



The Journal of Dress History

Volume 4, Issue 2, Summer 2020

Front Cover Image:

Detail, *Christening Veil*, Maker Unknown, circa 1820, Silk and Linen, Appliqué Net Lace, Brussels Lace, 120 x 109 cm, Donated by Mrs. V.P. Loeliger-Salomonson, Photographed by Joost Kolkman, © The Textile Research Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands, TRC 2014.0831.

This large rectangular christening veil was probably made in Belgium but used in The Netherlands. The veil once belonged to Queen Anna Paulowna (1795-1865), a daughter of the Russian czar, Paul I (1754-1801), and wife of the Dutch king, William II (1792-1849). Queen Anna Paulowna gifted the veil to her lady-in-waiting, Maria Petronella s'Jacob-Rochussen (1792-1848), in celebration of the birth of Maria's daughter, Jeanne Josein Antoinette s'Jacob (1821-1910). At that time, Maria's husband, Frederik s'Jacob (1775-1831), was the Dutch Secretary of the State Council and attached to the royal court of The Netherlands.

The front cover image was graciously provided by The Textile Research Centre (TRC), located in Leiden, The Netherlands. The aim of the TRC is to help the study of textiles, clothing, and accessories fulfill their proper place in the fields of the humanities and social sciences. The TRC does so by providing courses, lectures, research, presentations, exhibitions, and publications about global textiles and dress. Browse the TRC collection at <https://trc-leiden.nl/collection>.

The Journal of Dress History

Volume 4, Issue 2, Summer 2020

Special Themed Issue, Part Two

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



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



The Journal of Dress History
Volume 4, Issue 2, Summer 2020

journal@dresshistorians.org
www.dresshistorians.org/journal

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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.

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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. For updated submission guidelines for articles and book reviews, consult the most recently published journal issue.

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

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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. I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards,

Jennifer

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**The Wardrobe of a Young Swedish Professional:
An 1841–1842 Cash Book Maintained by the Architect,
Johan Fredrik Åbom (1817–1900)**

Inga Lena Ångström Grandien

Abstract

This article is based on entries made during 1841–1842 in a cash book maintained by the 24-year-old Swedish architect, Johan Fredrik Åbom (1817–1900). From the detailed entries in the cash book, Åbom's wardrobe can be ascertained, including what items of clothing he purchased during this period, where, what price, and often of which textile the garments were made. We can follow the growth of his wardrobe, from a *tulup* [Russian long coat lined with skin], a *surtout* [overcoat], a *bonjour* [frock coat], and a tail coat, down to trousers made of corduroy, and fashion accessories. Through the cash book, his involvement in the secondhand clothing economy can also be tracked along with his efforts to keep his footman well dressed. This research is important as the cash book provides a unique opportunity to study questions of Swedish dress code among the professional elite and how fashion was diffused.

Introduction

This article is based on entries made during 1841–1842 in a cash book maintained by the 24-year-old Swedish architect, Johan Fredrik Åbom (1817–1900), and will show the fashionable wardrobe that Åbom built to reflect his professional position. Through the cash book as a primary source, the following wardrobe components will be addressed, in this order: jackets and overcoats, trousers, waistcoats, hats, gloves, scarves and cravats, shoes and boots, and walking sticks. This research is important as the cash book provides a unique opportunity to study questions of Swedish dress code among the professional elite and how fashion was diffused.

Åbom was Sweden's most prolific architect during the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 1 and Figure 2). In Stockholm, he is best known for Berns Salonger¹ and the building for the *Musikaliska akademien* [Music Academy],² but he also designed buildings in many other parts of Sweden. A large number of the buildings were the result of private assignments, but the largest part of his oeuvre was made in his capacity as an architect at *Överintendentsämbetet* [The Board of Works], a Swedish government agency responsible for public building works, where Åbom was employed for nearly 44 years, during 1839–1882.

Överintendentsämbetet was established in 1697, with the important task of construction of a new palace in Stockholm to replace the palace that had burned down earlier that year. Tessin the Younger (1654–1728), Royal Architect, was appointed its first *Överintendent* [superintendent], and hence the name, Överintendentsämbetet. The agency played an important role in Swedish architecture during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, approving and providing designs for local building projects, particularly churches, throughout Sweden.³

¹ Located in central Stockholm, Berns Salonger is a restaurant and entertainment venue that was originally owned by Robert Berns (1815–1902). Designed by Åbom and opened in 1863, Berns Salonger was enlarged in 1886, based on architectural drawings by Åbom.

² All translations in this article were made by the author, Inga Lena Ångström Grandien.

³ Martin Olin, "Art and Society 1650–1725," in Ludvig Qvarnström, Editor, *Swedish Art History: A Selection of Introductory Texts*, Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, Volume 18, 2018, pp. 108–109.

By having been employed at Överintendentsämbetet in 1839, Åbom had elevated his own social status, which demanded certain clothes to reflect his position. These clothes are detailed in the cash book that Åbom maintained and which will be discussed in this article. It is telling, though, that he did not begin to keep a cash book until 1841,⁴ when he started to earn money from his private assignments as well as having his first, more prestigious job. The focus of this article is on the entries from 1 January 1841—when Åbom started to keep his cash book—to 31 December 1842, as this, as compared to the rest of the cash book, is the period when he was most active in building his wardrobe and also when the entries in the cash book are the most detailed.



Figure 1:
Johan Fredrik Åbom,
Photographer Unknown, circa 1870,
© The Private Collection of the
Åbom Family, Stockholm, Sweden.⁵



Figure 2:
Johan Fredrik Åbom,
Photographer Unknown, circa 1870,
© The Private Collection of the
Åbom Family, Stockholm, Sweden.

⁴ The cash book, upon which this article is based, includes information from two separate time periods, 1841–1848 and 1857–1861. This article analyses only the information entered in the cash book during 1841–1842.

Johan Fredrik Åbom, *Cash Book*, The Private Collection of the Åbom Family, Stockholm, Sweden, 1841–1848 and 1857–1861.

⁵ Figure 1 and Figure 2 are the only known photographs that exist of Johan Fredrik Åbom.

Despite Åbom's impressively long work list and the high artistic quality of many of his buildings, he has never been the subject of a monograph. One such is now on its way, though, written by the author of this article, who is also presently in the possession of Åbom's cash book, having it on a long-term loan from the Åbom family. A cash book is a bound ledger in which receipts and payments of money are recorded. It is not known to what extent cash books were used in Sweden during Åbom's time; they might even have been quite common; however, very few cash books have been preserved. There are some in museums, but with one exception, a cash book kept in Nordiska museet in Stockholm,⁶ they have all been kept by business owners regarding their own businesses, something that makes Åbom's cash book unique.

The Cash Book

Measuring 18 x 22 cm and bound in a reddish-brown marbled cover (Figure 3), the cash book includes the two time periods, 1841–1848 and 1857–1861, with no blank pages in between, which indicates that there are no pages missing. When opening it, one finds, on the top of each left-hand side the words *Debet* [Debit] and *Cassa* [Cash] and on each right-hand side *Conto* [Account] and *Credit* [Credit], written in black ink in Åbom's neat handwriting (Figure 4). The left-hand sides record payments received for architectural drawings, providing valuable information of his various private assignments. The right-hand sides of the cash book are filled with notices of his expenses, from the repairing of a *kråsnål* [breast pin] to the purchase of a plot of land in Karlstad,⁷ as well as expenses in connection to the birth of his first child in 1848, and so on. Through the cash book, it is apparent that Åbom purchased clothes and books and attended the theatre frequently, both in Stockholm and in Karlstad.

⁶ "Cash Book, 1815–1859," General Major Carl Henrik Möllerström (1798–1878), Nordiska museet, Stockholm, Sweden, <https://digitaltmuseum.se/011023496670/journal>, Accessed 20 April 2020.

"Digitaltmuseum" is a database for Norwegian and Swedish museums and collections, which provides access to more than four million photographs, objects, works of art, and buildings.

⁷ On that plot of land, Åbom would later build a house, the building of which can also be traced through the cash book, including the material he purchased for the construction of the house, what workmen he hired, how much he paid them, et cetera. Åbom later sold the house to Jonas Johan Engholm (1799–1867), the hospital doctor in Karlstad, who played an important role in the creation of the hospital that Åbom designed.

Lars Dalgren and Ove Moberg, *Karlstads stads historia. D. 3. Omfattande tiden 1815–1949* [The History of Karlstad, Volume 3, Comprising the Period, 1815–1949], Värmlands Museum, Karlstad, Sweden, 1954, p. 20.



Figure 3:
Front Cover,
Åbom's Cash Book,
1841-1861,
18 x 22 cm cover,
Photographed by
Inga Lena Ångström Grandien,
20 October 2019,
© The Private Collection
of the Åbom Family,
Stockholm, Sweden.

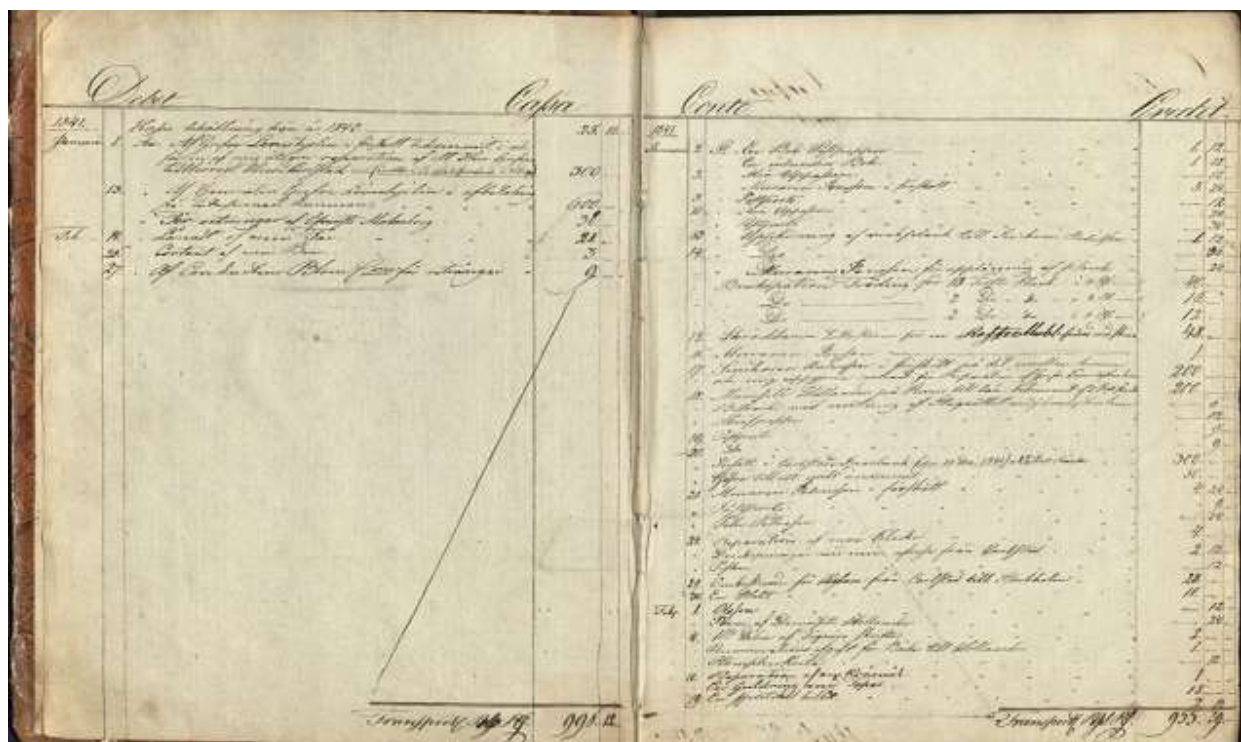


Figure 4:
The First Entries in Åbom's Cash Book,
 1 January 1841-19 February 1841, 18 x 22 cm pages,
 Photographed by Inga Lena Ångström Grandien, 20 October 2019,
 © The Private Collection of the Åbom Family, Stockholm, Sweden.

The first entry in Åbom's cash book was made 1 January 1841. By then, two and a half years had passed since he had graduated, in early June 1839, from the Architectural School at the Art Academy in Stockholm. Just a week after graduation, Åbom was hired by the Överintendentsämbetet. When he began to keep his cash book he was, however, not in Stockholm but in Karlstad, a town situated 300 kilometres west of Stockholm, on the northern shore of Lake Vänern, Sweden's largest lake.

Åbom's Architectural Work in Karlstad

On behalf of Överintendentsämbetet, Åbom was in Karlstad to oversee the construction—based on Åbom's architectural drawings—of the town's new hospital. Additionally, Åbom managed some private assignments there, including the rebuilding of Alster, an old manor situated a few kilometres outside Karlstad, again following his architectural drawings. Åbom's work on Alster was more of a rebuilding than a mere renovation as he transformed the manor from a traditional, red-painted Swedish timber-house into a white, neo-classical building with pilasters and a Roman portico.

It was normal, even necessary, for Åbom to accept private assignments. As an *extra ordinarie konduktör* [extra ordinary conductor]⁸ during his first years as an employee (1839–1845), Åbom did not receive a regular salary from Överintendentsämbetet; instead, he was paid per assignment. It was only in 1845, after he had been promoted to *ordinarie konduktör* [ordinary conductor] that he began to receive a monthly salary, but he would also in the future need additional income from private assignments. After several years as a *konduktör* [conductor]—in 1865—he was given the title of *arkitekt* [architect] at Överintendentsämbetet, but by then he had already been made Royal Architect by being elected to the *Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna* [The Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts].

⁸ Konduktör was a title, borrowed from the French *conducteur*, for certain employees in government offices. “Extra ordinarie” was a supplement that was used in many government service titles to indicate temporary employment; however, “ordinarie” meant life-long employment.

Another private assignment in Karlstad was the renovation of a property owned by the General, Count Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm (1790–1858); the very first entry on the Debit side of Åbom's cash book, made on 1 January 1841, regards a payment of 300 riksdaler⁹ from Löwenhielm to Åbom (Figure 4). About two weeks later, on 13 January 1841, Åbom received another 600 riksdaler from Löwenhielm. However, this money was not intended for Åbom alone; instead it would, as can be seen from later entries in the cash book, be used to pay the workers Åbom had hired for the renovation of Löwenhielm's property.

In 1839 it had become possible to reach Karlstad by steamboat from Stockholm, via the Göta Kanal to the eastern shores of Lake Vänern and then across the lake to Karlstad. In the cash book, there are several entries regarding Åbom's steamboat journeys from Stockholm to Karlstad and vice versa. From an entry on 12 April 1842 we even learn the name of the steamship: he had paid 37 riksdaler 24 shillings for a cabin on the steamer *Wernland* [modern spelling Värmland, the name of the county where Karlstad is situated].

However, as is clear from the above, Åbom's visit to Karlstad at the turn of the year 1840, when he began to keep his cash book, may not have been his first visit. The question is therefore rather when he started to travel there. In order to find that out, the minutes of the meetings of Överintendentsämbetet were studied, from June 1839, when Åbom started working there, until 1841.¹⁰ Surprisingly, it turned out that he had been on leave from Överintendentsämbetet during the entire autumn 1839. The reason for his leave is never stated but very likely he had spent much, if not all, of it in Karlstad, monitoring the rebuilding of the above-mentioned manor, the project of which had begun around that time.¹¹

⁹ The riksdaler was the name of a Swedish coin first minted in 1604. During 1777–1873, the riksdaler was the official currency of Sweden. One riksdaler was divided into 48 *skillingar* [shillings]. One Swedish riksdaler in 1841 was equivalent to approximately £6 in 2020, as inflation averaged 2.4% per year.

"Inflation in Sweden, 1831–2019," *Statistics Sweden*, Stockholm, Sweden, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/priser-och-konsumtion/konsumentprisindex/konsumentprisindex-kpi/pong/tabell-och-diagram/konsumentprisindex-kpi/inflation-i-sverige>, Accessed 26 May 2020.

¹⁰ *Protokoll, äldre huvudserien* [Minutes, Older Main Series], Överintendentsämbetet huvudarkiv [Main Archive of The Board of Works], Riksarkivet [National Archives of Sweden], Stockholm, Sweden, Föredragningslista [Agenda] A II a:2.

¹¹ Göran Lindahl, "Alsters herrgårds historia," in *Värmland förr och nu*, Årsbok ["The History of the Manor of Alster," in Värmland Past and Present, Yearbook], Värmlands Museum, Karlstad, Sweden, 1948–1949, p. 41.

Furthermore, the groundbreaking for the new hospital had begun in September that year. Åbom would not receive the official request from Överintendentsämbetet to draw the new hospital until November. However, the fact that the construction of it was already under way, confirms the assumption that in autumn 1839 he had already begun his long stays in Karlstad.¹²

It is otherwise a bit of a mystery how a young—he had just turned 22 at the time—and yet inexperienced architect like Åbom could land such a prestigious assignment as designing a new hospital, especially as his previous assignments from Överintendentsämbetet had been of a rather simple nature, mostly consisting of “improving” local building masters’ drawings. With him already in place in Karlstad, Överintendentsämbetet may have seen a way of saving money as they would not have to pay him any travel allowance. However, it could also be that his superiors in Stockholm, having seen a promising architect in young Åbom, decided to let him test his ability on the new hospital. Whatever their reasons, they would soon realise they had given the task to the right person. When the hospital opened in 1842 it was praised as a model for a county hospital, designed, as it was, in accordance with the new requirements for light and air in such buildings.¹³ A real novelty was the hospital’s wide middle corridor with its large and bright rooms on both sides—previously all patients in a hospital had been put in one large room, regardless of gender, age, and illness. The success with his hospital in Karlstad gave Åbom the reputation of being a good hospital designer, and he would in the future design as many as seven new hospitals in Sweden.¹⁴

¹² Dalgren and Moberg, op cit., p. 74.

¹³ Hugo Hildebrand Hildebrandsson and Sixten Samuelsson, Editors, *En bok om Värmland av värmlänningar* [A Book about Värmland by People from Värmland], Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, Sweden, 1917, p. 43.

¹⁴ Anders Åman, *Om den offentliga vården. Byggnader och verksamheter vid svenska vårdinstitutioner under 1800-och 1900-talen* [On the Public Welfare: Buildings and Activities at Swedish Care Institutions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries], Bohuslänningen Aktiebolag, Uddevalla, Sweden, 1976, p. 189.

It is not known where Åbom lived during his first visits to Karlstad, but from an entry in the cash book on 31 May 1841 we learn where he would have his lodging from now on: in the house of a certain Gustaf Wallencrona (1771–1852), a former military man who ran Karlstad's first newspaper, the weekly *Carlstads tidning* [Carlstad's Newspaper].¹⁵ It was also there that Åbom met his future wife, Maria Wallencrona (1819–1865), who was the daughter of Gustaf Wallencrona. The marriage between Åbom and Maria did not, however, take place until 1845, when Åbom obtained a permanent position at Överintendentsämbetet and a regular, monthly paid salary. After their marriage in 1845, Åbom and his wife settled down in Stockholm.

Jackets and Overcoats

The first garment documented in the cash book and purchased by Åbom was a *Restulubb fodrad med skinn* [a travel coat lined with skin], for which, on 15 January 1841, he paid 48 riksdaler to a tailor named Zetterström in Karlstad. The coat, or *tulup*, is a full-length coat made of sheepskin (Figure 5); the word deriving from the Russian тулуп [tulup]. Although it was most known under the name of *tulubb* in Sweden, it could also simply be called *rysk päls* [Russian fur coat], referring to its Russian origins. Most of the tulups on the Swedish market were imported directly from Russia, where they had been manufactured since the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁶

¹⁵ Karlstad, spelled with the letter k, is the modern spelling of the town's name. Åbom, however, wrote in his cash book Carlstad, spelled with the letter c, which was the historic spelling of the town's name; hence, *Carlstads tidning* [Carlstad's Newspaper]. The town was named after its founder, King Karl XI of Sweden (1655–1697), whose name in those days was spelled with the letter c.

¹⁶ Richard Helle, *The Economy and Material Culture of Russia, 1600–1725*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1999, p. 366.



Figure 5:
A Tulup
[Full-Length Sheepskin Coat],
Maker Unknown,
circa 1840–1850,
© Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, 7467.

From the memoirs of the above-mentioned General Löwenhielm, we learn that the winter of 1841 was very cold,¹⁷ a statement that is confirmed by the regularly published *Thermometer-Observationer* [Thermometer Observations] in *Carlstads Tidning*. On 3 January 1841, for example, the nighttime temperature was -20.5°C and on 6 January, -17.5°C .¹⁸ On 15 January, the day when Åbom purchased his tulup, the temperature had gone up to -9.5°C , but it would soon go down again, and on 20 January was as low as -24°C .^{19, 20} The tulup was thus a very good investment, especially as it seems that Åbom had come to Karlstad with only an over-frock to protect him from the cold.

¹⁷ Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, *Greve Carl Gustaf Löwenhielms minnen*. Övers. från franskan och red. av Natalie Rosensvärd f. Löwenhielm [The Memoirs of Count Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, Translated from French and Edited by Natalie Rosensvärd, née Löwenhielm], Volume 3, Albert Bonniers Förlag [Albert Bonnier's Publishing Company], Stockholm, Sweden, 1929, p. 99.

¹⁸ Anonymous, "Thermometer-Observationer" [Thermometer Observations], *Carlstads Tidning* [Carlstad's Newspaper], 9 January 1841, p. 1.

Carlstads Tidning [Carlstad's Newspaper] was published during 1805–1849 in Karlstad, Sweden.

¹⁹ Ibid., Anonymous, 23 January 1841, p. 1.

²⁰ The equivalent temperatures in Fahrenheit were -20.5°C [-4.9°F], -17.5°C [-0.5°F], -9.5°C [-14.9°F], and -24°C [-11.2°F].

A further step in the creating of a wardrobe for a young professional was taken by Åbom when, on 6 April 1841, he paid a Stockholm tailor's firm, by the name of Lundgren and Lembke, 42 riksdaler 24 shillings as wages for a *frack* [dress coat, tail coat or just tails], a close-bodied, tight-fitting coat with the front cut away in a straight line across the waist and long tails at the back. Figure 6 shows a *frack* probably similar in style to the one Åbom purchased in 1841. The man's clothing illustrated in Figure 6 was described in the July 1840 issue of *Magasin för konst, nyheter och moder* [Magazine for Art, News, and Fashions] as a "*Brun Frack med sammetskrage fordrad med gros de Naples; piqué-vest, skotska pantalonger til stöflar*"²¹ [Brown tail coat with velvet collar lined with gros de Naples (a kind of silk); piqué (marcella)²² waistcoat, Scottish pantaloons to boots]. The woman is wearing a riding costume.



Figure 6:
Detail,
Man Wearing a Tail Coat,
Magasin för konst,
nyheter och moder
[Magazine for Art, News,
and Fashions],
Stockholm, Sweden,
July 1840, Illustration #28.

²¹ Anonymous, "Mode-Costumer för Damer och Herrar" [Fashion Costumes for Ladies and Gentlemen], *Magasin för konst, nyheter och moder* [Magazine for Art, News, and Fashions], Stockholm, Sweden, July 1840, p. 112.

This magazine was published during 1818–1844 by the writer and artist, Fredrik Boije af Gennäs (1773–1857), in Stockholm, Sweden.

²² Marcella is "a cotton quilting or coarse piqué with a diaper pattern in relief."

Valerie Cumming, C.W. Cunningham, and P.E. Cunningham, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2010, p. 17.

The tail coat had evolved in England from the riding coat during the second half of the eighteenth century²³ and was originally used both for daytime and evening wear. When Åbom purchased his tail coat, its use for informal, daytime wear had, however, been replaced by the frock coat but was still recommended as the appropriate garment for evening wear. In the price Åbom paid, two pairs of trousers and a waistcoat were also included. He returned to Lundgren and Lembke on 15 April 1841, paying an additional 18 riksdaler for another pair of trousers and one more waistcoat.

The firm's tailors made the clothes for him entirely by hand—the sewing machine would not become common until the 1860s. In all likelihood, when Åbom placed his order at the tailor's, he would have delivered the fabric from which the garments would be made, as was the normal procedure at the time. There are, however, no entries in the cash book regarding the purchase of fabric prior to his payment to the tailors. Instead, there is one payment made about one month later, on 17 May 1841, when Åbom has “repaid his debt”²⁴ of 92 riksdaler and 24 shillings to a *Klädeshandlare* [a linen draper] in Stockholm, very likely for the fabric that had been used by Lundgren and Lembke when making his clothes. Åbom seems to have taken the fabric on credit, though, being unable to pay for it straight away. Why he could do it now is explained by a look at the Debit side of the cash book: two days earlier, on 15 May 1841, Åbom received 900 riksdaler in payment from the above-mentioned, General Löwenhielm. However, as pointed out above, only a part of the money from Löwenhielm was intended for him, but it was apparently enough to pay his bills.

From one of the entries in the cash book, made on 20 April 1841, we learn about the existence of a hitherto unmentioned garment in Åbom's wardrobe. For a small sum of money, he had that day purchased a velvet *knapprad* [button stand, row of buttons] and a *kantband* [edging], both items intended for his *surtout*. However, since there is no record of a purchase of a *surtout* prior to 20 April 1841, it must have already been in Åbom's possession when he started to keep his cash book.

