashion in Detail</i><br>By Susan North                                                                       | Winter 2018 |
| Sarah Woodyard                       | <i>19th-Century Fashion in Detail</i><br>By Lucy Johnston                                                                     | Spring 2020 |
| Rainer Wenrich                       | <i>The Dress Detective:<br/>A Practical Guide to Object-Based<br/>Research in Fashion</i><br>By Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim | Spring 2017 |
| Elli Michaela Young                  | <i>The Birth of Cool:<br/>Style Narratives of the African Diaspora</i><br>By Carol Tulloch                                    | Autumn 2019 |