²³ Penelope Byrde, *Nineteenth Century Fashion*, B.T. Batsford, London, England, 1992, p. 91.

²⁴ “Betalt min skuld” [Repaid my debt], Åbom, *Cash Book*, op cit., 17 May 1841.

A *surtout* (Figure 7), Åbom using the French spelling—“sur tout” is French for “over everything”—for what in Sweden usually was called a *syrtut*, in England “a surtout greatcoat” and in France “justaucorps” (“close to the body”),²⁵ was a close-bodied overcoat cut essentially the same way as the frock coat (Figure 8), although it would be both longer and larger than that to accommodate what was worn underneath. It was usually made of broadcloth and could be both single-breasted and double-breasted. It had turned up as a novelty in the Swedish fashion magazine *Magasin för konst, nyheter och moder* [Magazine for Art, News, and Fashions] in 1824 and had soon become the standard overcoat.²⁶



Figure 7:
Syrtut [Greatcoat],
Swedish,
circa 1850,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden, 111074,
Photographed by Sissy Sjöberg.

²⁵ Cumming, et al., op cit., p. 199.

²⁶ Gunn Hasvén, *Den grå kostymen. Bilder av hermodet genom 200 år* [The Grey Costume: Images of Male Fashion through 200 Years], Gleerup, Kristianstad, Sweden, 1992, p. 49.

According to Erik Bellander, the *syrtut* [great coat] was worn by the Swedish army from the middle of the eighteenth century throughout the nineteenth century, apart from in the Cavalry, where in 1858 it was replaced by the *bigesch* [from the Hungarian *bekes*, fur], a long coat with the front decorated with ribbons and tassels.

Erik Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform. Den svenska arméns beklädnad från 1500-talets början fram till våra dagar* [Dress and Uniform: Swedish Army Dress from the Sixteenth Century until the Present Day], Norstedts förlag [Norstedts' Publishing Company], Stockholm, Sweden, 1973, p. 616.

On 14 July 1841, Åbom purchased *en bonjour af Manchester* [a frock coat of corduroy] for 20 riksdaler (Figure 8). A *bonjour*, in English a frock coat,²⁷ was a coat with a loosely fitted waist and straight, overlapping, in early examples knee-length skirts, and, from the 1830s onwards, shortened skirts. It had a turn-over collar and a plain single-, but more often, a double-breasted centre front.²⁸ Apart from black, the only colours used were earthy brown and grey.²⁹



Figure 8:
Bonjour [Frock Coat],
Swedish,
circa 1840,
Brown Broadcloth,
Main Lining of Brown Silk
with Sleeve Lining in
Red and White Pinstriped Cotton,
Photographed by
Elisabeth Eriksson,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden, 110742.

²⁷ According to Penelope Byrde, in Germany *Gehrock* or *Leibrock*, in France *redingote*, from the English riding coat. The term, redingote, was also used in England but referred to a type of robe worn by women as a carriage or walking dress.

Byrde, op cit., p. 38.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 93–94.

²⁹ Egon Friedell, *A Cultural History of the Modern Age: The Crisis of the European Soul*, Volume 3, with a New Introduction by Allan Janik, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey, United States, 2010, p. 74.

This book was originally published in German in three volumes during 1927–1931.

Referred to as a *bonjour*, the frock coat had been known in Sweden from the beginning of the nineteenth century but became more and more popular with time and competed with the tail coat for first place in the wealthy man's wardrobe (Figure 9). By 1830 the frock coat had become the most popular coat for informal daytime wear.³⁰ Soon the tail coat was driven back into its present role of full evening dress.³¹ During the whole of the nineteenth century, the frock coat would remain the correct attire for morning-wear and for visits.³² It was worn over a shirt with a stiff collar, a so-called *patricide*,³³ and then a waistcoat.³⁴ Around the neck, a cravat was worn (Figure 9); for cravats, Åbom probably used the silk scarves that he often purchased and which were documented in his cash book.



Figure 9:
Detail,
Jag är med om allting.
Calle Lamberg
[I am game for anything.
Calle Lamberg],
Fritz von Dardel,
circa 1850,
Watercolour,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden NMA.0037325.

³⁰ Hasvén, op cit., p. 50.

³¹ Byrde, op cit., p. 96.

³² Friedell, op cit., p. 51.

³³ Patricide (in Swedish, *fadermördare*) refers to the stiff, starched, pointed collar of a men's shirt, based on a fictitious story about a young man who wore a starched collar that accidentally cut his father's throat during an embrace. Another explanation to the word, patricide, is that in France the collars were referred to as "parasites" as the collars attracted food crumbs while eating and consequently bugs or "parasites." "Parasite" sounded like "parricide" or patricide, hence its name. The collar style is also known simply as a "winged tip collar." During the nineteenth century, these collars were usually detachable.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

According to Friedell, the patricide was still in the 1920s part of the stock-in-trade of provincial vaudevillian performers in Germany.

Ibid.

According to the entry in the cash book, the bonjour Åbom purchased was made of Manchester cloth; the word *manchester* means “corduroy” in Swedish, a word that was already in use in the 1770s as shown by an advertisement in *Göteborgs Allehanda* on 18 June 1776, in which *en grå Manchesters krage* [a collar of grey corduroy] is reported stolen.³⁵ However, the English word “corduroy” was also known in contemporary Sweden and can, though not as often as *manchester*, be found in advertisements from the 1790s onwards. Åbom actually once used the word corduroy in the cash book but spelt in its original French, in an entry regarding the purchase of a pair of trousers made of *corde du rois*.

Trousers

As already also seen from the Figures 6 and 9, men’s trousers were long in Åbom’s time; long trousers having, by circa 1820, replaced the knee breeches that had been common until then. In the cash book there are several entries regarding trousers, however, almost always in connection to the buying of fabric intended for trousers. Something very interesting about these entries is that several of them also contain information about what kind of fabric was purchased. On 10 October 1841, for example, Åbom gave someone 12 riksdaler and 42 shillings for *kläde* [broadcloth] for a pair of trousers (and a waistband), and on 2 November 1841, 24 riksdaler for a piece of black *capucin* [capuchin], also intended for trousers. Capuchin was a coarse fabric of wool that, among other things, was used for clothing by monks in the Capuchin Order, hence its name.³⁶ The purchased fabric can not always be traced to the finished product in the cash book, but in the case of the capuchin this can probably be achieved as Åbom, on 8 November, one week after the purchase of the piece of capuchin, paid a tailor Stenmark in Karlstad 14 riksdaler 24 shillings for the making of some unknown garment, very possibly the pair of trousers for which the capuchin cloth had been intended.

³⁵ It was stolen by a labourer, who without permission had left his employment, taking with him “en hel klädning af hwitt fint kläde, med ljusgrönt schalongsfoder samt släta förgyllda knappar, och äfwen en går klädes lappräck med kamelgarns knappar samt grå Manchesters krage” [a whole dress of fine white cloth, with a lining of light green linen and flat, gilded buttons as well as a grey coat made of broadcloth with buttons made of camel yarn and a collar of grey corduroy].

Advertisement, “Kundgjörelser” [Announcements], *Göteborgs Allehanda* [Gothenburg’s Miscellaneous], Johan Molin Publisher, Gothenburg, Sweden, 18 June 1776, p. 4.

Göteborgs Allehanda was published in Gothenburg, Sweden, during 1774–1843.

³⁶ Phyllis G. Tortora and Ingrid Johnson, *The Fairchild Dictionary of Textiles*, Eighth Edition, Fairchild Books, New York, New York, United States, 2014, p. 97.

In modern Swedish, capuchin is spelled kapucin.

On 2 May 1842 Åbom, for 2 riksdaler 24 shillings, purchased his footman³⁷ a pair of trousers made of *bolsterwahr*, commonly spelt *bolstervar* [bolster cloth], a cotton twill mostly used for the making of bolsters, mattresses, and the like. It was, however, also used for simpler garments, for example by the army for nightwear,³⁸ for clothes for children in orphanages³⁹ or for work clothes. What is interesting is that on 9 July 1842, Åbom paid 20 riksdaler for a pair of trousers made of *corde du rois* [corduroy], thus almost 18 riksdaler more than he had paid for the footman's trousers. However, the much lower price of the latter pair of trousers gives evidence of the simple nature of the fabric they were made of. It was also a domestic product whilst the much more expensive corduroy was imported.

Also of note regarding the two last entries is that both pairs of trousers seem to have been purchased readymade by Åbom. Since the eighteenth century, it had by law been strictly forbidden for tailors in Sweden to make clothes other than on commission from a customer; meaning, tailors could not make readymade clothes to sell to the public. Tailors were also forbidden to maintain fabric in stock. However, in 1834 it became legally possible for tailors to make and sell readymade garments.⁴⁰

³⁷ The name of Åbom's footman in Karlstad is unknown. In the cash book, he is simply called *min uppassare* [my footman]. The position of the footman was similar to a handyman, who worked in several capacities for Åbom, including carrying baggage from the boat to Åbom's lodgings in Karlstad. He also worked on the house that Åbom built. Åbom provided the footman with some clothes, as evidenced in the cash book. The footman was probably a part-time employee of Åbom, who only paid his footman very small sums for individual errands.

³⁸ In May 1835, 200 nightgowns made of bolster cloth were ordered by the Swedish Navy. Anonymous, "Notifikation. Auktioner" [Notifications. Auctions], *Post-Och Inrikes Tidningar* [Post and Domestic Times], Svenska Akademien [The Swedish Academy], Stockholm, Sweden, 27 May 1835, p. 5.

Post-och Inrikes Tidningar [Post and Domestic Times], was Sweden's official newspaper, founded in 1645 by Queen Christina together with Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. In 1791, King Gustav III (1746–1792) gave the publication rights to The Swedish Academy. It is the oldest continuously published newspaper in the world, although as of the 1 January 2007 edition, it has switched to an internet-only format.

³⁹ At the orphanage in Stora Råby, Skåne, Sweden, the children were dressed in striped bolster fabric during the summer.

Anonymous, "Tidnings-öfversigt" [Newspaper Survey], *Post-och Inrikes Tidningar* [Post and Domestic Times], Svenska Akademien [The Swedish Academy], Stockholm, Sweden, 18 April 1845, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Berit Eldvik, "Männens västar" [Men's Waistcoats] in Berit Eldvik, Editor, *Möte med mode. Folkliga kläder 1750–1900 i Nordiska museet* [Meetings with Fashion: Popular Costume, 1750–1900, in the Nordic Museum], Nordiska museets förlag [Nordic Museum Publishing Company], Stockholm, Sweden, 2014, pp. 182–183.

That means that at least the corduroy trousers could have been purchased readymade by Åbom from a tailor. Åbom may have purchased the *bolstervar* [bolster cloth] trousers at the market or possibly from a secondhand shop or vendor (something which also might explain the very low price). However, the cash book does not always reveal exactly which fabric Åbom purchased. It indicates, for example, that on 12 June 1842 he paid 6 riksdaler and 36 shillings in Karlstad for 4½ alnar [ells]⁴¹ of an unknown fabric for *sommarbyxor* [summer trousers], and on 26 October 1842 he paid 18 riksdaler for a fabric simply called *byxtyg* [fabric for trousers].

Waistcoats

Throughout the nineteenth century, a waistcoat, worn over a man's shirt, was an important part of a man's outfit. This of course also applied to Åbom.⁴² There were two waistcoats among the garments that he retrieved from the tailors on 6 April 1841. A couple of times he also purchased fabric intended for waistcoats, which could have resembled the fashionable waistcoat in Figure 10.



Figure 10:
Men's Waistcoat,
circa 1850, Swedish,
Wool/silk/cotton/linen
blend,
Photographed by
Bertil Wreting,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden,
0094316.

The front of the waistcoat is in plaid, which is woollen and features narrow yellow stripes of silk, with white stripes of cotton. The shawl collar is piped with black woollen ribbon. The back of the waistcoat is in blue linen, and it is completely lined in natural linen.

⁴¹ One *aln* [ell] is about 18 inches [45 cm].

⁴² See Figure 1, in which Åbom is wearing a waistcoat.

However, since there is mention in the cash book of neither the colour nor textile of his waistcoats, all we can do is make qualified assumptions about their appearance. One assumption is that Åbom's waistcoats may have been rather colourful as the only point of men's clothing in which individual taste could develop was the silk waistcoat.⁴³ When worn, his waistcoat would have differed in colour from his over-garment. Probably the material of which the waistcoats were made were also in contrast to the frock coat or the tail coat with which they were worn.⁴⁴ Perhaps at least one of Åbom's waistcoats featured a shawl collar (similar to the one in Figure 10), shawl collars on waistcoats having become popular around 1830 in Sweden.⁴⁵

Hats

On 30 January 1841, two weeks after his purchase of the tulup in Karlstad, Åbom, now back in Stockholm, spent 11 riksdaler on a hat. In Sweden, as elsewhere, a hat was an indispensable part of a man's attire, worn for day and formal dress (Figure 11). To be without a hat was at this time regarded as something suspicious, so it can be assumed that Åbom already owned a hat. The hat he purchased was probably a cylinder or top hat, which was the kind of hat that men wore both for daytime and evening wear during this period. The top hat had first been introduced in France in the 1780s, having been used as a symbol of freedom during the French revolution in contrast to the tricorne, a hat that represented the old society.⁴⁶ The tricorne would in turn develop into the bicorne but this had already at the beginning of the nineteenth century been replaced by the top hat. The hat that Åbom purchased on 30 January 1841 was probably made of silk plush, a material that by now had almost totally replaced the felted beaver fur, the most common material for top hats until the 1840s.⁴⁷ Silk plush was a velvet-like fabric made of heavy silk with a cut long nap of finer silk that was brushed down, leaving the surface smooth and shiny.

⁴³ Friedell, op cit., p. 57.

⁴⁴ Hasvén, op cit., p. 53.

⁴⁵ Eldvik, op cit., p. 58.

⁴⁶ Ann Resare, "Hattmakare" [Hatters] in *Hantverk i Sverige. Om bagare, kopparslagare, vagnmakare och 286 andra hantverksyrken* [Handicraft in Sweden: On Bakers, Coppersmiths, Coachbuilders, and 286 Other Crafts], Nordiska museets förlag [Nordic Museum Publishing Company], Stockholm, Sweden, 1989, p. 178.

⁴⁷ Ibid.



Figure 11:
Academic Lecture in Uppsala, Artist Unknown, 1844, Lithograph,
 © Uppsala University Library, Uppsala, Sweden.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Figure 11 depicts Professor J.C. Lindblad (1799–1876), who was Professor of Criminal Procedural Law at Uppsala University. The professor is depicted in his doctoral hat, and his audience, which includes the princes Karl (Karl XV) and Gustav, in top hats. It was part of academic etiquette for professors and students to wear their hats during lectures.

A little more than a year later, on 12 April 1842, Åbom purchased another hat in Stockholm, and since this also cost 11 riksdaler, it was probably of the same kind as the above-mentioned hat. Both hats (Figure 12) had probably been manufactured locally; hats were one item that Sweden did not need to import; hat-making had a long history in Sweden. By 1790 there were 212 workshops for men's hats in 70 Swedish towns and all through the nineteenth century, men's hat-making continued to be one of the most flourishing of crafts in Sweden.⁴⁹



Figure 12:
Man's Silk Top Hat,
Swedish,
circa 1840,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden, 111074d.

However, from an entry in the cash book made on 14 June 1841, we learn that on that day Åbom purchased a hat for only 7 riksdaler 24 shillings. Due to the lower price, that hat must have been of a different type than the two hats previously purchased in Stockholm. It is therefore interesting to note that Åbom almost a year later, on 3 July 1842, and also in Karlstad, purchased, for 8 riksdaler and 36 shillings, what he calls in the cash book *en italiensk hatt* [an Italian hat]. Since it was just a little more expensive than the one he had purchased the summer before, it is likely that this one was also “Italian.”

⁴⁹ Resare, op cit., p. 178.

What the cash book probably referred to were Italian straw hats (Figure 13). According to previous research, the use of Italian straw hats in the summer were popularised in Sweden first during the 1850s but today, when we have the possibility of going through Swedish newspapers online,⁵⁰ this statement may be questioned as advertisements appeared for Italian straw hats in the Swedish newspapers before 1820. In the beginning the Italian straw hats seem to have been rather expensive though, costing as much as 16 riksdaler in the earliest advertisement from 1818.⁵¹ In 1836, however, an Italian hat is sold for only 6 riksdaler.⁵² Given that Åbom purchased both his “Italian hats” in the summer and that they cost between 7 and 8 riksdaler, it is quite likely that what he purchased were Italian straw hats. There was, however, also a small domestic production of straw hats in Sweden, so the *halmhatt* [straw hat] that he purchased in July 1841 for the low price of 1 riksdaler was probably domestically manufactured in Sweden.



Figure 13:
Man's Straw Hat,
1840,
American or European,
© The Metropolitan
Museum of Art,
New York, New York,
United States,
C.I.38.23.210a-c.

⁵⁰ The digitized Swedish newspapers are made available online by *Kungliga biblioteket* [The National Library of Sweden] in Stockholm, <https://tidningar.kb.se>.

⁵¹ Advertisement, “Till Salu finnes” [For Sale], *Dagligt Allehanda* [Daily Miscellaneous], Johan Pfeiffer Publisher, Stockholm, Sweden, 17 August 1818, p. 10.

Dagligt Allehanda [Daily Miscellaneous] was Sweden's first daily newspaper, published daily in Stockholm, Sweden, 1769–1849.

⁵² Advertisement, “Till Salu finnes” [For Sale], *Stockholms Dagblad* [Stockholm's Daily News], 30 May 1836, p. 6.

Stockholms Dagblad [Stockholm's Daily News] was published in Stockholm, Sweden, during 1824–1931.

Once, in April 1842, Åbom also purchased a *klädesmössa* [cloth cap] for 2 riksdaler. Generally, cloth caps were soft sewn hats that featured a front peak or bill. However, according to the descriptions of *klädesmössor* in contemporary Swedish newspapers, a cloth cap could be either with or without a peak, and it could be plain or decorated with embroidery, braiding or trim, et cetera. It seems, then, that a cloth cap in Sweden could have various appearances, the key component being that it was made of cloth.

Gloves

On 24 February 1841, one month after the purchase of the hat, Åbom paid 3 riksdaler for a pair of *fransyska handskar* [French gloves], the first of many pairs of gloves he would buy during the period investigated for this article, 1841–1842. Altogether he purchased nine or ten pairs, making gloves his most widely purchased fashion item during the period. Gloves were probably intended for evening wear; for example, when going to the theatre. From the entries in the cash book we know that Åbom was a frequent theatregoer, attending the theatre at least weekly while in Karlstad and in Stockholm. In the cash book, the purchased gloves are most often referred to as *fransyska handskar* [French gloves], a couple of times only as *handskar* [gloves].

Once, however, on 9 August 1842, Åbom notes that he paid 3 riksdaler for a pair of *glacéhandskar* [glazed gloves, glazed kid gloves or kid gloves].⁵³ Glazed gloves (Figure 14) have a glossy, shiny finish, the result of an enamelling technique for leather that had been spread across Europe by Huguenot refugees as early as around 1700. It was, however, only during the 1830s that it had begun to supplant natural leather.⁵⁴ Most of the glazed gloves were manufactured in France, where the cities of Grenoble, Niort, and Chaumont had long been at the forefront of production but which after 1832 were surpassed by Paris as the manufacturing centre for glazed gloves.⁵⁵

⁵³ The Swedish *glacéhandskar* is derived from the French *gants glaces*, which in English translates to glazed gloves, glazed kid gloves, or kid gloves.

⁵⁴ Friedell, op cit., p. 75.

⁵⁵ Une société de savants, de littérateurs et d'artistes, français et étrangers [A Society of Scholars, Writers and Artists, Frenchmen and Foreigners], *Encyclopédie des gens du monde. Répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts* [Encyclopedia of the People of the World: A Universal Repertoire of the Sciences, the Humanities, and the Arts], Treuttel et Würtz, Paris, France, Volume 12, 1839, p. 106.

Unlike the hat-making industry, glove-making was almost non-existent in Sweden during the nineteenth century. For example, in 1864, out of a total of 322 craftsmen in Lund, Sweden, only 8 were glove-makers, yet *Skåne* [Scania], where Lund is situated, was the county where most of the Swedish gloves were manufactured.⁵⁶ Denmark had a much larger glove production at the time, especially the town of Randers, which was renowned across Europe for glove-making.⁵⁷



Figure 14:
Men's Evening Gloves, 1848, French, Leather
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, United States,
Acc. No: 2009.300.4085a, b.

⁵⁶ Monika Minnhagen-Alvsten, "Handskmakare" [Glovemakers] in *Hantverk i Sverige. Om bagare, kopparslagare, vagnmakare och 286 andra hantverksyrken* [Handicraft in Sweden: On Bakers, Coppersmiths, Coachbuilders, and 286 Other Crafts], Nordiska museets förlag [Nordic Museum Publishing Company], Stockholm, Sweden, 1989, p. 173.

⁵⁷ In France, Danish gloves were wrongly known as *gants de Suède* [gloves from Sweden]. Une société de savants, de littérateurs et d'artistes, français et étrangers [A Society of Scholars, Writers and Artists, Frenchmen and Foreigners], *Encyclopédie des gens du monde. Répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts* [Encyclopedia of the People of the World: A Universal Repertoire of the Sciences, the Humanities, and the Arts], Treuttel et Würtz, Paris, France, Volume 7, 1836, p. 499.

The first mention of glazed gloves found during the research for this article was in a Swedish newspaper dating from 18 October 1827, in an advertisement in *Dagligt Allehanda* [Daily Miscellaneous] in which French glazed gloves are offered for sale.⁵⁸ After that, they are mentioned more frequently but mostly in advertisements for the washing of glazed gloves, as, for example, in an advertisement in *Aftonbladet* [The Evening Paper], 9 April 1835, in which someone living in Hornsgatan [Horn's Street] in Stockholm offers to wash both white and coloured *glacéhandskar* [glazed gloves].⁵⁹ The wording of these advertisements confirms that glazed gloves had been on the market for some time, but perhaps under the name of *franska handskar* [French gloves] or similar. Only from the 1840s do the advertisements for *glacéhandskar* become more frequent.

If we are to believe the Swede, August Lindblom (1814–1857), who visited Paris in 1840,⁶⁰ the use of glacé gloves was typical of the so-called “Lions de Paris;” “lion” was the term used to describe the male leaders of fashion in the French capital.⁶¹ Lindblom also noted that the fashion to wear glazed gloves had not yet spread to the students of Paris, unlike students in Uppsala, Sweden, who, according to Lindblom's somewhat satirical description, apart from wearing “frock coats made by Keding [a known tailor in Uppsala], Russian dressing-gowns, ‘boucles d’amour’ and ‘Lunettes bicycles’ [binocles], were also were wearing glazed-gloves.”⁶²

⁵⁸ Advertisement, “Till Salu finnes” [For Sale], *Dagligt Allehanda* [Daily Miscellaneous], Johan Pfeiffer Publisher, Stockholm, Sweden, 18 October 1827, pp. 5–6.

⁵⁹ The title of this advertisement was “Till blekning” [For Bleaching]. It continued: Mottagas italienska och andra sorters halmhattar. Äfven förfärdigas siden och rottinghattar samt stommar, uti huset N:o 16 vid Hornsgatan på nedre botten. På samma ställe mottages hvita och kulörta glacéhandskar till tvättning

[Italian and other kinds of straw hats are being taken in (for bleaching). Silk and rattan hats as well as bodies are also made in the house Number 16 in Hornsgatan, bottom floor. At the same address, white and coloured glazed gloves are being washed].

Advertisement, “Till blekning” [For Bleaching], *Aftonbladet* [The Evening Paper], Lars Johan Hierta Publisher, Stockholm, Sweden, 9 April 1835, p. 4.

Aftonbladet was founded in 1830 by Lars Johan Hierta (1801–1872). It is still being published.

⁶⁰ August Lindblom, *Resentryck. Ur min dagbok 1840 och 1841* [Travel Impressions: From My Diary, 1840 and 1841], Part One: Paris, Ameen and Comp., Carlsrona, Sweden, 1842, p. 23.

⁶¹ It succeeded “le fashionable” and alternated with “le dandy” in the annals of slang.

Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2017, p. 68.

⁶² “Frackar sydde hos Keding, Ryska morgonrockar, ‘boucles d’amour’, ‘Lunettes bicycles’, glacéhandskar” [frock coats made by Keding, Russian dressing gowns, ‘boucles d’amour’ ‘Lunettes bicycles’ (binocles), glazed-gloves]

Lindblom, op cit., p. 96.

However, Åbom did not only purchase “French gloves.” On 25 October 1841, he paid 3 riksdaler for a pair of *castor handskar* [castor gloves], which were gloves made of beaver skin; *castor* being Latin for beaver. Beaver gloves were used for outdoor wear, promenades, and the like, as beaver gloves were warmer than gloves made of kid skin.

Scarves and Cravats

On 18 April 1841, Åbom purchased, for 6 riksdaler, *en swart sidenhalsduk* [a black silk scarf], the first of several silk scarves purchased by him during the investigated period of this article, 1841–1842. As suggested above, the silk scarves were probably used by him as cravats. The word cravat originates from a form of neck-cloth worn by members of the seventeenth century military unit known as the Croats, and is a neckcloth of lawn, muslin or silk, folded round the neck, the ends tied in a knot or bow in front. It was often starched and supported on a “stiffener.”⁶³ The use of neck-cloths as cravats had begun within the English aristocracy.

Their cravats were, however, made of exclusive materials so instead of tying them, something which caused wear on the sensitive material, they were held together round the neck by a pin. During the nineteenth century, the use of cravat pins, in Swedish *kråsnål* [breastpin], spread to other strata of society. Therefore, it is only natural that in the cash book several entries are also found regarding breast pins, sometimes in close connection to the purchase of silk scarves. For example, on 4 December 1842, Åbom purchased a breast pin for 4 riksdaler and, two days later, a black silk scarf for 8 riksdaler. However, his breastpins seem to have broken often, since he repeatedly had to pay for the repair of one.

By *Ryska morgonrockar* [Russian dressing gowns], Lindblom probably meant dressing gowns made of what was generally called *orientaliska tyger* [Oriental fabric], i.e., satin, imported from Russia. Anonymous, “Underrättelse om marknaden i Nijny-Nowgorod, den 15 augusti 1836” [Notification on the Market in Nizhny Novgorod, 15 August 1836], *Post-Och Inrikes Tidningar* [Post and Domestic Times], Svenska Akademien [The Swedish Academy], Stockholm, Sweden, 23 November 1836, p. 3.

⁶³ Cumming, et al., op cit., p. 59.

Shoes and Boots

The first entry related to shoes in the cash book is from 7 May 1841 and relates to a payment of 15 riksdaler to a shoemaker named Nilsson in Karlstad. A month later, on 7 June 1841, a shoemaker named Wikström in Stockholm received 39 riksdaler from Åbom. Unfortunately, neither of the entries in the cash book contains specific information regarding the payments to the shoemakers. It is not until an entry made in Karlstad on 24 October 1841 that we get some information about his errands at the shoemakers: for 14 riksdaler he purchased *ett par galoscher* [a pair of galoshes],⁶⁴ *två par halvsulade skor* [two pairs of half-soled shoes] (Figure 15), and a pair of second-hand boots strengthened with new leather on top. On 2 May 1842 Åbom, for 4 riksdaler, purchased his footman *ett par stövlar* [a pair of boots] (Figure 16) and on 24 December 1842 (on Christmas Eve) he gave 8 riksdaler for another pair of galoshes as well as for the repair of a pair of boots.



Figure 15:
Men's Shoe, circa 1850,
Leather,
© Livrustkammaren
[The Royal Armoury],
Stockholm, Sweden, 27248.

These shoes were worn by Ekengren, who worked as a *portier* [doorman] at the Royal Castle in Stockholm.



Figure 16:
Men's Winter Boots, 1840, Leather,
Pergament [Parchment],
Photographed by Elisabeth Eriksson,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden,
NM.0103811B.

⁶⁴ Galoshes are waterproof boots that provide protection from rain or snow.

Galoshes were available in Sweden in unvulcanised rubber from the 1820s and in vulcanised rubber from the 1840s.⁶⁵ It was, however, not until the 1880s that rubber replaced the Swedish leather galosh for men's wear, so in all probability Åbom's galoshes were made of leather, especially as he obtained them from shoemakers (Figure 17).



Figure 17:
Galoshes,
Leather, circa 1845,
Photographed by Elisabeth Eriksson,
© Nordiska museet,
Stockholm, Sweden,
NM.0093200A-B.

⁶⁵ Unvulcanized rubber is sensitive to temperature changes. It becomes soft and tacky in the heat and turns hard and brittle in cold weather. To resolve these issues, the vulcanization process was invented during the early 1840s by Charles Goodyear (1800–1860). Vulcanization is defined as “the method or process of treating india-rubber with sulphur and subjecting it to intense heat, by means of which it is rendered more durable and made adaptable for various purposes.”

James Murray, Editor, et al., “Vulcanization,” *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Compact Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 1971, p. 3661.

Walking Sticks

On 23 April 1842, Åbom finally, for 3 riksdaler 24 shillings, purchased what can be considered as the finishing touch to a gentleman's wardrobe, a walking stick or cane, as illustrated in Figure 18. Walking sticks were indispensable fashion accessories for men and women during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, used to display a sense of gentility and social propriety. In Sweden, there was, however, one place where walking sticks were not to be taken, and that was to church.



Figure 18:

Stockholms mode-journal. Tidskrift för den eleganta världen
[Stockholm's Fashion Journal: Magazine for the Elegant World],⁶⁶
Albert Bonniers Förlag [Albert Bonnier's Publishing Company],
Stockholm, Sweden, January 1847, Illustration #2.

⁶⁶ This fashion magazine was published in Stockholm during 1843–1856.

Conclusion

This article was based on entries made during 1841–1842 in a cash book maintained by the 24-year-old Swedish architect, Johan Fredrik Åbom. It illustrated the fashionable wardrobe that Åbom built to reflect his professional position, including the acquisition of jackets and overcoats, trousers, waistcoats, hats, gloves, scarves and cravats, shoes and boots, and walking sticks. This research is important as the cash book provides a unique opportunity to study questions of Swedish dress code among the professional elite and how fashion was diffused.

To build a fashionable wardrobe that reflected his position as a professional architect, who managed large projects at the Överintendentsämbetet and in private consulting, seems to have been important to Åbom from the moment he started to keep his cash book in 1841, even if the first garment he purchased, the tulup, was primarily to keep him warm. Åbom succeeded sartorially, and at the end of the investigated period of this article, 1842, Åbom was a very well-dressed young man, prepared for most occasions, including formal, informal, and professional. The cash book has thus provided many new insights into the life of a young Swedish professional, which would otherwise have been unknown.

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**Addicted to Frills:
The Fervour for Antique Lace in New York High Society,
1840–1900**

Elena Kanagy-Loux

Abstract

This article will examine the fashion for antique lace during the Victorian period and how lace conveyed a high status for collectors. During the nineteenth century, the mechanisation of the textile industry caused a shift in the established hierarchies of society, and the wealthy elite had to find new ways to distinguish themselves from the growing middle class. Despite widespread philanthropic efforts to support struggling lacemakers, antique lace became the rage, and the price of old lace skyrocketed beyond comparable lace purchased brand new. Collections of antique laces were as valuable as jewels, and experts warned against dealers who sold reproductions of old lace disguised as originals. Despite its value, many dealers also offered services to rearrange antique lace into modern silhouettes. Today, it is rare to find a large piece of Baroque lace that was not cut up and reassembled to follow the whims of Victorian fashion.

Introduction

Today we might not stop to consider the meaning behind the doilies on our grandmother's armchair or the fragments of lace in her scrapbook. However, as French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) argued in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, even the most frivolous-seeming decorative choice can be interpreted as an expression of status.¹ Lace has gone in and out of fashion since its emergence during the last decade of the fifteenth century, but there was no period more tumultuous for lace than the nineteenth century. The invention of the first successful lace machine in the opening decades precipitated the slow demise of the handmade lace industry. Previously, fine lace had only been accessible to the wealthiest strata of society, and the sudden widespread availability of machinemade lace forced the upper classes to find a new means of communicating their high status through dress.

This article will argue that collecting antique laces during the second half of the nineteenth century functioned as a way for New York's high society to maintain their dominance over the hierarchy of taste. *The Ladies' Home Journal* deemed assembling a lace collection “even if it be on a very humble scale” as a “nineteenth century necessity.”² The greatest collections of lace, which included rare figural Renaissance laces, royal provenance, and gossamer threads finer than could be spun by machine, were known across the western world.

¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 1984, p. 2.

² Alethe Lowber Craig, “Peerless Laces and Famous Gems,” *The Ladies' Home Journal*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 12, Number 6, May 1893, p. 8.

A Brief History of Lace

Although generally defined as a textile in which the vacant areas define the pattern, traditional lace can be divided into two types: bobbin lace and needle lace. Despite their technical differences, both techniques emerged around the same time period, 1490–1520, and their explosion from simple narrow edgings to some of the costliest and most desirable accessories ever produced progressed in tandem. Bobbin lace evolved out of passementerie techniques, a type of braiding that became so complicated that individual threads were wound around wooden bobbins to keep them organised. Early bobbin lace is relatively simple, as can be seen in the earliest pattern book for bobbin lace, *Le Pompe*, published in Venice in 1557.³

As designs for bobbin lace became increasingly elaborate over the centuries, however, their patterns became too complicated to illustrate in books, and subsequently new pattern books ceased to appear with the same frequency. Bobbin lace arguably reached the pinnacle of both complexity and design in Belgium in the mid eighteenth century⁴ with techniques such as Point d'Angleterre, a figural lace wherein each motif was worked individually and then assembled into a grand final design. Continuous Belgian laces like Valenciennes,⁵ which were worked with a single set of gossamer-fine threads numbering as many as eight hundred bobbins for a 10 centimetre wide strip,⁶ had developed into complex patterns often imitating woven silks.⁷ Lace historian Pat Earnshaw⁸ estimates that a single pair of men's Valenciennes ruffles could take a lacemaker working fifteen hours per day ten months to complete.⁹

³ Mme. L. Paulis, "Le Pompe: A Study of the Technique of Sixteenth Century Bobbin Laces," *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 6, Number 1, 1922, p. 3.

⁴ Santina Levey, *Lace: A History*, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 1983, p. 45.

⁵ Valenciennes is a type of bobbin lace named for the town of Valenciennes, France, situated on the Franco-Flemish border. The lace is identifiable by the diamond-shaped mesh ground.

⁶ Levey, op cit., p. 50.

⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

⁸ Pat Earnshaw was born in 1922.

⁹ Pat Earnshaw, *The Identification of Lace*, Shire Publications, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, England, 1980, p. 82.

In contrast, needle lace is worked with a single needle and thread, but it requires no less technical precision than bobbin lace. The precursor to needle lace was embroidered lace, wherein a design was traced onto plain weave linen fabric, areas of the material were removed via cutwork¹⁰ and drawnwork,¹¹ and buttonhole stitches¹² were worked back into the voided areas. As the designs grew in complexity, the voided areas became larger and required an increasing amount of discarded threads. In a period when making simple linen fabric involved growing flax, processing the fiber, spinning it into yarn, dressing the loom, and weaving it by hand, wasting any amount of thread was costly.

Frugality is often the force behind creative innovation, and eventually, the fabric was done away with entirely and the stitches worked directly onto a parchment base, resulting in a technique known as *punto in aria*, literally “stitches in air.”¹³ In Venice, often cited as the place of origin for needle lace,¹⁴ the technique arguably reached its peak in the mid seventeenth century with three-dimensional gros point de Venise lace, which could contain as many as 6000 buttonhole stitches per square inch.¹⁵ It is no wonder that the Baroque gros point would become the obsession of late nineteenth century lace collectors.

¹⁰ Cutwork is a decorative embroidery technique in which areas of the base fabric are cut out to create the design. An early example of cutwork lace is reticella, which dates to early sixteenth century Italy.

¹¹ Drawnwork is a technique in which individual threads are drawn out of the base fabric or pulled together to produce a decorative openwork effect.

¹² A buttonhole stitch is a looped stitch worked with a needle and thread often used to finish holes for buttons.

¹³ Pat Earnshaw, *Lace in Fashion from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Gorse Publications, Guildford, Surrey, England, 1991, p. 136.

¹⁴ Zion Lace Industries, *The Romance of Lace: Its Historical Background, Its Present Manufacture, Its Varieties and Uses*, Marshall Field and Company, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1920, p. 5.

¹⁵ Pat Earnshaw, *A Dictionary of Lace*, Shire Publications Ltd., Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, England, 1982, p. 180.

From Hand to Machine Production

The mechanisation of lace production spanned several decades, as the textile is complicated for both humans and machines to produce. However, inventors worked furiously to replicate handmade bobbin and then needle lace, and the introduction of the Bobbin-net¹⁶ machine by John Heathcoat (1783–1861) in 1808¹⁷ spelled doom for the hand lace industry. It was followed quickly by the invention of the Leavers¹⁸ lace machine by John Levers¹⁹ in 1813,²⁰ which was adapted to use jacquard²¹ technology in 1834.²² Although the Leavers machine could only make simple mesh fabric until 1823, it was already being used as a base onto which handmade lace motifs were appliquéd,²³ which drastically reduced costs.²⁴ Rapid innovations in design technology occurred much to the chagrin of connoisseurs, who described machinemade lace as “not as interesting nor as artistic as is the handwork, although the design forms can be produced and reproduced with elaborate exactness and counterpart.”²⁵

¹⁶ “Bobbin-net” refers to a “two twist bobbin net” or “bobbinet” replicating point ground stitch in bobbin lace.

¹⁷ Earnshaw, 1982, op cit., p. 79.

¹⁸ The inventor’s surname was Levers, but the machine he patented is known as a Leavers machine, with its slightly different spelling.

¹⁹ The birthyear and deathyear of John Levers are unknown.

²⁰ Vittoria Rosatto, et al., *Leavers Lace: A Hand Book of the American Leaver Lace Industry*, American Lace Manufacturers Association, Providence, Rhode Island, United States, 1949, p. 11.

²¹ Jacquard technology refers to a loom invented by Joseph-Marie Jacquard (1752–1854) in 1804–1805. The technology utilised punch cards to control the actions of the loom. The punch card system was the precursor to the binary system and eventually computer technology.

²² Earnshaw, 1982, op cit., p. 98.

²³ Appliqué is an applied fabric decoration in which fabric is cut out then stitched to a base fabric.

²⁴ Rosatto, op cit., p. 8.

²⁵ W.G. Bowdoin, “Point and Pillow Laces,” *The Artist: An Illustrated Monthly Record of Arts, Crafts, and Industries*, American Edition, Volume 27, Number 241, February 1900, p. 257.

By 1860, the English machine lace industry had already grown to include 150,000 workers, compared to only 10,000 producing lace by hand.²⁶ Hand lacemaking was often done by women who worked to supplement their family's income (as opposed to machinemade lace, which was a male dominated industry),²⁷ so when the women's already low wages were slashed, it had a devastating impact on the industry.²⁸ However, in contrast to wages, mechanisation caused the value of handmade lace to rise, as it was considered superior to machinemade laces.²⁹ The sudden influx of machinemade lace into the market made handmade antiques all the more desirable, because as Bourdieu explains, the "rarity and legitimacy" of commercial goods like antiques conveyed a higher status, and made them "the supreme symbol of excellence."³⁰

The distinction between the two was clear, as retailers advertised handmade laces as "real lace," implying that machinemade lace was only an imitation.³¹ It was the lacemakers' skilled hands that imbued lace with value, a human element that could never be replicated by machine. In a handbook on Victorian interior design, published in 1869, *Hints on Household Taste*, author Charles Locke Eastlake (1836–1906) asserted that "every lady recognises the superiority of handmade lace and other textile fabrics over those which are produced by artificial means."³² Eastlake argued that "the perfect finish and accurate uniformity of shape...indicate degrees not only of advanced civilisation, but, inversely, of decline in taste." Handwork, he continues, "to the end of time will always be more interesting than the result of mechanical precision."³³

²⁶ Elaine Freedgood, "Fine Fingers: Victorian Handmade Lace and Utopian Consumption," *Victorian Studies*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, United States, Volume 45, Number 4, Summer 2003, p. 627.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

²⁸ Alice May Bullock, *Lace and Lacemaking*, Batsford Ltd, London, England, 1981, p. 58.

²⁹ Helen Anderson, "Lace," *The Decorator and Furnisher*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 15, Number 6, March 1890, p. 199.

³⁰ Bourdieu, *op cit.*, p. 275.

³¹ Bullock, *op cit.*, p. 45.

³² Charles Locke Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste: The Classic Handbook of Victorian Interior Decoration*, Longmans, Green, London, England, 1869, pp. 94–95.

³³ *Ibid.*

However, clear distinctions were drawn between refined antique laces and the craft laces made by hobbyists.³⁴ Eastlake disparages the “wretched patterns sold at ‘fancy-work shops’” as in poor taste, and praises only the handmade laces which imitate historic patterns.³⁵ An 1890 article on lace in *The Decorator and Furnisher* muses that “there is no doubt that before the French Revolution the laces were much more artistic, indeed it seems that the further back we go the more delicate and original becomes the needle-work of all countries.”³⁶ Upon reviewing the evolution of lace up to that period, however, it is clear this is not exactly the case. Handmade laces during the nineteenth century certainly included some simpler techniques like tatting³⁷ and crochet,³⁸ but it was also a period during which some very fine laces such as Chantilly³⁹ and point de gaze⁴⁰ emerged. Despite this, the perception that the older the lace, the better the quality persisted throughout the late Victorian period out of nostalgia and contributed to the prestige of antique lace.

³⁴ Freedgood, op cit., p. 632.

³⁵ Eastlake, op cit., p. 88.

³⁶ Anderson, op cit., p. 199.

³⁷ Developed out of eighteenth century decorative knotting, tatting is a lace technique that emerged in the early nineteenth century. Tatting utilises a needle or tatting shuttle to make knots around a core thread, which then forms a series of connected rings with picot edges.

³⁸ Crochet is a lace technique developed in the early nineteenth century in imitation of needle lace stitches. Crochet requires a long, narrow crochet hook to pull threads through loops.

³⁹ Chantilly is a type of bobbin lace named for the town of Chantilly, France, situated north of Paris. Chantilly lace emerged in the early nineteenth century and is traditionally made with black silk thread. Designs are typically elaborate floral motifs outlined in a heavier thread or gimp with a tulle mesh background.

⁴⁰ Point de gaze is a Flemish needle lace of fine linen or cotton threads that emerged in the mid nineteenth century and peaked in popularity towards the end of the century. It is distinguished by the lightweight ground of single buttonhole stitches and the ornate floral designs, sometimes incorporating three-dimensional petals.

A Resurgence in the Popularity of Lace

Paralleling the rise in mechanisation, the second half of the nineteenth century also saw the history of lace emerging as a serious field of study, and numerous books on the origins of lace were published during this time. One of the earliest and most well known books on the topic was written by Frances Bury Palliser (1805–1878) in 1865.⁴¹ Simply titled, *A History of Lace*, Mrs. Palliser's book is a comprehensive guide to lacemaking across Europe and beyond, starting with net-making techniques depicted in ancient Egyptian tombs⁴² through the present day. The book's success led not only to several reprints but also to a plethora of other publications on lace history, many of which discuss the popularity of collecting. These books and articles not only served as guides for collectors of antique lace to aid in identification, but also glorified the hand lacemaking industry and denigrated machinemade laces.⁴³

Due in part to the new accessibility of machine lace and to the circulation of books on lace history, the fashion for lace exploded during the second half of the nineteenth century. In *The Oxford English Dictionary* timeline of historical dictionaries,⁴⁴ entries pertaining to lace appeared 29 times during the eighteenth century and 39 times during 1800–1849, peaking at 102 entries with the subject of lace during 1850–1899. During the 1860s, the dictionary also included a larger variety of specific lace names like Binche,⁴⁵ Burano,⁴⁶ and Lille,⁴⁷ suggesting that these references were, if not common knowledge, at least in wide enough usage to earn individual entries.

⁴¹ Frances Bury Palliser, *A History of Lace*, Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, London, England, 1865.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴³ Freedgood, op cit., p. 628.

⁴⁴ James Murray, Editor, et al., "Lace," *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Online Edition, <https://www-oed-com.metlibrary.idm.oclc.org/browsedictionary?scope=SENSE&subjectClass=Lace&timeline=true&type=dictionarybrowse>, Accessed 28 April 2020.

As with many online databases, the above link to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) can only be accessed through a subscription. Once accessed, the home page features a "Timelines" link. Select "Timelines," then within that, select the subject "Crafts and Trades," then the category "Textiles," and then the subcategory "Lace." A graph will appear of all dictionary entries related to lace. Hover the mouse to view the quantity of entries in each date range.

⁴⁵ Binche is a Flemish bobbin lace dating back to the seventeenth century named for the town of Binche, but not exclusively made there. Known for its abstract designs worked in extremely fine threads using a combination of complex stitches such as "snowflakes" and "partridge eye ground."

⁴⁶ Burano lace is a historic Venetian needle lace made on the island of Burano starting in the late nineteenth century and patronised by Queen Margherita of Savoy (1851–1926).

⁴⁷ Lille is a lightweight, tulle ground bobbin lace made in black or white thread with simple designs outlined in a gimp (or heavy thread) traditionally made in the town of Lille, France (formerly part of Flanders).

Another contributing factor in the resurgence of lace in fashion was due to the efforts of Queen Victoria (1819–1901), who strongly supported the English lace industry. For her wedding to Prince Albert (1819–1861) on 10 February 1840, she wore a wedding dress flounce and veil trimmed with Honiton lace⁴⁸ which took 200 lacemakers in the town of Beer in Devon eight months to complete, for which they were reportedly paid £1000.^{49, 50} By the middle of the nineteenth century, the handmade lace industry had shrunk substantially, and it proved challenging to identify enough skilled lacemakers to produce the lace for Queen Victoria's wedding dress. A connoisseur of antique lace as well, in 1900 it was estimated that Queen Victoria had amassed a lace collection worth £80,000.^{51, 52}

Well-Known Lace Collections

The finest American lace collections often started with purchases of lace by wealthy families in growing northeastern American cities such as Boston and New York during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who passed them down as heirlooms. Even when the heavier Renaissance and Baroque laces were out of fashion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in favour of lighter mesh-grounded laces, prized collections were safely stored for future generations as a valuable inheritance.⁵³

⁴⁸ Named for the town of Honiton in East Devon, England, Honiton lace is a non-continuous bobbin lace (or part lace) in which the motifs are worked individually and then assembled on a handmade or machinemade ground.

⁴⁹ "The Queen's Wedding Dress," *Review of Reviews*, Review of Reviews Corporation, London, England, Volume 12, July–December 1895, p. 42.

⁵⁰ The United Kingdom pound amount of £1000 in 1840 is equivalent to approximately £102,639 in 2019.

Anonymous, *Inflation Calculator for United Kingdom Currency*, The Bank of England, London, England, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>, Accessed 12 May 2020.

⁵¹ Bowdoin, op cit., p. 257.

⁵² The United Kingdom pound amount of £80,000 in 1840 is equivalent to approximately £9,906,956 in 2019.

Anonymous, *Inflation Calculator for United Kingdom Currency*, op cit.

⁵³ Frances Morris, *Notes on Laces of the American Colonists: With Plates Explanatory of Lace Technique from Antique Laces of the American Collectors*, William Helburn, New York, New York, United States, 1926, pp. 11–12.

Lace collecting was a popular pastime amongst the wives of wealthy New York City businessmen, and the credit line of lace in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection often bears well-known names such as Mrs. John Jacob Astor (née Charlotte Augusta Gibbes, 1825–1887) and Mrs. J.P. Morgan (née Jane Norton Grew, 1868–1925).⁵⁴ In a 1932 *Fortune* magazine article on well-known lace collectors from the past century, it was proclaimed that “lace is to his wife what Rembrandts are to the U.S. financier.”⁵⁵ Both husband and wife rejected modern pieces in favour of antiques, preferring “the glamour of reconstructing a world in which men wore lace cravats, lace cuffs, lace collars; trimmed their boots with lace; wiped their very razors with lace towels.”⁵⁶

Some of the most well-known New York lace collections were documented and assembled into a comprehensive folio by The Metropolitan Museum's first curator of textiles Frances Morris together with lace connoisseur Marian Hague, titled, *Antique Laces of American Collectors*.⁵⁷ Published by William Hellburn, inc. for the Needle and Bobbin Club⁵⁸ in 1920, it includes detailed large-scale lithographic plates of prized pieces of lace photographed on a black background, with descriptions including size, period, type, and origin. Based on what was included, early Italian laces from around the seventeenth century appear to be some of the most highly coveted, particularly those with figural motifs of humans and animals (Figure 1).

⁵⁴ Francis Morris and Marian Hague, *Antique Laces of American Collectors*, Published for The Needle and Bobbin Club by William Helburn Inc., New York, New York, United States, 1920, Preface.

⁵⁵ H.W. Wilson, “The Gossamer Trail of Lace,” *Fortune Magazine*, Henry Luce Publications, New York, New York, United States, Volume 5, Number 6, June 1932, p. 56.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Morris, 1920, op cit.

⁵⁸ A lace organisation founded in 1916 by Gertrude Whiting (1882–1951), The Needle and Bobbin Club initially held meetings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The Club also published *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* semi-annually until the Club was disbanded in 1989.

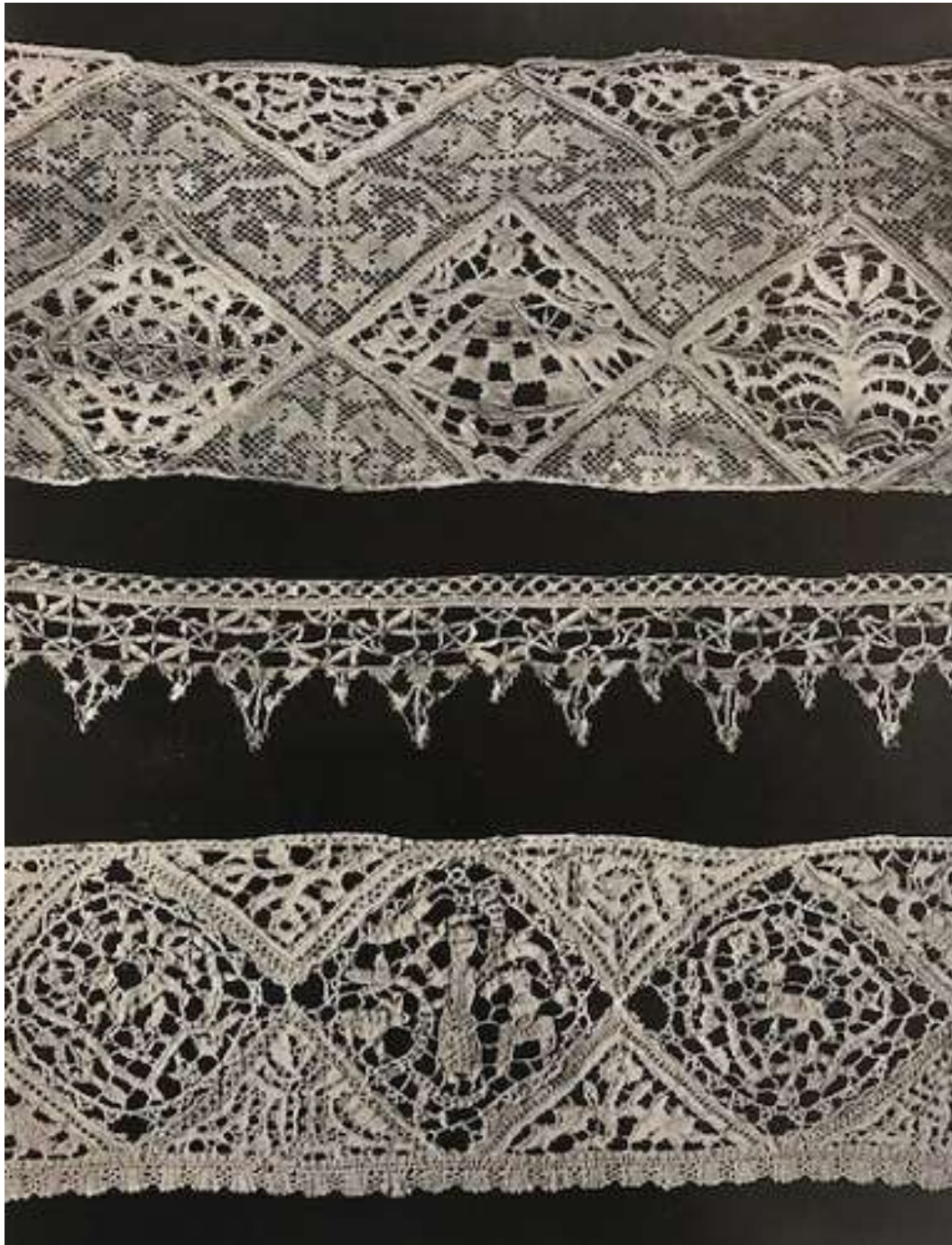


Figure 1:
Detail, *Mrs. Morgan Collection*,
Published in *Antique Laces of American Collectors*,
Frances Morris and Marian Hague,
Published for The Needle and Bobbin Club by William Helburn,
New York, New York, United States, 1920, Plate XIII, Volume 1, Part 1,
Photographed by Elena Kanagy-Loux, 3 May 2017,
© Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, New York, United States.

The list of collectors to whom the laces originally belonged include a number of society ladies such as the aforementioned Mrs. Astor and Mrs. Morgan, as well as wealthy philanthropists like Florence Blumenthal (1875–1930).⁵⁹ Many of these lace pieces were already in the possession of The Metropolitan Museum of Art when the folio was published, like the Astor collection, which was gifted to the museum by Mrs. Astor in 1888.⁶⁰ Today, the collection of lace in The Metropolitan Museum of Art includes more than 5000 pieces. One collection of particular fame was the Blackborne collection, started by Anthony Blackborne (1874–1878) in 1850, and carried on by his son Arthur Blackborne (1856–1952).⁶¹ In 1909, The Metropolitan Museum purchased 600 pieces from the collection, which was widely considered to be one of the best lace collections ever assembled, for \$20,000.^{62, 63} Described in a 1909 article in *The New York Times* as “the most important in the collection,”⁶⁴ the purchase included a panel of Venetian needle lace measuring five feet in length by six inches depicting the story of Judith and Holofernes⁶⁵ in 13 frames (Figure 2).

⁵⁹ Morris, 1920, op cit.

⁶⁰ Winifred E. Howe, *A History of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, with a Chapter on the Early Institutions of Art in New York*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, United States, 1913, p. 312.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 313.

⁶² Anonymous, “Museum of Art Buys Blackborne Laces; Pays \$20,000 for Collection of 600 Pieces Representing All Periods for 400 Years,” *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 11 May 1909, p. 6.

⁶³ The United States dollar amount of \$20,000 in 1909 is equivalent to approximately \$614,640 in 2019.

For more information, see:

Anonymous, “Consumer Price Index, 1800–,” *Inflation Calculator for United States Currency*, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->, Accessed 12 May 2020.

⁶⁴ “Museum of Art Buys Blackborne Laces,” op cit.

⁶⁵ The story of Judith and Holofernes refers to the deuterocanonical Old Testament story from the Book of Judith, in which the beautiful widow Judith seduces and beheads the tyrannical Assyrian general Holofernes to protect the city of Bethulia from impending destruction.

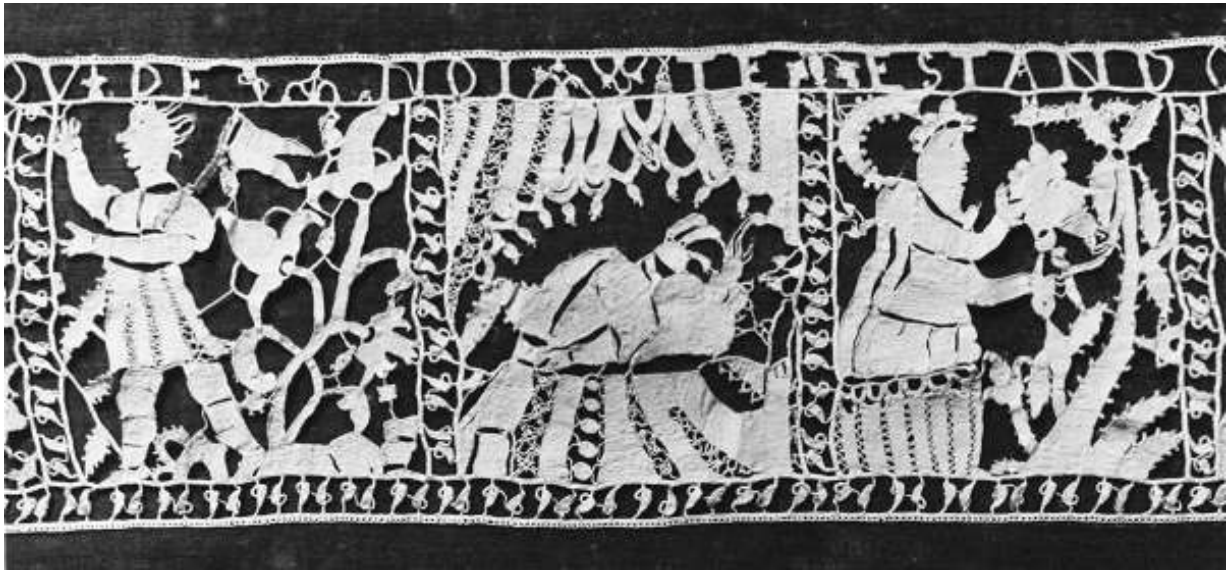


Figure 2:

Panel, Needle Lace, Punto in Aria,⁶⁶ Maker Unknown, circa 1550–1650, Venice, Italy, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, United States, 09.68.90.

Other well-known collections include the Nuttall Collection, obtained from Magdalena Parrott Nuttall (1834–1911) in 1908, and the Seligman Collection of Henrietta Seligman (1884–1909) including 95 pieces of seventeenth and eighteenth century lace, which she donated to the museum in 1910.⁶⁷ In 1906, The Metropolitan Museum opened a Lace Room to showcase their collection of 700 pieces of lace, and due to the influx of donations, the lace collection numbered over 3,000 pieces by 1910.⁶⁸ Prior to the creation of permanent galleries, the famed Astor and Stuart collections were on display with other objects from the European decorative arts collection.

⁶⁶ Punto in aria (literally “stitches in air”) is an Italian needle lace technique that developed in the early sixteenth century in which stitches are worked directly onto a parchment base.

⁶⁷ Wilson, op cit., p. 61.

⁶⁸ Frances Morris, “The Rearrangement of the Lace Collection,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, United States, Volume 5, Number 12, December 1910, pp. 285–286.

Exhibiting Lace

International expositions were a popular format for exhibiting treasures from well-known lace collections during the Victorian period. In 1851, the Great Exhibition of London showcased an enormous range of antiques, curiosities, and the most cutting edge technology, and included many examples of handmade and machinemade lace, both antique and modern. Housed in the Crystal Palace, a glass and iron structure built in Hyde Park in central London specifically to accommodate the event, the Great Exhibition was the first in a series of world fairs highlighting industry and culture from around the globe.⁶⁹

Due to its great popularity, the collection of decorative art objects showcased in the Crystal Palace eventually became the foundation for The Victoria and Albert Museum.⁷⁰ An article in *Scientific American* on the Great Exhibition highlighted some of the lace and linen manufacturers showcasing their wares from across Europe, and gave the highest praise to Maison Sophie Defrenne of Brussels, a lace firm which was exhibiting a linen handkerchief “so fine and beautiful that it is valued at \$500.”^{71, 72} The unnamed author asserted that “millions have heard of the well-known Brussels lace, who have never seen it,” but that all visitors would be satisfied by the fine collars and handkerchiefs on view.⁷³

⁶⁹ Anonymous, “The Crystal Palace: Opening of the Exhibition,” *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 15 July 1853, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Bullock, op cit., p. 45.

⁷¹ Anonymous, “Crystal Palace,” *Scientific American*, Scientific American, a Division of Nature America, Inc., United States, Volume 9, Number 12, 3 December 1853, p. 94.

⁷² The United States dollar amount of \$500 in 1851 is equivalent to approximately \$15,366 in 2019. For more information, see:

Anonymous, “Consumer Price Index, 1800–,” op cit.

⁷³ Anonymous, “Crystal Palace,” op cit.

The success of the Great Exhibition inspired other countries and cities to hold large expositions of their own, and in 1893 the World Fair: Columbia Exposition, also known at the Chicago World's Fair, included lace in the "Women's Building."⁷⁴ Some of the laces came from overseas, such as lace from the Irish Industrial Association,⁷⁵ a philanthropic organisation founded by Ishbel Hamilton-Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair (1857–1939) to employ Irish craftspeople in lacemaking and embroidery.⁷⁶

That same year, The Chicago Art Institute held a lace exhibition that included storied lace from around the globe.⁷⁷ Well-known donors contributed rarities such as a piece of guipure⁷⁸ lace designed by Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483–1520), better known as Raphael, and an award-winning Chantilly lace shawl from the Paris Exposition of 1867.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Anonymous, "World's Fair Notes," *Friends' Intelligencer and Journal*, Friends' Intelligencer Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Intelligencer Volume 28, Number 28, Journal Volume 19, Number 983, 28 November 1891, p. v.

The *Friends' Intelligencer and Journal* originally began as two publications, the *Friends' Weekly Intelligencer* and *The Journal*, which were united in 1884. The combined publication retained both volume and issue numbers from the previous publications until the journal portion was dropped and it became the *Friends' Intelligencer* in 1893.

For more information, see:

Thomas D. Hamm, "Liberal Quaker Journal Publishing to 1955," 1 December 2005, <https://www.friendsjournal.org/2005133>, Accessed 13 May 2020.

⁷⁵ Anonymous, "Notes on Preparations for Chicago Exhibition," *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, London, England, Volume 24, 15 April 1893, p. 131.

⁷⁶ Anonymous, "World's Fair Notes," op cit.

⁷⁷ Anonymous, "Notes and Novelties," *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 4, Number 5, 1 January 1893, p. 80.

⁷⁸ Guipure lace is a broad category of bobbin lace typified by four-strand braiding.

⁷⁹ Anonymous, "Notes and Novelties," 1893, op cit.

At the 1893 Chicago Art Institute exhibition, one Chicago lace collector, Bertha Honoré Potter Palmer (1849–1918), was described in a magazine, titled, *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, as a woman of “refined taste” who “finds time to collect in addition to performing her many duties, social, public, and domestic.”⁸⁰ In addition to serving as the President of the Board of Lady Managers for the Chicago World’s Fair,⁸¹ she contributed her collection of approximately 100 pieces of lace, recently purchased on a trip to Paris, to The Chicago Art Institute exhibition.⁸²

Building and Displaying a Lace Collection

In the 1890s, *The Collector* tracked the Victorian fashion for amassing collections of various desirable objects, and included many articles about antique lace, as well as advertisements of lace dealers. An article, titled, “A Curio Collector’s Confessions” published in May 1891 shared tips on how to spot inauthentic lace while bargain-hunting, and “the thrill of finding a valuable piece at a below market price.”⁸³ The demand for old goods had also spawned a business in shops selling antiques “as false as a dude’s vows or a summer girl’s sentiment.”⁸⁴ Readers are warned to beware the “bric-a-brac spider,”⁸⁵ who goes so far as to coat their imitation wares with dirt and dust to make them look authentically aged. The author advises that aspiring collectors “take advice and only buy the best of the genuine. It will cost much money and much labor, but it will repay you, not only by intrinsic charm and beauty, but by the continual increase of value from year to year.”⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Anonymous, “Some Collectors of Chicago,” *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 5, Number 13, 1 May 1893, p. 207.

⁸¹ Bertha Honoré Potter Palmer, *Addresses and Reports of Mrs. Potter Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, World’s Columbian Commission*, Rand, McNally and Company, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1894.

⁸² Anonymous, “Some Collectors of Chicago,” op cit.

⁸³ Anonymous, “A Curio Collector’s Confessions,” *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 2, Number 14, 15 May 1891, p. 168.

⁸⁴ Anonymous, “Notes and Novelties,” *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 3, Number 4, 15 December 1891, p. 63.

⁸⁵ Anonymous, “A Curio Collector’s Confessions,” op cit.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

An article in *The Collector* in 1894, titled, “Crazes and Common Sense” is harshly critical of lace collectors who buy anything other than perfect specimens. To purchase “ridiculous rags and scraps”⁸⁷ like torn lace is “a form of lunacy,”⁸⁸ and defeats the purpose of assembling a beautiful collection. “It is not collectorship at all, any more than is the shabby aggregation of rubbish in a dime museum.”⁸⁹ Although the magazine derides poor collections, even worse were the *nouveau riche* who lacked the good taste to collect at all. One author recalls an anecdote about a multi-millionaire’s wife who, when given the opportunity to purchase a fine antique Valenciennes⁹⁰ lace shawl, retorted that she “niver buy second hand t’ings!”⁹¹ Thus, the importance of not only collecting lace, but collecting the right pieces, during the late Victorian period is thrown into sharp relief. Clearly, if a society lady collected inauthentic or shabby objects, or failed to collect at all, she risked becoming the subject of gossip amongst connoisseurs.

Luckily, there were many guidebooks available to aid in assembling a lace collection, with detailed histories to help in identification, and tips on how best to display your treasures. Published in 1874, *The Queen Lace Book* was a popular resource, including instructions on how to arrange your lace collection into albums so that they could be appreciated properly. According to *The Queen Lace Book*, to have a complete collection, one needed three full albums: one for Medieval lace, one for needle lace, and one for bobbin lace. Black glazed paper was suggested as the best option to throw the details of the lace into bold contrast. (Figure 3) Albums allowed collectors to display smaller lace fragments, enabling collectors to amass a more varied collection without the great expenditure of larger pieces. Upon their completion, these were to be displayed on drawing room tables and perused by visitors.⁹²

⁸⁷ Anonymous, “Crazes and Common Sense,” *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 6, Number 2, 15 November 1894, p. 21.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Valenciennes is a type of bobbin lace named for the town of Valenciennes on the Franco-Flemish border and identifiable by the diamond-shaped mesh ground.

⁹¹ Anonymous, “Mrs. Hearst’s Laces,” *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 6, Number 20, 1 October 1895, p. 327.

⁹² Anonymous, *The Queen Lace Book: A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Hand-Made Antique Laces of All Countries*, Horace Cox Publisher, The Queen Office, London, England, 1874, p. 38.



Figure 3:
Needle Lace Samples Mounted on Black Paper,
circa Late Nineteenth Century,

Photographed by Elena Kanagy-Loux, 28 January 2017,

© The Private Collection of Devon Thein, Livingston, New Jersey, United States.

Alternatively, one could choose to display one's lace collection in a curio cabinet. This way, lace could be rotated frequently, rather than permanently adhered into books. According to *A History of Hand-Made Lace*, another guide for lace collectors, the ideal cabinets for displaying lace were Chippendale, Empire, or Louis style, lined with dark velvet or satin.⁹³ Lace samples could be pinned into place and displayed alongside small cards with details about their origins.

⁹³ Mrs. F. Nevill Jackson with Ernesto Jesurum, *A History of Hand-Made Lace*, L. Upcott Gill, London, England, 1900, pp. 91-92.

Ideally, one would have a large enough collection to have multiple cabinets for different lace regions, in which case the cabinet style should correspond to the geographic region of the lace on display.⁹⁴ The way in which one chose to showcase their lace was up to the individual. What was most important was to have a collection containing “perfect specimens of all kinds from all countries in the different styles of design throughout the centuries.”⁹⁵

The Care of Antique Lace

Instructions on how to care for lace could vary: some authors fell more in line with current conservation practice and thought all laces should stay intact to retain their historical accuracy, while others suggested altering them to keep up with fashion. The Victorian affection for the patina of age led to a fashion for staining white laces to a yellowish hue. In an article on the care of fine laces, *Good Housekeeping* suggested keeping your “old yellow lace” free from dirt by washing in a lather of soap and lukewarm water, but then contradictorily, dipping it in black coffee to retain its aged pigment.⁹⁶ Another author, however, described the right colour for lace as “unbleached with a slight tint”—the uses of yellowing pigments were deemed “outrages on good taste that need not be mentioned in connection with needle-point and bobbin lace.” Additionally, this author scolds followers of the fashion for the greyish “Isabeau”⁹⁷ tinted lace, which was named for a “queen who showed her devotion to her lord by vowing to change no body linen until his return from the wars.”⁹⁸

Re-Fashioning Antique Lace

As much as antique lace was treasured, it was still subject to the mandates of fashion, and even the oldest pieces were not spared rearrangement. Thus, “damaged pieces were dissected and regrounded even though it ruined the design and the new mesh was inappropriate, while the magnificent ecclesiastical flounces of the seventeenth century were cut like yardages of material to get out matching collars, cuffs, and edgings.”⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Bullock, op cit., p. 159.

⁹⁶ A Lover of Fine Laces, “Laces and Their Care,” *Good Housekeeping*, Clark W. Bryan Company, Springfield, Massachusetts, United States, Volume 26, January–June 1898, p. 61.

⁹⁷ Isabeau lace likely refers to Isabella I (1451–1504) and Ferdinand V (1452–1516) of Castille, Spain, who were known for their supposedly profound love.

⁹⁸ Jackson, op cit., p. 87.

⁹⁹ Earnshaw, 1991, op cit., p. 96.

During the 1880s, when heavier Venetian needle laces like seventeenth century gros point were popular, they were “hunted out and skillfully remodeled into trimmings and accessories of shapes currently fashionable.”¹⁰⁰ There are many examples of this in museum collections, including in The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collection of over 5000 pieces of lace. Although some of the rearrangements are very well done, it is possible upon careful examination to see the hand-stitched seams where multiple pieces of lace have been combined (Figure 4).



Figure 4:
Detail, *Collar and Vestee at 21x Magnification*,
French, Linen, Needle Lace, Point Plat, circa Seventeenth Century,
Photographed by Elena Kanagy-Loux, 19 August 2019,
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, New York, United States, 1979.310.10.

¹⁰⁰ Patricia Wardle, *Victorian Lace*, Charles T. Branford, Newton, Massachusetts, United States, 1982, p. 39.

In many cases, even the finest stitching cannot hide the anachronistic combination of Renaissance or Baroque lace and nineteenth century silhouettes, as is the case with this Victorian-style high collar and vestee¹⁰¹ of late seventeenth century point plat de France (Figure 5).¹⁰²



Figure 5:
*Collar
and Vestee,*
French,
Linen,
Needle Lace,
Point Plat,
circa
Seventeenth
Century,
Photographed
by Elena
Kanagy-Loux,
19 August
2019,
© The
Metropolitan
Museum of
Art,
New York,
New York,
United States,
1979.310.10.

¹⁰¹ A vestee is a decorative accessory worn underneath another garment that simulates a vest or collar.

¹⁰² Point plat de France literally means “flat needlepoint,” a fine French needle lace made in imitation of Venetian needle laces.

Lace dealers were in business not only to sell antiques, but also offered services remaking old lace. In an undated booklet from around 1900, New York-based lace dealer Sarah Hadley (1860–1927) advertises “Lace Antique and Modern,” with photographs of some of the fine pieces available for purchase. Hadley also advertised mending and cleaning services, and altered “family laces into new shapes.” Although New York had multiple fine lace dealers in the late nineteenth century, part of the glamour of collecting lace came from the implication that one could afford to travel abroad. One of the most esteemed dealers was Iklé Freres of St. Gallen, Switzerland, a high-end antique lace firm inherited by Leopold Iklé (1838–1923) from his father in 1864, after which it expanded to manufacturing machinemade lace based on historic pieces in the collection, many of which are now in the St. Gallen Textile Museum.¹⁰³ It was not uncommon for dealers of antique lace to expand into manufacturing, or vice versa, as was the case with Jesurum in Venice, Italy. Founded in 1870 by Michelangelo Jesurum as a lace workshop in the Church of Sant’ Apollonia in Venice,¹⁰⁴ they later began selling the antique laces originally purchased for inspiration in design.¹⁰⁵

The Bradley-Martin Ball

Fancy dress balls—for which revelers wore elaborate and often historically-inspired costumes—provided the perfect opportunity for private collectors of antique lace to show off their collection. In New York City, the Bradley-Martin Ball, held on 10 February 1897 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City, gained notoriety as one of the most lavish parties in the city’s history (Figure 6). According to a *New York Times* article, subtitled, “A Wealth of Heirlooms, in Antique Jewels and Rare Old Laces, to be Shown,”¹⁰⁶ the ball provided “a chance for lace lovers. Chests were opened, safety deposits visited, and valuable pieces of exquisite lace which had not in years seen the light of day were taken from their hiding places.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Anna Wanner, “Das Stickereiunternehmen in der Schweiz,” [The Embroidery Company in Switzerland], *Anna Wanner’s Textiles in History*, 29 March 2001, <http://www.annatextiles.ch/ikle/ikfirma/ikfirm.htm>, Accessed 20 April 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous, “Our History,” Jesurum Venezia 1870, <http://jesurum.it/en/history>, Accessed 17 April 2020.

¹⁰⁵ Wilson, op cit., p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous, “The Bradley Martin Ball: A Wealth of Heirlooms, in Antique Jewels and Rare Old Laces, to be Shown,” *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 9 February 1897, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

The hostess of this 1897 ball, Cornelia Bradley-Martin (1877-1961), was publicly criticized for her exorbitant spending on a costume party¹⁰⁸ in the aftermath of a long financial crisis.¹⁰⁹ However, some, like her brother-in-law Frederick Townsend Martin (1849-1914), fought against the accusations of extravagance, arguing that the “object in giving the ball was to stimulate trade.”¹¹⁰



Figure 6:
Detail, *The Bradley Martin Ball*, Harry Whitney McVickar, 1897,
Wood Engraving (Print), 45.7 x 58.4 cm,
© The Museum of the City of New York,
New York, New York, United States, 45.335.1.

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, “Dr. Rainsford’s Advice: Directed Only Against Ostentatious Displays of Wealth,” *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 23 January 1897, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ The United States was still recovering from a four-year depression referred to as the “Panic of 1893,” resulting from the overbuilding of railroads and bank failures.

¹¹⁰ Frederick Townsend Martin, *Things I Remember*, John Lane Company, New York, New York, United States, 1913, p. 281.

Regardless of public sentiment, guests spent lavishly on costumes and were satirised in illustrations after the fact (Figure 7). Society journalists eagerly recorded every detail of the preparations of the attendees leading up to the date of the Bradley–Martin Ball. Another article in *The New York Times* described in detail the variety of lace treasures worn to the ball, including a piece of heirloom lace “so delicate that its own weight seemed too heavy” worn by a “Miss Paulding,”¹¹¹ likely Annie Depew Paulding,¹¹² niece of Senator Chauncey Mitchell Depew (1834–1928). As soon as the invitations arrived, many guests hurried to lace dealers to purchase lavish lace accessories for costumes inspired by the courts of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. By the week of the ball, there was “not a bit of old lace to be had at any of the leading dry goods stores for love or money. Those who deal in antiques have not only been drained of the stock they have had on hand, but of such as they have been able to import in a hurry.”¹¹³



Figure 7:

Detail, *The Bradley Martin Costume Ball Feb 10/97*, Thomas Worth, 1897, Pen and Ink Drawing, 34.3 x 47.6 cm, © The Museum of the City of New York, New York, New York, United States, x2011.5.324.

¹¹¹ Anonymous, “Point Lace Collar,” *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 28 February 1897, pp. 35–36.

¹¹² The birthyear and deathyear of Annie Depew Paulding are unknown.

¹¹³ Anonymous, “The Bradley Martin Ball,” op cit.

Although fine laces replicating historic styles could still be found for much lower prices, they were not as desirable as they did not carry the status of an antique. According to one unnamed dealer quoted in *The New York Times*, “it is really impossible...to put any commercial value on these antique laces. I have seen some specimens that could be duplicated in pattern and texture for \$50 a yard, and yet you couldn’t buy them for \$500 a yard...Old lace has a purely fictitious value, and it would be very hard for an expert to fix an estimate on the pieces that will be worn at the ball.”¹¹⁴ However, it is estimated that many of the guests spent thousands of dollars on the laces for their gowns, including one lady who accessorised four pages in lace to carry her six-yard train.¹¹⁵

Some contemporaries criticised this preference for old laces, lamenting that “it has become so much the fashion to worship all things ancient that most lovers of fine lace would prefer to have it a century old; and yet there was never a time when laces were more beautiful, more artistic, and more unique in design than just at the present day....”¹¹⁶ These arguments often fell on deaf ears, however, as the romantic associations with lace from centuries past were just too intoxicating. Advertisements often described contemporary crochet laces as antique in style to increase their appeal, and even offered patterns for readers.¹¹⁷ Another criticism of lace collecting was its lack of purpose, as “lace is next to useless unless it can be worn.”¹¹⁸ But true lovers of the ephemeral textile had a perfect retort to the “common question ‘What can I do with the lace?’ The answer comes ‘What do you do with flowers?’ Just enjoy them. And so it is with the lace.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Jennie Taylor Wandle, *The Art of Modern Lace Making*, Butterick Publishing Company, New York, New York, United States, 1896, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ Anonymous, “Antique Lace,” *The Ladies’ Home Journal*, American Periodicals, Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 5, Number 2, January 1888, p. 6.

Until 1886, this publication was titled, *The Ladies’ Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper*.

¹¹⁸ Anonymous, “Everything from Everywhere,” *The Collector: A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Alfred Trumble, Editor and Proprietor, New York, New York, United States, Volume 3, Number 19, 18 September 1892, p. 290.

¹¹⁹ Bullock, op cit., p. 159.

Conclusion

Far from a meaningless trifle, antique lace is imbued with incredible skill and beauty, an artifact of an industry now lost. Although the introduction of lace machines in the early nineteenth century had prompted the irreversible decline of the handmade lace industry, the support of Queen Victoria in commissioning a large quantity of local lace for her wedding attire provided temporary relief for Devon lacemakers. International expositions offered the public an opportunity to appreciate antique and modern laces up close, and the laces of Mrs. Astor and Mrs. Morgan were part of a cumulus of donations that formed the textiles collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Despite the efforts of philanthropists to prop up cottage lace industries, antique laces remained in vogue, often imported from European dealers to bedeck the wrists and collarbones of the wealthy.

For the women of New York high society during the Victorian period, lace served as a symbol of refinement and taste, and added charm to home decor. There were many influences that inspired the rage for collecting antique lace: from the rejection of mechanised textiles, the display of wealth, the romantic associations with history, to the pleasure of ornament. Whatever the reason, as author Alethe Lowber Craig (unknown-1912) wrote in *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1893, "the woman who yields to the fascination of old lace may accumulate precious treasures as delicate as cobwebs and as valuable as diamonds, but she will never accumulate money; that will be captured and held in the fine meshes of Colvert [sic], Venice and Alencon point."¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Craig, op cit., p. 8.

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Acknowledgements

My gratitude is due to multiple individuals and institutions who assisted me in conducting the research for this article. First of all, I want to thank Elizabeth Morano, the professor under whose supervision I wrote the first draft of this research during my graduate studies at New York University. Many thanks to the staff at The Fashion Museum Bath, who arranged a viewing of lace during my visit, and to my colleagues at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, including Elizabeth Cleland, Amelia Peck, and Eva Labson, who have encouraged this project. Lastly, I am much indebted to friend and Antonio Ratti Textile Center volunteer, Devon Thein, for her help in analysing lace objects, sharing books, and digging up obscure dates.

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The Princess Frederick William Stitch: The Parallel Emergence of Long-Hook Crochet in Prussia and England in 1858

Cary Karp

Abstract

An unnamed “unfamiliar type of crochet” was presented in the January 1858 issue of the Prussian publication *Der Bazar*, described and illustrated as having a structure intermediate between knitting and crochet. It began to appear in Victorian venues in October 1858 when Matilda Marian Pullan, a prominent author of tutorial material at that time, duplicated the original illustration and gave the stitch a name. She called it the Princess Frederick William Stitch, “in compliment to our English royal bride”—The Princess Royal Victoria—Queen Victoria’s eldest child, who married Prince Frederick William of Prussia in January 1858. The initial publisher responded in June 1859, asserting that the structure was already known as the Tunisian crochet stitch. This name is attested in a Swedish source from December 1857, linked to instructions for its production from January 1856. A knitting needle with a hooked tip provided a conceptual and procedural link between knitting and crochet.

Introduction

Crochet was introduced in European publications from country to country during the initial decades of the nineteenth century, reaching the English fancywork press in 1837, with knitting as the closest of its relatives already on the urban worktable.¹ Significant numbers of instructions and patterns for crocheted garments, accessories, and decorative items rapidly began to appear. Competition was keen in the production of innovative designs in both national and international perspectives. This extended to contention about the origin of the craft itself.

Comparing knitting and crochet, the former can be described as horizontal rows of loops that are joined vertically to form fabric. It requires the use of at least two knitting needles and is started by placing the desired number of loops on one of them and then transferring those loops successively to the other by pulling—knitting—a new loop through an old one, thereby releasing a knit stitch into the fabric. The fabric is secured from unravelling with a final “bind-off row” where the loop at the top of each vertical column is transferred to the adjacent column, thereby reducing the number of loops on the needle. When only one remains, the working yarn is cut and its free end is pulled through that loop, fixing it in a knot.

Crochet also consists of horizontal rows, starting with an unsupported chain of loops, each element of which is also referred to as a chain. In its simplest form, the next row is begun by drawing a new loop through the nearest chain but rather than leaving it on the hook, it is pulled further—crocheted—through the loop already on the hook. This releases a crochet stitch into the fabric. The remaining loops in the chain are successively worked in the same manner. Regardless of any complexity that may be added to the intervening structure, every crochet stitch begins with a single loop on the hook and ends with a single loop on the hook.

¹ For more information, see:

Cary Karp, “Defining Crochet,” *Textile History*, The Pasold Research Fund, London, England, Volume 29, Issue 2, 2018, pp. 209–223.

Since there is no accumulation of loops, only one hook is needed. The terminal loops of the individual stitches form a chain along the top of each row in the fabric, propagating the structure of the initial chain and providing a point of anchorage for additional horizontal rows. Unlike knitting, where the unintentional separation of an individual loop from the needle can result in an entire column of stitches coming undone, if a loop is dropped from a crochet hook, only that one pending stitch becomes immediately unstable. The fabric can therefore be secured from unravelling by cutting the yarn after any completed stitch and pulling its free end through the loop on the hook.

The variation of the published crochet stitch repertoire expanded meteorically in 1858, with the appearance of a “new crochet stitch” made with a knitting needle that had a hooked tip. The stitch was described as a hybrid of knitting and crochet and is the basic form of what is now known as Tunisian crochet. It had many alternate designations, including “Victorian crochet” and others with a strong Victorian association. Described in the preceding terms, the distinctive attribute of the new crochet stitch is that a new loop pulled through the pre-existing fabric is retained on the hook until an entire row has been gathered, as in knitting, in what is termed a “forward pass.” Each loop in it is then connected to the preceding one by a chain worked backward through the successive loops in a “return pass.” The row is complete when the final loop in that second pass is all that remains on the hook. The fabric can be secured from unravelling by cutting the yarn at the end of a row and pulling its free end through the final loop.

Explicit accounts of knitting with hook-tipped needles are found in German texts during 1787–1800² and again in France in 1817,³ all in the context of urban leisure handicraft. The first indication of a single such needle being used in a craft context appeared in a *Women's Lexicon* published in 1739.⁴ This described a knotting shuttle⁵ as an expeditious alternative to such work on a knitting needle, which of necessity would have had a hooked tip. The series of German descriptions of Tunisian crochet that are the starting point for the present article used the designation *Strickhaken* [knitting hook] for the basic tool of that craft, distinguishing it from an ordinary short crochet hook.

Technical Capabilities

An account of fabric knitted with hook-tipped needles during the 1770s stated that the fabric had properties unattainable with smooth-tipped needles. In addition to increased working speed it was “far more elastic and has a much more beautiful appearance; also stitches will not as easily be dropped or slip off in the process.”⁶ The superior elasticity may have been due to the interspersing of crochet-type stitches among knitted ones, a structural characteristic that can only be produced with hook-tipped needles. That implement also facilitates a distinctive bind off made backward from the end selvage to the starting selvage. As already noted, a sequence of crochet-type chains is worked into the row of loops on the needle, both preventing them from coming undone and supporting them so that further rows can be added seamlessly.

² Johan Beckman, *Anleitung zur Technologie, oder zur Kenntniss der Handwerke, Fabriken und Manufacturen* [Guide to the Technology and Understanding of Handcrafts, Industries, and Manufacture], Vandenhoeckschen Buchhandlung, Göttingen, Saxony, 1787, p. 87.

Johann Friedrich Netto and Friedrich Leonhard Lehmann, *Die Kunst Zu Stricken in ihrem ganzen Umfange* [The Art of Knitting in Its Full Extent], Voss and Company, Leipzig, Saxony, 1800, pp. 21–22, 34.

All translations in this article were made by the author, Cary Karp.

³ Augustin Legrand, *Traité du tricot, simple ou compliqué* [Treatise on Knitting, Simple or Complex], A. Legrand, Paris, France, 1817, p. 52.

⁴ Gottfried Siegmund Corvinus, *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* [Women's Lexicon], Johann Friedrich Gleditsch and Son, Frankfurt, Hesse, 1739, p. 1397.

⁵ Knotting was a popular diversionary craft with its heyday during the eighteenth century. It involved embellishing a thread intended for subsequent use in embroidery, or other forms of trimming, by tying decorative knots along its length.

⁶ Netto and Lehmann, *op cit.*, p. 34.

It is thus possible to produce knitted fabric on a single hook-tipped needle without any auxiliary implement. The hook is first used to work a crochet-type foundation chain. It then pulls a knittable loop onto the needle through each element of that chain. Instead of turning the fabric to bring the final such loop to the starting edge, the needle is brought back to its initial position with inlayed return chains, supporting the loops until they are worked into stitches on the next forward pass.

If the inlayed chains are removed from the fabric, the result will be indistinguishable from conventional knitting. When left in place, the chains prevent the knitted loops from laying parallel to the fabric. The front leg of the loop will appear as a vertical bar on the front face and the back leg may only be clearly visible if the fabric is stretched to reveal it. In contrast, the chains lay flat and are fully apparent on the front face. Early instructions refer to these details as vertical and horizontal bars, respectively (Figure 1).⁷



Figure 1:
Die Häkelarbeit auf der Nadel
[The Crochet Work on the Needle],
Der Bazar, L. Schaefer, Berlin, Prussia,
Volume 8, Issue 2, 9 January 1858, p. 11.

⁷ Anonymous, "Gehäkeltes Tuch" [Crocheted Scarf], *Der Bazar: Berliner Illustrierte Damen-Zeitung* [The Bazaar: Berlin Illustrated Women's Magazine], L. Schaefer, Berlin, Prussia, Volume 8, Issue 2, 9 January 1858, pp. 11-12.

Classification

From the procedural perspective, making such fabric with a single hook-tipped knitting needle resembles crochet decidedly more closely than it does knitting. However, if the vertical component of the structure is removed as the horizontal one was, the result is not elemental crochet. Instead, the return chains are left as separate strands, without the lateral intermeshing that is definitive of crochet, or any connection other than at the selvedge. Since the removal of the chains does leave intact knitted fabric, that is the clearer structural affinity.

In fact, the categorisation of such fabric has been a subject of ongoing equivocation from its earliest descriptions. It was given an array of names from the outset, presented as having been widely practised for some time before being documented, and stated to be seen best as a separate craft intermediate between knitting and crochet. The terminological proliferation did not subside until well into the twentieth century but the most common form of reference in Anglophone contexts was to “tricot,” as a peer to the other two crafts (unencumbered by the term “tricot” being the French name for knitting, discussed further below).

The New Crochet Stitch

The 9 January 1858 issue of the Prussian⁸ bi-weekly publication *Der Bazar: Berliner Illustrirte Damen-Zeitung* [The Bazaar: Berlin Illustrated Women’s Magazine]⁹ presented instructions for using the unnamed stitch for an elaborate crocheted shawl (Figure 2).¹⁰ The text went into detail about this “type of crochet, which in any case will not be familiar to all of our readers.”¹¹ It described what is now known as the Tunisian simple stitch, also noting that the actual tool is twice the length of the one illustrated in Figure 1, relative to the fabric.

⁸ The map of present-day Germany had yet to be drawn at the time the German-language sources cited in this article were published. Berlin was the capital of the Kingdom of Prussia, and the names of the other cities noted here remain unchanged. The German states to which they belonged are indicated in the corresponding footnotes.

⁹ *Der Bazar* magazine was first published in January 1855.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.



Figure 2:
Gehäkeltes Tuch
[Crocheted Shawl],
Der Bazar, L. Schaefer, Berlin, Prussia,
Volume 8, Issue 2, 9 January 1858, p. 12.

After intervening instructions prescribing the same stitch, one using it for a *Gehäkelttes Carreau* [crocheted square] in the 8 June 1859 issue of *Der Bazar* retrospectively identified it, “as knitting using a crochet hook named ‘Der tunisiche Häkelstich’ [the Tunisian crochet stitch] or ‘*tricot tunisien*’ [Tunisian knitting], to distinguish it from the ordinary forms of crochet.”¹² The author set both terms in quotation marks and the use of *tricot tunisien* rather than *crochet tunisien* may be significant. An earlier reference to a *tunisisk virkstygn* [Tunisian crochet stitch] appeared in instructions for a child’s sweater in the 14 December 1857 issue of the Swedish biweekly publication *Penelope. Nyaste journal för damer. Album för qvinliga arbeten och mode* [Penelope. The Newest Women’s Journal. Album for Feminine Activity and Concerns].¹³ This, in turn, made reference to detailed instructions for the same stitch presented without a name in the 1 January 1856 issue of the same publication, noting that “its description is somewhat awkward”¹⁴ but doing so in the same effective terms as those encountered in the subsequent instructions considered here.

The instructions from 1859 went on to describe a variant *Neuer tunisischer Häkelstich* [new Tunisian crochet stitch] (now called the Tunisian full stitch).¹⁵ It is among the few in the burgeoning group that lacks the knitted structural attribute discussed above, which may have been a deliberate design feature (Figure 3). The English “Tunisian crochet” is first attested in a United States publication from 1862 and will be discussed in chronological order below.¹⁶ That appellation would also have been known to the authors of the descriptions of the stitch in the Victorian press, if they were following the work of their trans-Atlantic counterparts or, as was perhaps less likely, those in Sweden.

¹² Anonymous, “Neuer tunisischer Häkelstich” [New Tunisian Crochet Stitch], *Der Bazar: Berliner Illustrierte Damen-Zeitung* [The Bazaar: Berlin Illustrated Women’s Magazine], L. Schaefer, Berlin, Prussia, Volume 13, Issue 22, 8 June 1859, pp. 167, 169.

¹³ Anonymous, “Barntröja” [Child’s Sweater], *Penelope. Nyaste journal för damer. Album för qvinliga arbeten och mode* [Penelope. The Newest Women’s Journal. Album for Feminine Activity and Concerns], F.A. Ewerlöf, Helsingborg, Sweden, Volume 2, Issue 24, 14 December 1857, pp. 189–190.

The author gratefully acknowledges this having been brought to his attention by Hanna Bäckström, whose PhD dissertation about the developing publication platform for knitting and crochet patterns during the nineteenth century is forthcoming in Textile Studies at Uppsala University.

¹⁴ Ibid, “Jalusie” [Shade], Volume 2, Issue 1, 1 January 1856, p. 5.

¹⁵ Anonymous, “Neuer tunisischer Häkelstich” [New Tunisian Crochet Stitch], op cit.

¹⁶ Jane Weaver, “Traveling Blanket, or Affghan [sic],” *Peterson’s Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 41, Issue 5, May 1862, pp. 417–418.

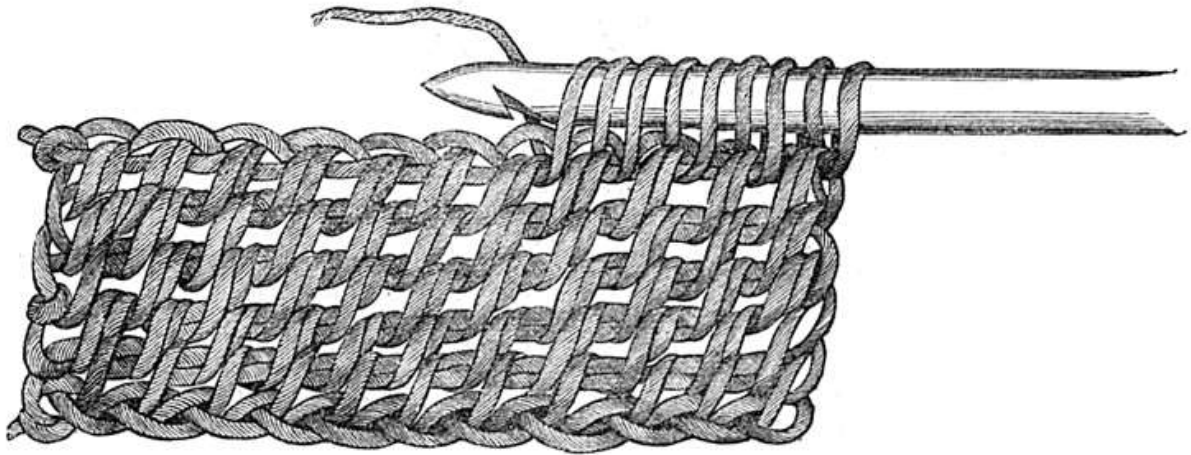


Figure 3:
Neuer tunisischer Häkelstich
 [New Tunisian Crochet Stitch],
Der Bazar, L. Schaefer, Berlin, Prussia,
 Volume 13, Issue 22, 8 June 1859, p. 169.

Crochet à Tricoter

The following advertisement appeared in the 25 November 1858 edition of *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*:

NOVELTY IN WORK!!!
 Just Published, Price 1s.,
 CROCHET À LA TRICOTER, by MRS. MEE
 Beautifully Illustrated
 Containing Numbers of NEW STITCHES for Varieties of
 Useful and Ornamental Purposes.¹⁷

¹⁷ Advertisement, "Novelty in Work!!!" *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Charles Bleeck, Bath, Somerset, England, 25 November 1858, Column 5, p. 4.

The publication date is not indicated in the book itself, the title page of which lists Cornelia Mee (1815–1875) and her sister Mary Austin (1825–1870) as co-authors.¹⁸ However, two English-language publications from the same year,¹⁹ discussed in detail below, dealt specifically with one of the stitches Mee and Austin presented. It is unclear which publication went into circulation first.

Mee was presumably the one reporting personal experience and described the craft that gave the book its title, *Crochet à la Tricoter*, as comparable to but distinct from knitting and crochet. It is not clear whether that name was intended to be read as “crochet in the style of knitting” or “crochet on a knitting needle.”

The great advantage of Crochet à la Tricoter is that it combines the firmness of crochet with the lightness of knitting, and can be done in almost any variety of shape, from the ease and neatness with which it is increased and decreased. The edges can always be taken up, so that, if done in small pieces, the work has the appearance of being all worked in one. It is never turned; and every alternate row the stitches are taken up on the needle, and remain on it for the whole row, as in knitting. The variety of useful and ornamental purposes to which it can be applied is almost endless; and in presenting these entirely new and pretty Patterns in Crochet à la Tricoter to my numerous patronesses, I feel it will meet with their entire approval. Those who work for amusement will have the pleasure of numbers of new stitches, and those who make it a source of livelihood will find many things that will meet with quick and ready sale.²⁰

¹⁸ Cornelia Mee and Mary Austin, *Crochet à la Tricoter* [Crochet in the Style of Knitting; Alternatively, Crochet on a Knitting Needle], Aylott and Son, London, England, Series 1, November 1858.

¹⁹ Matilda Marian Pullan (writing as “Aiguillette”), *The Lady’s Manual of Fancy Work*, Dick and Fitzgerald, New York, New York, United States, 1858.

Matilda Marian Pullan (writing as “Aiguillette”), *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, Rogerson and Tuxford, London, England, Volume 49, October Issue, 1858.

²⁰ Mee and Austin, Series 1, November 1858, op cit., p. 3.

Crochet à la Tricoter was the first publication in a five-part series. Mee and Austin retained the original title through Series 1 (November 1858), Series 2 (November 1859), and Series 3 (May 1861). They shortened the title to *Crochet à Tricoter* in Series 4 (August 1861) and used the latter form in all further references to the craft, including Series 5 (October 1861).^{21, 22} The brief intervals between the 1861 publication dates suggest that there was a specific reason for the name change. One possibility is harmonisation with the label they gave to crochet on a regular hook emulating the appearance of tatting—*crochet à frivolité*—in three instructions published in a separate book the same year.²³ (Proper tatting on a long crochet hook was first described in 1868 but the 1739 reference to knotting on a knitting needle may indicate a more complex sequence of events.²⁴) It is also possible that the intention was to clarify that the title referred to the use of a knitting needle, which *à tricoter* literally designates. As with the French crochet and tricot, tricoter was borrowed and Anglicized, becoming a less frequent synonym for tricot.

Mee and Austin made no claim of having invented or named *crochet à tricoter*, notwithstanding the hyperbolic lead-in to the advertisement, nor is it clear which of the various stitches they described were presented as new.²⁵ The preface to the fourth book also implied that they were dealing with an established technique.

²¹ Ibid., Series 4, August 1861.

²² Ibid., Series 5, October 1861.

²³ Cornelia Mee and Mary Austin, *Novelties in Crochet*, Simpkin, Marshall and Company, London, England, 1869, pp. 6–8.

²⁴ Anonymous, “Gehäkelte Frivoliteten” [Crocheted Tatting], *Der Bazar: Berliner Illustrirte Damen-Zeitung* [The Bazaar: Berlin Illustrated Women’s Magazine], L. Schaefer, Berlin, Prussia, Volume 14, Issue 5, 1 February 1868, pp. 43–44.

²⁵ The label *crochet à tricoter* appeared in a list of technical terms that served as an index to: Élisabeth Bayle-Mouillard (writing as E. Celnart), *Manuel des Demoiselles ou Arts et Métiers* [Young Ladies’ Handbook or Arts and Crafts], Third Edition, Roret, Paris, France, 1828, p. 299. The text it referenced described the use of a crochet hook in passementerie but did not apply the term at all in the sense Mee and Austin ascribed. It is reasonable, nonetheless, to expect Mee and Austin to have been familiar with the Bayle-Mouillard book, which was a seminal work in the literature of their profession (although *crochet à tricoter* did not appear in the first edition of the Bayle-Mouillard book, which was published in 1826).

The constant inquiry for fresh patterns in Crochet à Tricoter, which continues to be the most popular and favourite work that has been produced for many years, has caused me to publish the present Series, and I have great pleasure in offering it to my numerous patronesses, as it contains by far the most beautiful patterns yet invented in this work, and with confidence I expect even a more extensive patronage than the three previous Series have received.²⁶

Mee and Austin gave names to a few patterns but none to any of the component stitches. The variation and complexity of the instructions and illustrations, from the outset of their first book, further indicate that they were presenting a craft that was in practice well before its initial published description. They included the simple tricot stitch that was soon to be vaunted into prominence but did not ascribe any particular significance to it. It is unclear which of the stitches Mee and Austin illustrated when summarising the basic concepts of the craft (Figure 4).

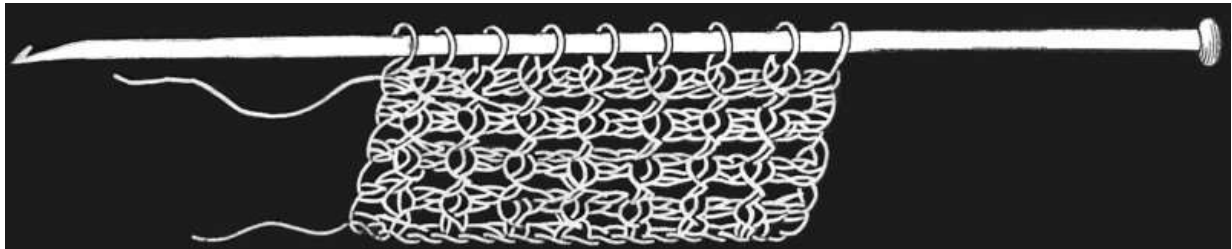


Figure 4:
Specimen Stitch,
Cornelia Mee and Mary Austin, *Crochet à la Tricoter*,
Aylott and Son, London, England, Series 1, November 1858, p. 24.

²⁶ Mee and Austin, Series 4, August 1861, op cit., p. 3.

The accompanying text to the figure above stated:

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

The peculiarity of Crochet à la Tricoter consists in, whatever pattern is done, every alternate row the stitches are taken up on the needle, as shown in the engraving, and the work is never turned, but the front of it is always towards you.

Take up the wool on the needle, is to make a stitch, pass the thread over the needle to the front, and take up the next loop; or at the commencement of a row, pass the cotton round the pin to the front, and take up the next loop.²⁷

The terms, needle and pin, were fully interchangeable in contemporaneous English references to knitting tools. Needle and hook were similarly interchangeable in writing about crochet but pin was not an additional synonym. Mee and Austin's use of needle and pin as equivalent terms therefore indicates that they regarded the illustrated implement as a knitting needle, as the French *tricoter* also designates. In any case, the instructions all specified an "Alliance needle"²⁸ with a numeric gauge from a range of sizes. Mee and Austin expected their readers to have no difficulty obtaining the needles, and the categorisation by brand name suggests that alternatives were available.

The forward pass of the first stitch Mee and Austin described, which also appeared elsewhere in their work, was made by inserting the needle into the preceding return chain: "The loops to be taken up are those of the top of the work, in front between the long stitches."²⁹ Some present-day texts call this a horizontal bar stitch. In fundamental contrast to it, the simple stitch inserts the needle into the front vertical bar of the stitch in the preceding forward pass—Mee's long stitch. That initially described stitch is illustrated in a pattern, "For a Counterpane in Diamonds," and the others shown with it indicate the diversity of their stitches (Figure 5).

²⁷ Mee and Austin, Series 1, November 1858, op cit., p. 24.

²⁸ Alliance is the name of the needle manufacturer.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

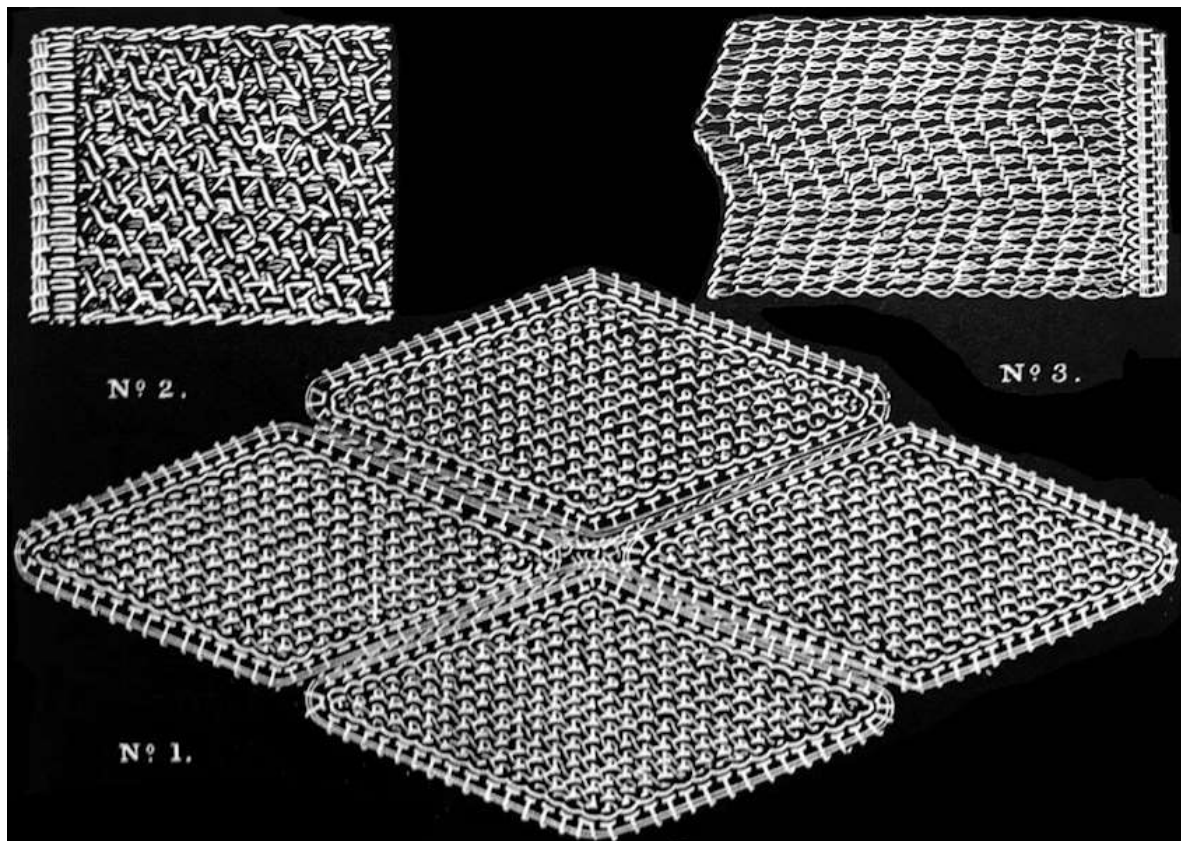


Figure 5:
Stitch Patterns,
Cornelia Mee and Mary Austin, *Crochet à la Tricoter*,
Aylott and Son, London, England,
Series 1, November 1858, Unnumbered Plate.

One of the general characteristics of tricot is a relatively large number of possible points of insertion for the needle when taking up a loop in the forward pass. A single loop can also be drawn through the vertical and horizontal bars together. There is no counterpart with the return chains, which are worked backward through the successive forward pass loops. Unless the working direction is changed at intervals, variation is restricted to how many chains there are in a return row and the number and grouping of the loops each chain spans.

Loops can also be elaborated with additional wraps of yarn around the needle both before and after insertion in the forward pass, and before retraction on the return. These wraps can then be crocheted into extensions of the base loop or chain. This was illustrated by an unnamed stitch used for a “Quilt for a Child’s Cot” Mee and Austin described in Series 2 (shown as made by a left-handed worker).³⁰ It has subsequently been termed a double stitch and appeared both in open mesh and in fabric where it was worked into each return chain (Figure 6).

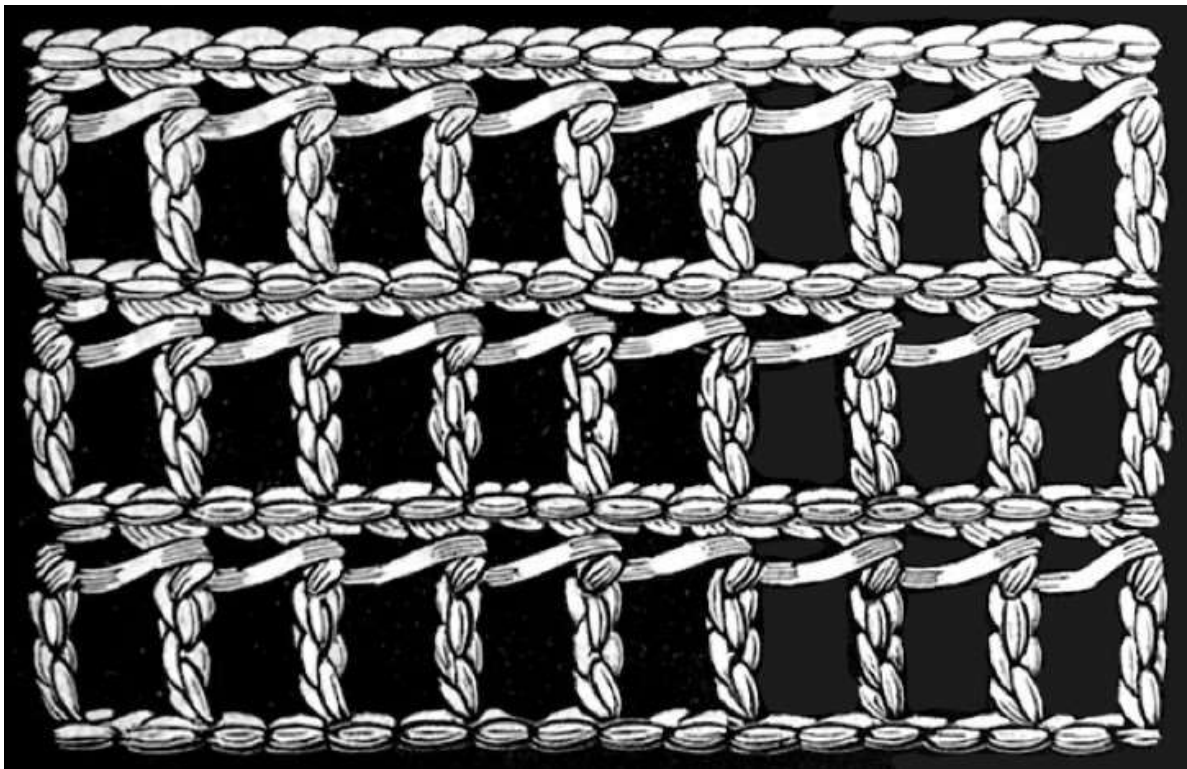


Figure 6:
Openwork Tricot,
Cornelia Mee and Mary Austin, *Crochet à la Tricoter*,
Aylott and Son, London, England,
Series 2, November 1859, Unnumbered Plate.

³⁰ Mee and Austin, Series 2, November 1859, op cit., p. 11.

Mee and Austin made extensive use of the inherent design potential of tricot. However, even an erudite readership was unlikely to have found it easy to follow the written instructions for other than the simplest of their patterns. Given their prior experience with the tutorial aspects of fancywork, the numerous inconsistencies and errors in their tricot instructions may indicate that they were less practiced in that craft and its pedagogy than with knitting and crochet.

This stands in noteworthy contrast to the singular emphasis their colleagues placed on the simple stitch and its straightforward description. The return chains in that and most other tricot stitches are worked along the shortest possible path from the end selvedge to the starting one. The only detail that varied was whether the first chain was drawn through the last loop in the forward pass or through the last two loops. Each subsequent chain was drawn through two loops; the one left on the hook after the chain just formed, and the next forward pass loop.

There is an incipient decrease in an all-twos return pass that necessitates care in maintaining the same number of loops in the following forward pass. The Swedish instructions from 1856 prescribe this form and add the caveat. The one-then-twos method does not require such caution and was presumably therefore the ascendant technique. The choice between them only affects the appearance of the fabric near the end selvedge and has no structural consequence. However, the difference does appear to have been important to the proponents of the respective approaches. Mee and Austin prescribed one-then-twos from the outset: "Take up the cotton on the needle, and draw it through 1 loop, then through 2 at a time to the end of the row."³¹

³¹ Mee and Austin, Series 1, November 1858, op cit., p. 4.

Tricot Ecossais

Eléonor Riego de la Branchardière (1828–1887) included the following announcement in her November 1859 publication, *The Book of Greek and Roman Lace*:

Mlle. RIEGO DE LA BRANCHARDIÈRE
Respectfully informs her Correspondents that her
NEW BOOK ON TRICOT ECOSSAIS
Will shortly be Published, Price 6D
Combining Patterns for Alhambra Cushions, Couvre Pieds,
Plaids, and Table Covers, as this
NEW STITCH
Is particularly suited for Articles depending on the arrangement of colour.³²

The *Lace* book itself was advertised as “in the press”³³ in June 1859. The one on *Tricot Ecossais* [Scottish knitting] was published in 1860.³⁴ Assuming that its announcement was included in the material at press in June 1859, Riego³⁵ would have turned her attention to this craft shortly after the appearance of the 1858 publications, if not sooner. Her book described the simple stitch as the “foundation of this work”³⁶ and instantiated the all-twos method for the return chain.

To ‘work back’—Take up the wool on the needle and bring it through the last 2 loops of it, then take up the wool again and bring it through the next 2 loops; the first of these loops has been formed by the last stitch, and the 2nd is the nearest loop of those previously raised. Repeat to the end.³⁷

³² Eléonor Riego de la Branchardière, *The Book of Greek and Roman Lace*, Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, London, England, 1859, p. 25.

³³ Advertisement, “In the Press, “The Book of Greek and Roman Lace,”” *The Morning Post*, J. Nott, London, England, 8 June 1859, Column 1, p. 8.

³⁴ Eléonor Riego de la Branchardière, *Tricot Ecossais*, Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, London, England, 1860.

³⁵ Riego is the short form by which the author was, and is, commonly referenced and is used here to ease the location of her numerous other works.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Riego included an illustration of a “tricot needle” and prescribed various numbered gauges in different instructions, again indicating that such tools were readily available (Figure 7). The atypically primitive drawing, by her otherwise immaculate standards for detail, may also indicate that she was hurrying to get it to press with a competitive interest in establishing an ascendant position as a source for information about tricot.



Figure 7:
New Stitch,

Eléonor Riego de la Branchardière, *Tricot Ecossais*,
Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, London, England, 1860, p. 2.

Riego next described the simple stitch in instructions for a “Child’s Shoe [in] Tricot Ecossais” published in 1861.³⁸ An advertisement in that book further clarified the meaning she ascribed to tricot ecossais by noting that it was “A new style of crochet in wool.”³⁹ She said nothing about the origin of the name, but it is unlikely that she would coincidentally have associated it with Scotland. Riego would also surely have been familiar with the description provided by Frances Lambert⁴⁰ in 1844 of crochet as “...a species of knitting originally practised by the peasants in Scotland, with a small hooked needle called a shepherd’s hook.”⁴¹

³⁸ Eléonor Riego de la Branchardière, *The Andalusian Knitting and Netting Book*, Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, London, England, 1861, p. 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ The birthyear and deathyear of Frances Lambert are unknown.

⁴¹ Frances Lambert, *My Crochet Sampler*, Second Edition, John Murray, London, England, 1844, p. 9.

Riego may additionally have been aware of the first mention of the same craft as “Scotch knitting”⁴² in 1835, two years before the first attested use in a British publication of the term *crochet* to designate a mode of fabric production.⁴³ This was commonly referred to as shepherd’s knitting (which a later edition of the 1835 text also added to the section heading) and is now generally called slip stitch crochet. Her familiarity with it was demonstrated by the way she labelled the slip stitch as a “Shepherd crochet”⁴⁴ in 1846. The most frequently encountered form of the corresponding shepherd’s hook is illustrated in both French and German sources during the latter decades of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ It is characterised by a strong taper that precludes the production of more than the shortest row of tricot stitches. However, a hook-tipped knitting needle can produce both ordinary slip stitches and tricot stitches, as well as any other form of crochet stitch.

A Scottish nexus is also suggested by an anonymous drawing of Elizabeth Sutherland Leveson-Gower (née Gordon), the Duchess of Sutherland (1765–1839). This shows her using a single knitting needle to work yarn into fabric, which would have required the needle to have a hooked tip.⁴⁶ No structural details of the fabric are visible, but whatever the depicted craft may have been, the date of the Duchess’ death means that it developed before 1840. (Her identity is corroborated by other portraiture.) For comparison it may be noted that narrative descriptions of ordinary crochet first appeared in the Victorian fancywork literature in 1840.⁴⁷

⁴² Anonymous, *Simple Directions in Needlework and Cutting Out*, Hibernia Press Office, Dublin, Ireland, 1835, p. 38.

⁴³ Anonymous, *The Ladies’ Knitting and Netting Book*, John Milland, London, England, 1837, p. 48

⁴⁴ Eléonor Riego de la Branchardière, *Knitting, Crochet, and Netting*, S. Knights, London, England, 1846, p. 57.

⁴⁵ Karp, op cit., pp. 212–214.

⁴⁶ Rebecca Jones, *Tricot Crochet: The Complete Book*, New Edition, Lacis Publications, Berkeley, California, United States, 2000, p. 12.

This reproduces a drawing then housed at the Loch Ness Tourist Centre, Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire, Scotland.

⁴⁷ Karp, op cit., p. 209.

The hook-tipped knitting needle may therefore have played an enabling role in the addition of tricot to the yarn arts previously associated with Scotland, where the first explicit reference to shepherd's knitting was penned in 1812.⁴⁸ If so, Riego may have been avoiding confusion among the crafts sharing the labels Scottish and shepherd, coupled with knitting or crochet, by using the French designation tricot ecossais for the simple tricot stitch. It is also possible that the French designations were all deliberately chosen to offset the priority of the German references in *Der Bazar*.

The Princess Frederick William Stitch

Instructions that Mee and Austin published in 1862 for a "Habit shirt or bodice, in crochet à tricoter" described and used the simple stitch without naming it.⁴⁹ Other authors treated that stitch as *the* central element of tricot and frequently labelled it with two parallel names. Almost all referred to "the new stitch" and added a more or less florid synonym to it.

Matilda Marian Pullan (1819-1862) presented "a new stitch in crochet" in two publications in October 1858. In *The Lady's Manual of Fancy Work*, Pullan illustrated and described the stitch as the "Princess Frederick William Stitch"⁵⁰ under the general heading of crochet but requiring a "needle" specified only by the unattributed reprinting of the illustration that initially appeared in the January 1858 issue of *Der Bazar*. In *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, Pullan included the new stitch in instructions for an elaborate "Princess Frederick William Opera Mantel,"⁵¹ illustrating both the garment (Figure 8) and the stitch (Figure 9), describing the physical attributes of the "hook" again without qualifying it by name.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Grant, *The Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, John Murray, London, England, 1898, p. 182.

⁴⁹ Cornelia Mee and Mary Austin, *The Queen's Winter Knitting Book*, Frederick Arnold, London, England, 1862, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁰ Pullan, *The Lady's Manual of Fancy Work*, October 1858, op cit., p. 43.

⁵¹ Pullan, *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, Volume 49, October Issue, 1858, op cit., p. 204.

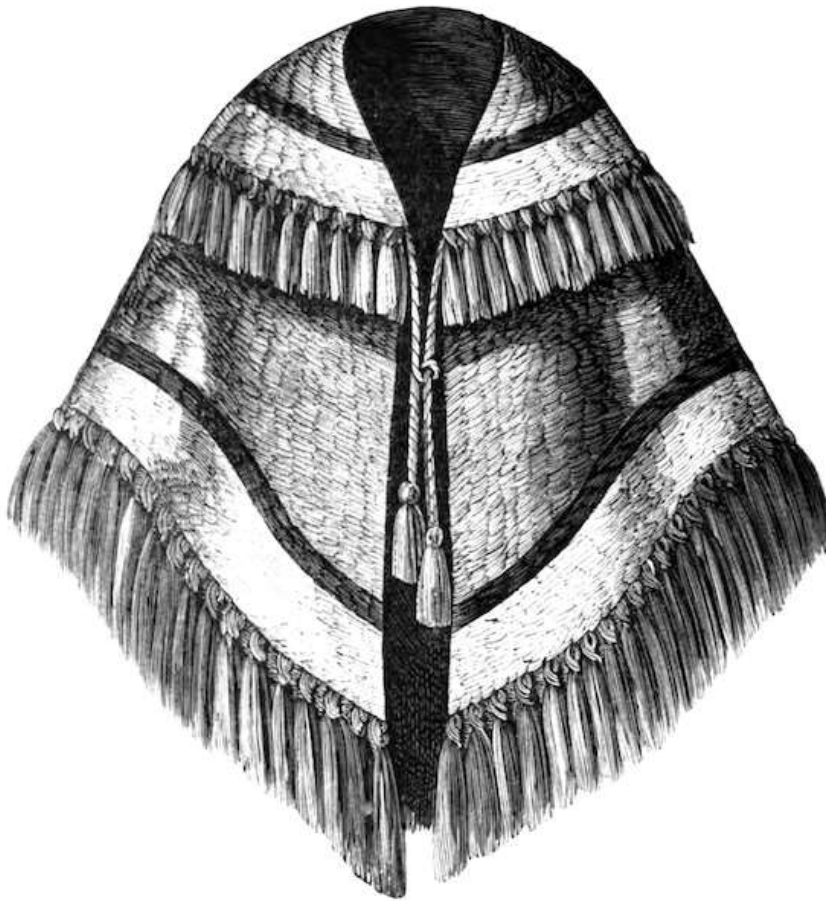


Figure 8:
*Princess
Frederick William
Opera Mantel*,
Matilda Marian
Pullan
(writing as
“Aiguillette”),⁵²
*The New Monthly
Belle Assemblée*,
Rogerson
and Tuxford,
London, England,
Volume 49,
October Issue,
1858, p. 204.

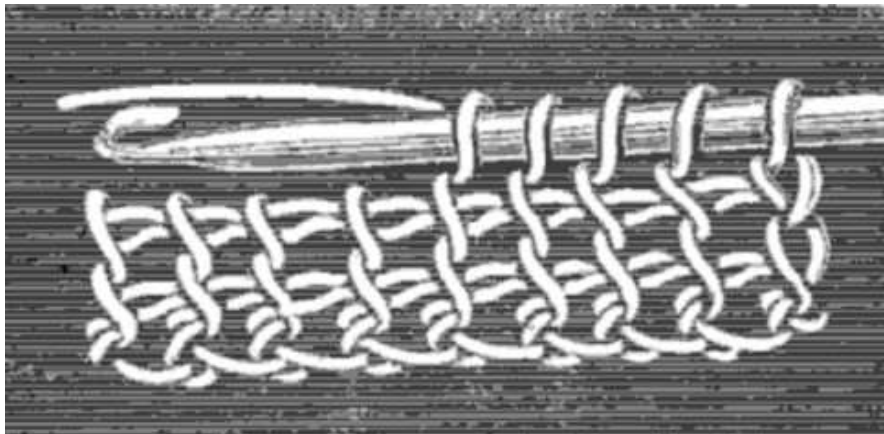


Figure 9:
The New Stitch in Crochet, Matilda Marian Pullan (writing as “Aiguillette”),
The New Monthly Belle Assemblée, Rogerson and Tuxford, London, England,
Volume 49, October Issue, 1858, p. 204.

⁵² “Aiguillette” was a penname of Matilda Marian Pullan that she widely used and advertised, at times directly juxtaposing the two names.

The mantle closely echoed the shawl from *Der Bazar* shown in Figure 2. In light of that, and the reuse of the drawing in Figure 1, it should be noted that Pullan was the worktable editor for *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* until May 1858.^{53, 54} That periodical was an authorised recipient of syndicated material from the publisher of *Der Bazar*, which was distributed two months before going to press in Berlin. Pullan would therefore have had prepublication access to both drawings with accompanying texts. These did not appear in *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* but nothing can be inferred about formal arrangements with the publishers who used or adapted them.

Pullan did not claim to have devised this stitch. She duplicated the original illustration and named the stitch, the Princess Frederick William Stitch, “in compliment to our English royal bride”⁵⁵—The Princess Royal Victoria (1840–1901)—Queen Victoria’s (1819–1901) eldest child, who married Prince Frederick William of Prussia (1831–1888) in January 1858. The wedding was also lavishly reported in *Der Bazar*.

⁵³ Matilda Marian Pullan, “Editress of the ‘Work-Table’ of THE ENGLISHWOMAN’S DOMESTIC MAGAZINE,” *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, S.O. Beeton, London, England, Volume 6, Issue 6, October 1857, p. iv.

This was a personal advertisement of Pullan divesting herself of business involvement in England, in preparation for a permanent move to the United States where she arrived in December 1857. She remained the editor of the worktable (i.e., the section of a magazine devoted to handicraft) in *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and several similar publications for a number of months thereafter. The preface to her first publication in the United States, *The Lady's Manual of Fancy Work* (cited in Footnote 17), provided a colorful description of the circumstances of her relocation from “the wilderness of brick and mortar...overgrown ant-hill” she saw London as, to be near “the blue and lofty skies, and bright waters of the Bay of New York.” The momentum of that florid description may have carried into the name, Princess Frederick William Stitch, she gave to the new crochet stitch later in the same book.

⁵⁴ Mademoiselle Roche, “The Fashions and Practical Dress Instructor,” *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, Volume 7, Issue 3, July 1858, p. 94.

This article was Mademoiselle Roche’s self-introduction as the new worktable editor.

⁵⁵ Pullan, *The Lady's Manual of Fancy Work*, October 1858, op cit., p. 43.

Pullan made no mention of the new stitch or any form of long hook-tipped needle in a comprehensive dictionary of, “all terms...used in every kind of fancy needlework,” she published in 1856.⁵⁶ The instructions for the stitch in both 1858 publications were identical to all others for the simple tricot stitch. The return row was described in the same manner as Mee described it in 1858.⁵⁷

Put the thread around the hook, and bring it through *once*. After this put the thread round and bring it through *two* every time, till one stitch only is left, which will form the first of the following row.⁵⁸

The italics are Pullan’s and may highlight a difference of opinion about how the return row was to be initiated, perhaps most directly with her competitor and erstwhile collaborator Eliza Warren (1810–1900) who, as will be seen below, was a proponent of the all-twos method.

Although unpublished until the April 1860 issue of *The Ladies’ Companion and Monthly Magazine*, Pullan prepared instructions for a pillow using “the new crochet stitch” at some point during 1859.⁵⁹ These instructions described how a knitting needle can easily be converted into the requisite form of hook.

The crochet hook, we must observe, may be made by anyone with a penknife, from a cedar-wood knitting needle, No. 3, simply by cutting a hook at the end. No crochet hook that is sold will perfectly answer the purpose, as the stem must be *long*, and of the same dimensions throughout, with a knob at the end.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Matilda Marian Pullan, *The Lady’s Dictionary of Needlework*, Ward and Locke, London, England, 1856.

⁵⁷ Mee and Austin, Series 1, November 1858, op cit.

⁵⁸ Pullan, *The Lady’s Manual of Fancy Work*, October 1858, op cit., p. 43.

⁵⁹ Matilda Marian Pullan (writing as “Aiguillette”), *The Ladies’ Companion and Monthly Magazine*, Rogerson and Tuxford, London, England, Volume 17, April 1860, p. 208.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

It is puzzling that Mee and Riego treated tricot needles as stock items at the same time Pullan stated that no such thing was available. Nor did Pullan make any other reference to tricot when designating the craft, stitch, or tool, describing them all as facets of crochet. Whether deliberate or not, this conceptualisation as an extension of an established craft—rather than the introduction of a new one—may have facilitated its rapid entry into the fancywork canon. Building on crochet instead of knitting would have been an obvious consequence of the markedly greater affinity between the tools and techniques of crochet and those of tricot. Nonetheless, Mee was not alone in treating crochet and tricot as separate crafts.

Anonymous instructions for a “Baby’s Shoe” in the January 1860 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*,⁶¹ although primarily intended for ordinary crochet, ended with the remark, “The same plan of forming the boot may be adopted either for knitting, tricot, or crochet.”⁶² Here again, the generic reference to tricot this soon after its introductory description, in a manner that assumed no need for further explanation, indicates that some distinct form of tricot was familiar prior to 1858. Although it is unclear if this was the craft described by Mee and Austin, it would have been characterised by the use of a tricot needle.

The Expanding Glossary

A “Princess Royal Crochet Stitch,” obviously related to the name used by Pullan, was described anonymously in the March 1860 issue of *Peterson’s Magazine*, also commencing the stitch’s recurrent association with afghans (referred to as an “Affghanistan blanket” [sic] in knitting instructions advertised in Riego’s *Tricot Ecossais*): “This stitch is only applicable for straight work, such as sofa cushions, stripes for affghans [sic], scarfs, etc.”⁶³ It was immediately followed by instructions for a “Scarf in Princess Royal Stitch” by Jane Weaver.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Anonymous, “Baby’s Shoe,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*, L.A. Godey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 60, Issue 1, January 1860, pp. 167–168.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Anonymous, “Princess Royal Crochet Stitch,” *Peterson’s Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 37, Issue 3, March 1860, pp. 248–249.

⁶⁴ The birthyear and deathyear of Jane Weaver are unknown. Weaver was the worktable editor of *Peterson’s Magazine* but so many instructions and patterns appeared there under the name, Jane Weaver, that it may also have been applied more generally to material prepared under her supervision.

The August 1860 issue of *Peterson's Magazine* contained instructions by Eliza Warren for a "Sofa Pillow in Long Hook Crochet." This described the simple stitch and stated that it had several names: "This very pretty stitch is called by various names as 'Crochet a la Tricoter,' 'Oriental Crochet,' etc...."⁶⁵ The label long-hook crochet may have been an attempt at bringing generic order to that proliferation. It next appeared in a pattern by Weaver in the October 1860 issue of *Peterson's Magazine*, for a "Washing Mat for a Toilet Stand, in Long Hook Crochet."⁶⁶ This pattern described the simple stitch in the same detail as before but its name appeared in the tersest possible form: "Stitch."⁶⁷

The name Pullan gave her new stitch did not appear in Warren's list from August 1860 despite their having collaborated on a comprehensive presentation in 1855 of the various forms of needlework.⁶⁸ As with Pullan's own dictionary from the following year, there is no mention of either the tricot stitch or long hook. This might suggest that tricot had yet to be devised, but the range of designations for the simple stitch listed so soon after its initial appearance in the literature may alternatively indicate that the stitch was known under a variety of names before appearing in print in 1858.

⁶⁵ Eliza Warren, "Sofa Pillow in Long Hook Crochet," *Peterson's Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 38, Issue 2, August 1860, p. 151.

⁶⁶ Eliza Warren, "Washing Mat for a Toilet Stand, in Long Hook Crochet," *Peterson's Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 38, Issue 4, October 1860, pp. 311-313.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Eliza Warren and Matilda Marian Pullan, *Treasures in Needlework*, Ward and Lock, London, England, 1855.

Crochet Tunisien

In French discourse the term *tricot* unequivocally designates knitting. This gave authors writing in French less nomenclatural latitude than their English-speaking colleagues had for describing the third sibling of knitting and crochet. The German reference to *tricot tunisien* from 1859 suggests its prior appearance in France. However, the earliest native reference attested thus far is in an annual commercial directory published in Paris in 1861, listing a source for “*crochets tunisiens*” [Tunisian hooks].⁶⁹ An undated list of albums of instructions for various forms of fancywork that was accessioned to the collections of the French National Library in 1861 includes one for *Crochet tunisien avec explic. et méthode*.⁷⁰ The origin of that designation remains unclear and the possibility of it deriving from a craft actually practised in Tunisia is a matter of conjecture. It may be worth noting, nonetheless, that Tunisia is on the route—between Egypt and the Iberian Peninsula—that early knitting with hook-tipped needles is initially believed to have traversed, and flat-hook slip stitch crochet is a traditional practice in Tunisia.

A pattern by Weaver in the May 1862 issue of *Peterson's Magazine* for a “Traveling Blanket, or Affghan” [sic] said that it was done “in Tunisian crochet.”⁷¹ No specific instructions were provided for the stitch, but it has all the characteristics of the simple stitch. This afghan pattern differed from those previously appearing in *Peterson's Magazine* by the tricot serving as a ground for cross stitch embroidery. This decorative device was also applied in the instructions for the crocheted square from 1859 where the label Tunisian crochet first appeared, and with increasing frequency thereafter.

⁶⁹ Ambroise Firmin-Didot and Hyacinthe Firmin-Didot, *Annuaire-almanach du commerce* [Annual Trade Almanac], Didot-Bottin, Paris, France, 1861, p. 568.

⁷⁰ Jacques Simon Sajou, *Album de Tricographie* [Album of Knitting Notation], Sajou, Paris, France, Undated, p. 24.

The *Album de Tricographie* does not include a publication date; however, the copy deposited with what was then the Imperial Library in Paris is stamped with the date of its acquisition, which was 1861. This is the 47th numbered album in a series called *Le Guide Sajou* [The Sajou Guide]. The one dedicated to *crochet tunisien* is listed on its back cover as the 51st in that series. It is unclear if it was a projected publication or when, or if, it actually went to press.

⁷¹ Jane Weaver, “Traveling Blanket, or Affghan [sic],” *Peterson's Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 41, Issue 5, May 1862, pp. 417–418.

The Expanding Stitch Repertoire

Descriptions of additional tricot stitches soon abounded. *Der Bazar* maintained a lead role throughout and the publisher syndicated their drawings and descriptions to numerous international associates. Notwithstanding, unauthorised reproduction was commonplace, particularly in countries that afforded no copyright protection to foreign publications. The growing repertoire was largely carried forward into contemporary stitch dictionaries, in a continuous process initiated toward the end of 1862.

The simple stitch remained predominant, nonetheless, and appeared significantly more frequently than any other stitch in published instructions. Its central position was typified in a pattern by Weaver for a “Baby’s Tippet in Tricot Ecossais” in the August 1864 issue of *Peterson’s Magazine*, also attesting the propagation of Riego’s name for it: “The whole of this tippet is made in the ordinary tricot stitch.”⁷² The continued viability of other designations was seen in instructions by Weaver in the March 1866 issue of *Peterson’s Magazine* for a “New Style Sontag, in Tunisian [sic] Crochet” clearly stating that it differed from the Princess Royal stitch in name only: “The center of this Sontag is done in ordinary Tunisian crochet, (which is the same as the Princess Royal Stitch we have so often described).”⁷³ After a number of tricot patterns in subsequent issues, Weaver returned to Tunisian crochet in November 1866, again indicating a link with afghans in instructions for an “Infant’s Carriage Afghan, in Tunisian Crochet,” restating that it was a synonym for the Princess Royal Stitch.⁷⁴

⁷² Jane Weaver, “Baby’s Tippet in Tricot Eccosais,” *Peterson’s Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 46, Issue 2, August 1864, pp. 141–142.

⁷³ Jane Weaver, “New Style Sontag, in Tunisian Crochet,” *Peterson’s Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 49, Issue 3, March 1866, pp. 223–225.

⁷⁴ Jane Weaver, “Infant’s Carriage Afghan, in Tunisian Crochet,” *Peterson’s Magazine*, C.J. Peterson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 50, Issue 5, November 1866, pp. 355–356.

Tricot Ecossais Redefined

By the middle of the 1860s, the basic tricot stitch and fabric made with it were commonly referred to simply as tricot. The qualified form “tricot ecossais” re-emerged in 1882 in *The Dictionary of Needlework* by Sophia Frances Anne Caulfeild (1824–1911) and Blanche Catherine Saward (1843–1927), designating a stitch that was significantly different from the plain one. The two appeared side by side in a “crochet couvrepied...which is worked in Tricot Ecossais and in Tricot, the centre strip in Tricot, and the sides in Ecossais” (Figure 10).⁷⁵

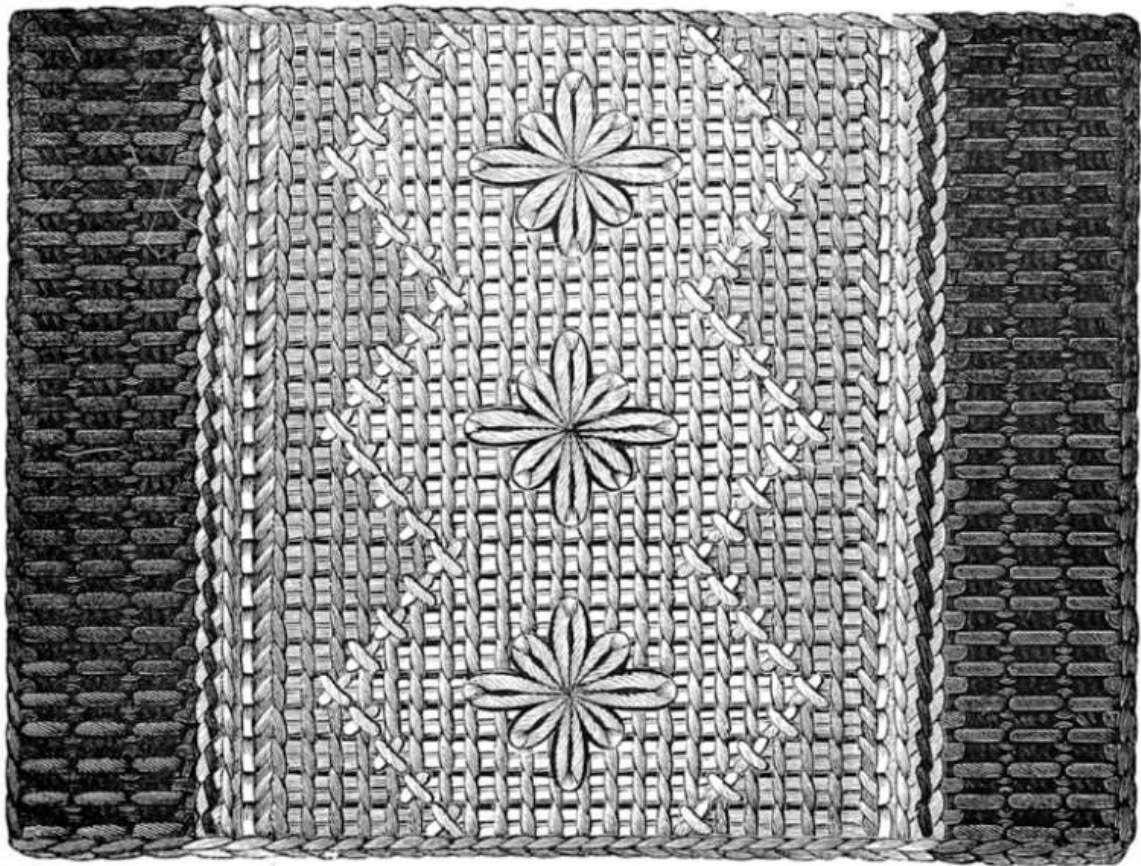


Figure 10:
Tricot Juxtaposed with Ecossais,
S.F.A. Caulfeild and Blanche C. Saward,
The Dictionary of Needlework, First Edition, Volume 1,
L. Upcott Gill, London, England, 1882, p. 105.

⁷⁵ S.F.A. Caulfeild and Blanche C. Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework*, First Edition, Volume 1, L. Upcott Gill, London, England, 1882, p. 105.

The new tricot ecossais was illustrated as produced on a long hook (Figure 11), and as a structurally equivalent “fancy stitch” in ordinary crochet. Instructions for the latter form had previously appeared as a “very quick...Leviathan Pattern”⁷⁶ in crochet instructions published in 1879, which included a waistcoat in crochet á tricoter as initially defined, also referring to it simply as “tricoter.”⁷⁷ The Leviathan pattern was presented in embroidered form in earlier sources and is included in the Caulfeild and Seward *Dictionary of Needlework* as a, “Leviathan Stitch.—A modern Berlin stitch sometimes called a railway stitch, because it is considered to cover the canvas quickly” (Figure 12).⁷⁸

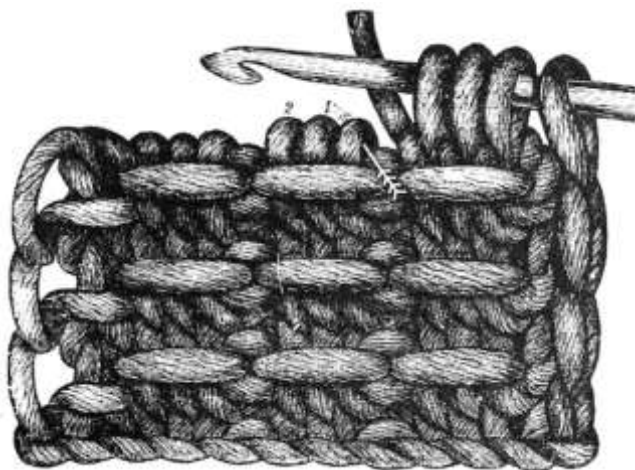


Figure 11:
Tricot Ecossais Stitch,
S.F.A. Caulfeild
and Blanche C. Seward,
*The Dictionary of
Needlework*,
First Edition, Volume 1,
L. Upcott Gill, London,
England, 1882, p. 129.

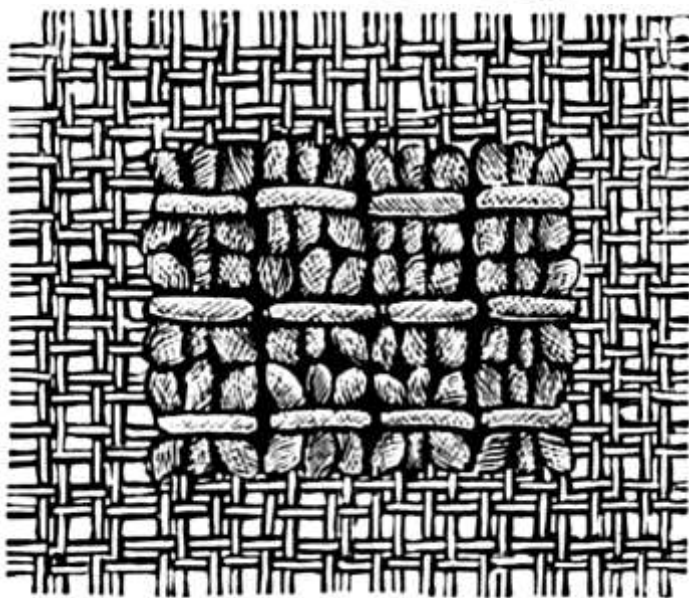


Figure 12:
*Embroidered
Leviathan Stitch*,
S.F.A. Caulfeild
and Blanche C. Seward,
*The Dictionary of
Needlework*,
First Edition, Volume 1,
L. Upcott Gill, London,
England, 1882, p. 30.

⁷⁶ Elvina Mary Corbould, *The Lady's Crochet Book*, Anson D.F. Randolph and Company, New York, New York, United States, 1879, p. 62.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷⁸ Caulfeild and Seward, *op cit.*, p. 30.

Caulfeild and Saward's use of railway stitch as an alias for the Leviathan pattern is at odds with its parallel appearance in a list of alternative designation for the tricot stitch. This reinforced a general belief about the glossary of tricot stitches being more florid than precise.

Tunisian Crochet. — See Tricot Stitch.

Tricot Stitch. — Also known as *Tunisian crochet*, *Railway*, *Fool's*, and *Idiot* stitch.⁷⁹

Calling the Leviathan form a railway stitch is otherwise consistent with the 1879 description of the rapidly produced Leviathan crochet stitch and the same trait may also have been ascribed to the tricot counterpart. An additional relationship is possible between the railway stitch and the “railway rugs” that were functional siblings of afghan blankets. The tricot ecossais seen in the side panels of the Caulfeild and Saward illustration was described again in a text from 1885 by Jane Cunningham Croly (1831–1901), repeating the 1882 wording verbatim.⁸⁰ Croly also cited it in the chapter on Afghans, where the simple tricot stitch appeared both as the “plain afghan (or tricot) stitch” and the “Victoria or afghan stitch.”^{81, 82}

Tunisian crochet was finally used as a designation for a craft rather than a stitch by Thérèse de Dillmont (1846–1890) in the English translation of her *Encyclopaedia der weiblichen Handarbeiten* [Encyclopedia of Women's Handcraft],⁸³ both published in 1886. The introduction to the chapter on crochet in de Dillmont's *Encyclopedia of Needlework* stated that, “Crochet work may, however, be divided into two kinds, German crochet, and Victoria or Tunisian crochet; the latter is known also under the name of tricot-crochet.”⁸⁴ This is a direct translation of the German text with the exception of “Tunisian crochet,” which is still termed the *tunisischer Häkelstich* [Tunisian crochet stitch], and “tricot-crochet,” which is

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

⁸⁰ Jane Cunningham Croly, *Knitting and Crochet*, J.F. Ingalls, Lynn, Massachusetts, United States, 1885, p. 96.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 133.

⁸² Ibid., p. 144.

⁸³ Thérèse de Dillmont, *Encyclopaedia der weiblichen Handarbeiten* [Encyclopedia of Women's Handcraft], Verlag Th. de Dillmont, Dornach, Alsace-Lorraine, 1886, p. 232.

⁸⁴ Thérèse de Dillmont, *Encyclopedia of Needlework*, Verlag Th. de Dillmont, Dornach, Alsace-Lorraine, 1886, p. 222.

Strickhäkelei [knit crochet]. In light of the latter, it should be noted that the French edition of *Encyclopedia of Women's Handcraft*, again from 1886, inverted tricot-crochet to "*crochet-tricot*."⁸⁵ Ordinary crochet was attested in Germany almost 30 years earlier than it was in England.⁸⁶ Labelling the fundamental dichotomy as German/Victorian is unsupported by the documents examined above but de Dillmont was a reliable witness to the usage of her day. As a German speaker, her ceding the long-hook crochet that was first described in that language to the British, while retaining a German claim on ordinary crochet, suggests that the roles of the respective language communities in the development of hooked loopcraft remain to be fully clarified.

Conclusion

The craft of crochet made its first appearance in the English fancywork press in 1837. Summary explanations of its origins appeared shortly thereafter, associating it with a type of yarncraft practiced in Scotland, but ignoring continental European literature that traced this precursor form back toward the mid eighteenth century and began making reference to true crochet in 1809. The repertoire of crochet stitches expanded in English publications, beginning in 1840, gaining broad international momentum during the 1850s. A "new crochet stitch" appeared in 1858 requiring a long cylindrical hook, identical to a knitting needle with a hooked tip, producing fabric that also had a clear knitted component. It was described as an intermediate between knitting and crochet and rapidly acquired peer status with them as a separately named third craft. This was most commonly given the borrowed French label "tricot," via the French word for knitting, *tricoter*. However, the craft had a range of aliases that may have been legacy designations from earlier practice and was also referred to with the unladen term "long-hook crochet."

⁸⁵ Thérèse de Dillmont, *Encyclopédie des ouvrages de dames* [Encyclopedia of Women's Handcraft], Verlag Th. de Dillmont, Dornach, Alsace-Lorraine, 1886, p. 238.

⁸⁶ A. Philipson, *Berliner Lieblings-Beschäftigung für Damen nach colorirten Musterzeichnungen zum Stricken, Häckeln, Tapiserie und Perlstrickerei* [Berlin Favorite Activity for Ladies from Colored Pattern Drawings for Knitting, Crochet, Tapestry and Bead Knitting], Fleischer, Berlin, Prussia, 1809, title page.

Some uncertainty has attached to the reading of *Häckeln* in this title as a designation for true crochet. This is clarified in the following essay:

Cary Karp, "Drawing a Bead on the Arrival of Crochet in Germany," 3 May 2020, <https://loopholes.blog/crochet-beads-charts>, Accessed 4 May 2020.

Several of the early published sources reported that they were presenting the craft for the first time but none claimed its invention or made representations about its age. The January 1858 marriage of The Princess Royal Victoria—Queen Victoria’s eldest child, to Prince Frederick William of Prussia—was invoked in early English presentations of the new stitch and was one of its namesakes. Nonetheless, the stitch itself had already appeared on the Prussian side of the royal event, without a specific name in the 9 January 1858 issue of *Der Bazar*, a periodical produced in Berlin. As contention with Victorian publications about the origin of the stitch became apparent, *Der Bazar* stated that it was already known as “the Tunisian crochet stitch.” This name is attested in a Swedish publication from 1857 with reference to instructions for its production in an issue of the same publication from January 1856. The initially described structure survived an excursion through a proliferation of names but the oldest of those designations, Tunisian crochet, was ultimately to become the most widely used appellation in present-day discourse.

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William Clark (1830–1902): A Colonial New Zealand Draper and Clothier, 1854–1888

Angela Lassig

Abstract

This article introduces William Clark (1830–1902), a draper and clothier who opened his store in Wellington, New Zealand in 1854 and traded for 34 years before filing for bankruptcy in 1888. The article is centred on a rare surviving group of business records—comprising 26 ledgers—that documents the day-to-day dealings of Clark’s store during 1854–1875. The thoroughness of the data contained within the ledgers, documenting equally and in detail all purchases by a range of customers from the labouring classes to the elite, both Māori and Pākehā [non-Māori], as well as government departments and the military, comprises a rich resource for the study of everyday dress and textiles in colonial New Zealand. This article draws on these records to explore the core areas of Clark’s business, the trade in readymade clothing for men and women, and the stocking of textiles for dressmaking.

Introduction

In September 1953 a group of business records, comprising 26 leather-bound ledgers, entered the collection of The Alexander Turnbull Library, a specialist research facility within the National Library of New Zealand.¹ Together these records document the drapery² and clothing business founded by William Clark (1830–1902) in January 1854, which operated until 1888 (Figure 1). The records comprise waste books,³ day books, and stock books, all common ledgers used in nineteenth century bookkeeping. These ledgers provide an incredibly rich research resource, revealing the daily consumption patterns of a broad social range of customers over an extended period of time. The near continuous records also provide a rare insight into the everyday workings of a Victorian draper during a period of social, economic, and mercantile transition.

¹ The collection of records, which document William Clark's business, is not digitised. The collection is available to view, by appointment, at The Alexander Turnbull Library, which forms part of The National Library in Wellington, New Zealand. The main collection record for the William Clark holdings is MSY-0057 to MSY-0082.

² Before department stores were established, clothing and textiles were usually purchased from "general" stores or specialist dealers. "Drapers" traditionally sold textiles while "clothiers" sold readymade clothing. By 1854, some drapers in New Zealand and Australia, including William Clark, advertised themselves as "Drapers and Clothiers," indicating that they sold fabric in addition to readymade clothing.

³ While waste books were used daily to record sales transactions in the order in which the transactions occurred, day books were written up later, in the neat hand of a clerk, and annotated with details, such as the customer's account number. Stock books were used to keep track of all products and, in Clark's case, to take inventory, an annual task undertaken on a single day, when every item in the store was counted and listed.

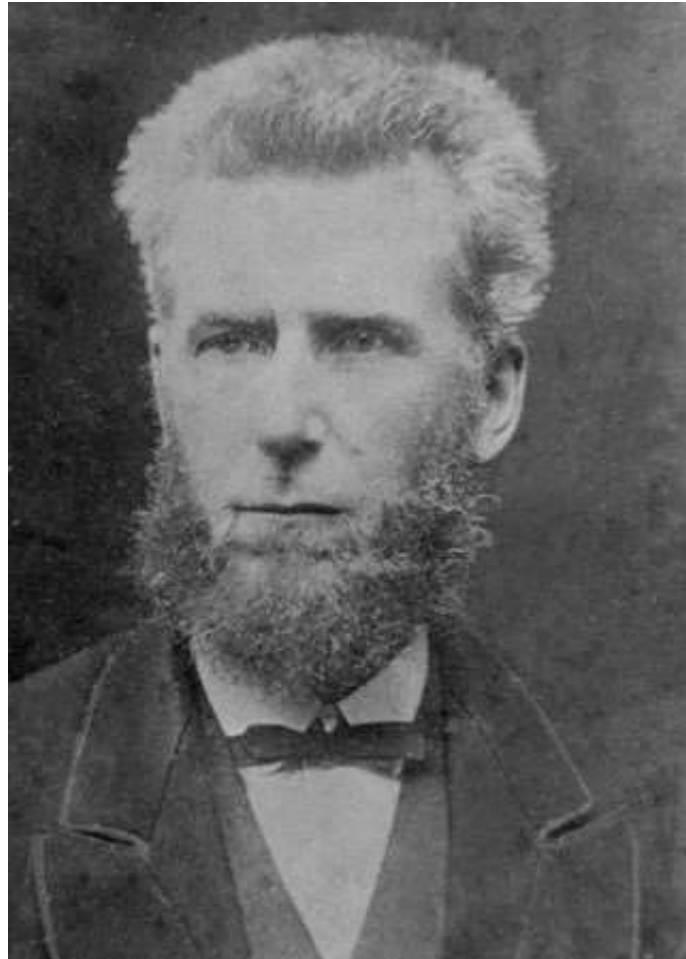


Figure 1:
William Clark,
Approximately 23 Years Old,
Photographer Unknown,
circa 1854,
© Private Collection, Auckland, New Zealand.

This article analyses William Clark's business records, primarily those of his first year of operation, 1854, as a means of examining New Zealand consumers and consumer culture during the mid nineteenth century. This analysis will reveal how consumer goods were sourced in early colonial New Zealand before the establishment of local manufacturing. This article will then focus on two areas of Clark's business: readymade clothing for men, and women's dresses, textiles, and dressmaking. This article also examines the diversity of the local market in terms of status, affluence, and race, and explores the market for European dress among Māori customers.

The Business Records

A study of the earliest business ledger—a day book dated 1854⁴—immediately reveals the significance of these records for the dress historian. For each day of trading, dated ledger pages document each customer in the order they were served, and provide a detailed list of their purchases, including the quantity purchased, the price per item or yard, and the sub-total. Customers' account numbers are also provided and, in the absence of an account, payment by cash was recorded. The occasional marginal note often provides additional depth or context to individual records.

Most of the account holders listed are men, although it is clear that some of the actual customers are women. Because “a married woman had no cash of her own and had to ask her husband for money or for credit in his name to buy goods,”⁵ it is a reasonable assumption that some transactions recorded in Clark's business records were made by women purchasing under the names of husbands or fathers. For instance, the many purchases of ribbon and dress trimmings recorded under the name and account of “Colonel Gold” (1809–1871),⁶ Commander of the military forces in New Zealand, were most likely made by his wife or one of his daughters (Figure 2).

⁴ William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1854.

⁵ Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, New Zealand, 2016, p. 78.

⁶ Charles Emilius Gold (1809–1871) married Eleanor Felicia Askin Geddes (1820–1900) in Kingston, Ontario, Canada in 1839. During their marriage, Eleanor gave birth to 20 children, including 11 girls.

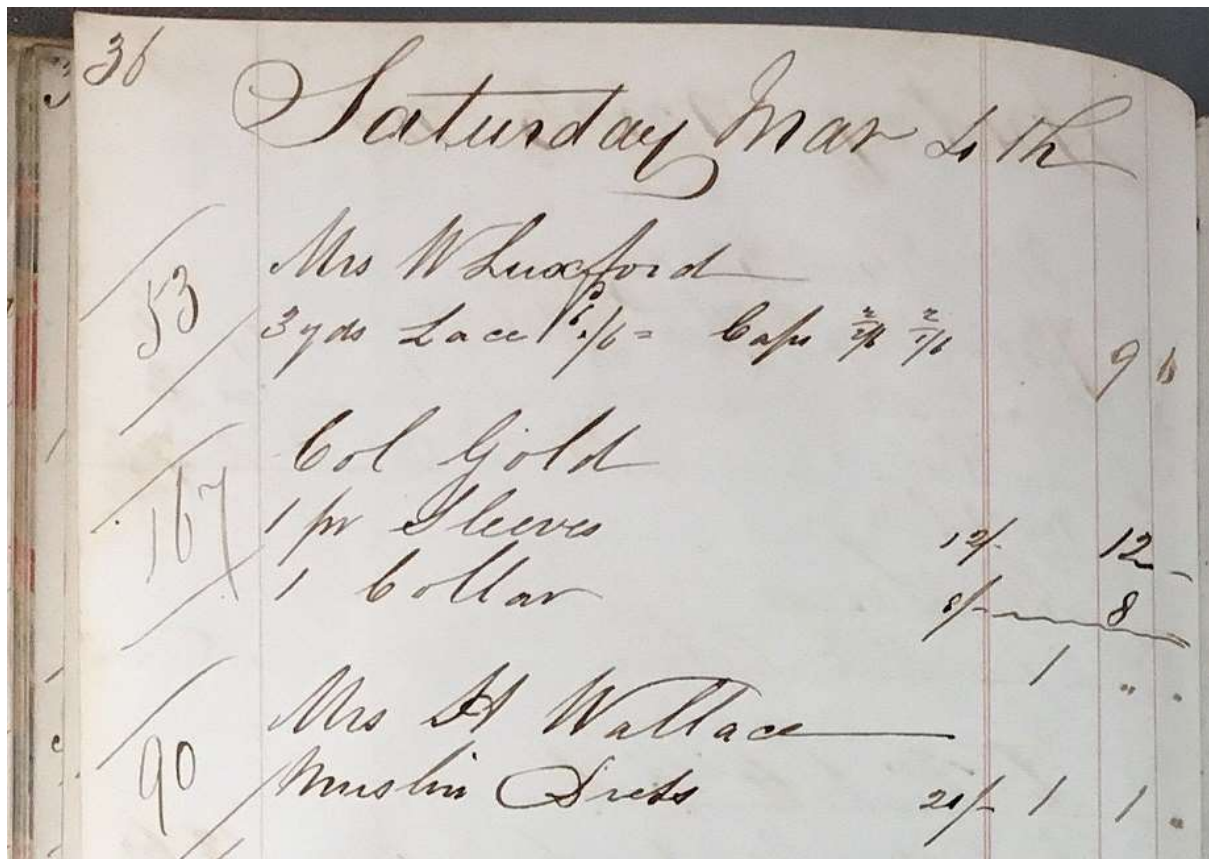


Figure 2:
 "Purchases by Colonel Gold,"
 William Clark, *Day Book*,
 Photographed by Angela Lassig, 1 March 2018,
 © The Alexander Turnbull Library,
 Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1854, p. 36.

Even on his first day of trading—3 January 1854—the customers recorded in Clark’s day book reflect a diverse patronage, including the former Attorney General Daniel Bell Wakefield (1798–1858), the Resident Magistrate Henry St. Hill (1807–1866), politician James Coutts Crawford (1817–1889), fellow shopkeeper James Smith (1817?–1876), and a Māori customer simply referred to as “Tepany.”⁷ While Wellington’s elite, comprising “wealthy businessmen ...merchants, senior government officials, ship’s captains, top clergymen and senior army officers”⁸ are relatively well documented and easy to trace in the historical record, Clark’s non-elite Māori and Pākehā [non-Māori]⁹ customers—domestic servants, urban and rural labourers, shop girls and delivery boys, ordinary soldiers and visiting sailors, for example—are much more elusive. Where no other information might exist on these poorly documented individuals, the rich data in Clark’s ledgers helps us shape a picture of them and the material world in which they lived. Because Clark documented all his customers’ orders equally and without prejudice, his ledgers represent a remarkable and valuable tool for historians interested in the analysis of consumer behaviour across all demographics. Clark’s desire to “please all parties” was a point on which he prided himself as seen in an 1864 advertisement, placed in one of Wellington’s leading newspapers, *The Wellington Independent* (Figure 3).¹⁰

⁷ Of the many Māori names recorded in Clark’s business ledgers, some names are written phonetically, rather than accurately. “Tepany,” also written as “Tepanny,” likely refers to the Māori surname “Tepene,” which, unlike the former, features in contemporary Wellington urban and regional records.

⁸ Roberta Nicholls, “Elite Society in Victorian and Edwardian Wellington” in David Hamer and Roberta Nicholls, Editors, *The Making of Wellington, 1800–1914*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 1990, p. 196.

⁹ All translations in this article were made by the author, Angela Lassig.

¹⁰ Advertisement, “W. Clark, Draper. Clothier, &c.,” *The Wellington Independent*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume XIX, Issue 2127, 12 November 1864, Column 2, p. 4.

W. CLARK,
D R A P E R. C L O T H I E R, &c.,
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

COUNTRY ORDERS RESPECTFULLY
SOLICITED.

W. CLARK'S STOCK IS LARGE and well assorted, and is constantly replenished with new and seasonable goods; and although, W C. does not say that his establishment is the Cheapest House in town (whatever he may think on the subject), he cannot help referring with pride to the very large and increasing patronage which has attended his endeavors to please all parties, and trusts by pursuing the same line of conduct to retain his old friends and secure new customers.

Wellington, Nov. 10th, 1864.

Figure 3:

Advertisement, "W. Clark, Draper. Clothier, &c.,"
The Wellington Independent, Wellington, New Zealand,
Volume XIX, Issue 2127, 12 November 1864, Column 2, p. 4.¹¹

¹¹ There was often a time lapse in early New Zealand newspaper advertisements. The date that the advertisement was actually typeset is what appears in the printed advertisement, regardless of the day it was published. For example, if the same advertisement ran every day for two weeks, then the printed advertisement would still reflect the original date that the advertisement was typeset. This process explains why Figure 3 lists the date of 10 November 1864 (which is the date on which the advertisement was typeset) but the image caption lists the date of 12 November 1864 (which is the date on which the advertisement was published).

An examination of Clark's 1854–1860 day books reveals that his customers also included several government departments and the military. The details of these sales provide insight into the everyday workings of institutions that are usually considered in relation to their public roles rather than their connection to commerce and material culture. For example, on 1 February 1854 “The Officers Mess” purchased 15 yards of a heavy unbleached linen known as forfar “for aprons,”¹² and on 31 May 1854 the Mess purchased six linen table cloths, each 16 feet long and eight feet wide.¹³ In 1854 the Survey Department purchased large quantities of calico and duck [a strong cotton fabric], likely for making tents and tarpaulins [coverings] while on surveying expeditions (Figure 4).

¹² The forfar “for aprons” was sold at 1 shilling per yard; the total cost for 15 yards was 15 shillings. It was purchased for use in the Officers’ Mess of the 65th Regiment. A “mess” is an area within a military camp where military personnel socialise, eat, and drink.

William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1 July 1854, p. 16.

¹³ The tablecloths cost 24 shillings each, for a total cost of £7-4s.

The United Kingdom pound amount of £7-4s (the total price of six linen tablecloths) in 1850 is equivalent to approximately £950 in 2019.

Anonymous, *Inflation Calculator for United Kingdom Currency*, The Bank of England, London, England, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>, Accessed 19 May 2020.

Clark, *Day Book*, MSY-0057, 1 July 1854, op cit., p. 96.



Figure 4:

A High Country Surveyors' Camp in Bleak Conditions, Otago,

Edward Immyns Abbot,

circa 1847-1849,

Watercolour on Paper, 24.1 x 34.9 cm,

© The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, B-155-010.

Arriving in a New Land

Clark commenced trading in Wellington on Tuesday, 3 January 1854. Wellington, at the southern tip of New Zealand's North Island, is now the capital city, but at the time the town was only newly established. A mere 14 years earlier, in 1840, almost all business was conducted on the beachfront at Petone, known then as Port Nicholson, where the waves of New Zealand Company¹⁴ immigrants, the first organised groups of New Zealand settlers, disembarked and set up temporary home (Figure 5).

The speed of progress was such that by 1842 a commercial centre had been established to the west of the bay at Lambton Quay, which had become, as New Zealand historian Ben Schrader described it, "lined with shops and warehouses, including shoemakers, tailors, a stay-maker, a hairdresser...coffee houses and a solicitor."¹⁵ The rapid development of a consumption culture, as well as social and associational infrastructure, demonstrates a desire for the types of products and services that many of the emigrants enjoyed back "home."¹⁶

¹⁴ The New Zealand Company (1839–1858) was founded in London, England as a commercial venture for investors, resulting in the first organised settlement of New Zealand. Its scheme for colonisation was underpinned by the theories of Englishman Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862).

For more information, see:

Jock Phillips, "British Immigration and the New Zealand Company," *Te Ara [The Pathway]: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history-of-immigration/page-3>, Accessed 24 May 2020.

¹⁵ Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities 1840–1920*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, New Zealand, 2016, p. 42.

¹⁶ During the nineteenth century, it was common practice for British emigrants, who lived away from Britain, to refer to Britain as "home." This practice continued well into the twentieth century.

**CALEDONIAN TAVERN & STORES,
ON THE BEACH.**

MR. HARVIE begs to inform his friends and the public in general, that the above House and Stores are now open, and that the following goods are for sale, on the most reasonable terms:---

Choice wines and spirits.

Elliott's superior bottled and draught ale and stout.

Groceries, spices, &c. &c.

Superior rice, remarkably cheap.

Blocks. Pit, cross-cut, hand, and tenor saws.

Braces and bits, ship's scrapers, mortice axes, frying pans, scissors, knives, razors, powder flasks, slates, lead and slate pencils, steel and brass pens, and a great variety of ironmongery.

Regatta white and striped shirts, prints, linens and calicoes.

Cloth, pea, fustian, and cord jackets and trousers.

Dress coats, waistcoats and trousers, stocks.

Ladies' boots and shoes, gentlemen's and children's ditto.

Candle and lamp cotton, webbing, and a general assortment of other goods, adapted for a young Colony; also, a CANTEN complete, containing every requisite for an exploring expedition.

Beach, Port Nicholson, May 16, 1840. M

Figure 5:

Advertisement, "Caledonian Tavern & Stores, on the Beach,"
The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, Wellington, New Zealand,
Volume I, Issue 6, 16 May 1840, Column 1, p. 2.

It was into this fledgling city of Wellington (Figure 6) that 11-year-old William Clark disembarked from the *London* on 1 May 1842.¹⁷ Accompanying him on the four-month journey from Gravesend¹⁸ was his brother Joseph (1833–1901), their Aunt Louisa Fitchett (1808–1852), her husband John Fitchett (1807–1875), and the Fitchetts’ five children. Prior to their emigration the brothers lived in Leamington Spa, England with their parents Maria (1800–1892) and Joseph Clark (1795–1841) and five other siblings, where Joseph worked as a plumber. After the death of her husband,¹⁹ Maria moved her family to London where she is recorded in the 1841 census working as a “mangler” [laundress].²⁰ Given her recent widowhood, her humble employment and large family, it is likely that she took the opportunity to send her two eldest boys to New Zealand with the family of her sister, Louisa, who accepted an offer of assisted emigration to New Zealand in 1841.²¹

¹⁷ The *London* was a 700-ton sailing ship built in London, England in 1833. On this, its second journey to New Zealand, the *London* departed Gravesend, England on 2 January 1842 under the command of Captain Thomas Attwood.

The birthyear and deathyear of Thomas Attwood are unknown.

¹⁸ Gravesend is an English port town in the northwest part of the county of Kent, located on the southern bank of the river Thames. From the 1830s, Gravesend was a common departure port for sailing ships, including those carrying assisted emigrants to Australia, and from 1839 to New Zealand. Emigrants, who were skilled in trades useful to the establishment and growth of a new colony, were often assisted to emigrate by having their shipping passage fare paid.

¹⁹ An extant family tree records that Joseph Clark died in the St. Marylebone Workhouse in London, England, circa 9 July 1841.

Personal Correspondence between Angela Lassig and Garry Clark, a Descendant of William Clark, 10 May 2020.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Skilled emigrants were recruited in England and their passages assisted by The New Zealand Company, a private enterprise with the aim of systematically colonising selected areas of New Zealand. The earliest skilled emigrants to New Zealand were principally tradespeople. For example, in 1840, assisted emigrants arriving on the ship *Cuba* included blacksmiths, bricklayers, butchers, wheelwrights, sawyers, and carpenters.

Notice, “Immigration Department,” *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume I, Issue 2, 18 April 1840, Column 1, p. 4.



Figure 6:

View of a Part of the Town of Wellington, Charles Heaphy, 1841,
Watercolour on Paper, 44.2 x 62.0 cm,

© The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, C-025-009.

As yet, little precise information has been sourced about William Clark's life during 1842–1854. We do know that the brothers were raised by John and Louisa Fitchett, who moved around Wellington city before settling in Ohiro, a Wellington district, in 1847. Once settled, the family established a large landholding, which supplied Wellington with dairy produce and firewood. The Fitchetts were staunch Methodists who became involved in the early establishment of the Wesleyan church in Wellington.

It is likely that the Clark and Fitchett children attended “The Wellington Wesleyan Day School” from its opening in June 1846, as John Fitchett formed part of its first Committee.²² Clark remained closely tied to the church throughout his life, and many of his most loyal customers were also connected to the Wesleyan Church in Wellington.²³ Clark may have met his wife Margaret Bevan (1832–1922) through the church. They married at the Wellington Wesleyan Church in 1854, the same year he opened his business.²⁴

Clark’s knowledge of the drapery business, and the contacts he must have established to set up such an undertaking, suggest that he may have worked in the trade prior to the opening of his own store. Wellington newspapers record the arrival of English emigrant tailors from 1840 and advertisements for tailors’ apprentices appeared throughout the 1840s,²⁵ providing opportunity to learn the trade in Wellington, should he wish.

²² C.J. Freeman, “The Centenary of Wesley Church, Taranaki Street, Wellington, New Zealand, 1840–1940: A Brief Record of the Founding and Growth of the Central Methodist Church and Circuit, Compiled at the Request of the Centenary Committee by Charles J. Freeman,” *Proceedings, Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand, New Series*, Volume 1, Number 3, 1941, p. 18.

²³ This statement is based on two years of biographical research on numerous customers whose names and purchases are recorded in William Clark’s business records. For instance, many of Clark’s customers are referenced in Freeman’s 1941 account of the Centenary of the Central Methodist Church in Wellington.

Ibid.

²⁴ Margaret Bevan’s family members were also early immigrants (arriving 1841) and lived in Wellington before moving, in 1845, to Otaki, north of Wellington, where her father Thomas Bevan (1801–1881) continued his rope- and twine-making business.

²⁵ Advertisement, “William Murray/Tailor, and General Furnisher of Gentlemen’s Wearing Apparel,” *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume I, Issue 31, 14 November 1840, Column 2, p. 2.

Family tradition maintains that Clark's mother and her sister Louisa Fitchett inherited a considerable sum of money upon the death in 1848 of their grandfather William Buddle (1775–1848). Buddle, in partnership with his son William Junior, were successful builders in Leamington Spa during the city's building boom of the 1820s and 1830s.²⁶ Financial assistance from his mother could have provided Clark with the means to start his own business in 1854.

A Draper's Sources

With no clothing or textile manufacturing yet established in New Zealand by 1854, drapers and general traders who sold mixed goods, including clothing, would have relied entirely on imported items to stock their stores. Those who did not have the means to directly import their own goods could purchase from other storekeepers or bid for imported goods at public auction. Since the late 1830s, public auctions were one of the most important sources of imported merchandise of any type. They were held regularly by an increasing number of professional merchants, many of whom owned their own vessels and speculated on cargoes of mixed goods purchased from markets as close as Sydney or as distant as Glasgow and Boston. One of these merchants, J.H. Wallace, who began speculating in Wellington as early as June 1840, regularly placed advertisements promoting his latest auction to the most likely customers, in this example, drapers (Figure 7).

²⁶ Personal Correspondence between Angela Lassig and Garry Clark, a Descendant of William Clark, 10 May 2020.

P u b l i c S a l e .
NEW GOODS, FX CHEETAH.
*On Thursday next, July 20th, at 11 o'clock
precisely.*

MR. J. H. WALLACE has received instructions to sell, at his Rooms,

SIXTEEN Original Packages, as
under :—

- Three qualities Scotch Twilled Shirts
- Three qualities Blue Twilled Serge Shirts
- Choice Fancy Regatta Shirts
- Blankets, Flannels
- Bed-Ticks, Hollands
- 9-8 Bleached Shirting Calicoes
- 36 inch Long Cloths
- White and Colored Rolled Jaconets
- Printed Calicoes
- De Laine and Cashmere Dresses
- French Merinoes, ALL WOOL
- Wool Shawls, Cashmere Shawls, &c.

TERMS LIBERAL.
Lunch provided.

N.B.—The Auctioneer would earnestly request **THE TRADE** to be in attendance at the time advertized, and in return he will promise them that "**THE FIRST LOT**" in each Package shall be **SOLD** whatever figure be the price.

Wellington, Lambton-quay South,
July 19, 1854.

Figure 7:
Advertisement, "Public Sale. Mr. J.H. Wallace.,"
The New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian,
Wellington, New Zealand, Volume IX, Issue 935, 19 July 1854, Column 1, p. 2.

Regular merchant shipping between New Zealand and Australia allowed for some retailers, including William Clark, to purchase at least part of their stock directly from Australian sellers. As shipping records of the time reported the types of goods imported and exported and the names of those who had ordered these goods, it is evident that some Wellington drapers purchased clothing and textiles directly from Australia, especially Sydney, the largest and closest urban market to New Zealand. During 1851–1853, vast quantities of British goods were shipped to Australia as a result of the gold rushes,²⁷ which had greatly boosted Australia's appeal as an export market. For example, the well-established London readymade clothing firm of E. Moses & Son set up a temporary branch in Melbourne in 1852, offering to take payment for goods in gold or cash.²⁸ The company's first Australian advertisement, placed in Melbourne's leading newspaper, *The Argus*, stated:

Messrs E. Moses & Son beg most respectfully to announce the establishment in this City of a Wholesale Branch of their far-famed House in the Metropolis of England. The universal celebrity which they have so long uninterruptedly enjoyed, leads them to hope that the same success which has hitherto attended their efforts will meet them in their undertaking in this Colony.

²⁷ The term "gold rush" refers to the rapid influx of fortune hunters to a site, triggered by the discovery of gold. In Australia, the first gold rush began in Ophir, Victoria, Australia in May 1851. In New Zealand, gold was discovered in May 1861 at Gabriel's Gully, Otago, in New Zealand's lower South Island, inciting a gold rush.

²⁸ Advertisement, "E. Moses & Son," *The Argus*, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, Number 1193, 19 October 1852, Column 7, p. 8.

Readymade Clothing: Menswear

As a draper and clothier, Clark's main business centred on the sale of readymade clothing for men, women and children,²⁹ and textiles intended for making into clothing and household necessities. For making and finishing hand-sewn items, Clark stocked all the necessary requisites: needles, thread, scissors, thimbles, ribbon, braid, binding, buttons, hooks, and elastic. Clark also sold readymade textile items for household use such as blankets, carpets, rugs and mats, counterpanes, towels, quilts, curtains and a diverse range of "Fancy Goods" and "Sundries"³⁰ that included dolls, perambulators, travelling cases, and sewing boxes.

In 1860, the London clothing manufacturer E. Moses & Son claimed that "80 per cent of the British population purchased their clothes readymade, and an increasing proportion...purchased their clothes new, and not from the secondhand market."³¹ Although not explicit, the population referred to in E. Moses & Son's statement was predominantly male. While women's readymade clothing was available during the 1850s, the industry was insufficiently developed to reach a mass market.³² As in England, the women's readymade market in New Zealand was largely confined to unfitted, "one size fits all" garment styles, such as cloaks and loosely cut coat and jacket styles, and this is reflected in Clark's business ledgers. Thus, the better part of Clark's readymade clothing business was menswear.

²⁹ While readymade clothing formed the majority of Clark's clothing stock throughout his years in business, his ledgers show the occasional charge for "making up." This was probably a courtesy extended to existing customers only, in order to maintain their patronage, rather than a regular service.

³⁰ In Clark's two existing stock books, he used the headings "Fancy Goods" and "Sundries" to categorise the wide variety of assorted goods that he stocked apart from dress and textiles. The goods itemised in each of the two categories do not seem to be consistent or systematic. Both categories list a broad range of non-textile/clothing items, for example, a pic nic basket [sic], pin cushions, and a candlestick are listed under the heading "Fancy Goods," while cutlery, glassware, shovels, and thimbles are listed under the heading "Sundries."

"Fancy Goods," William Clark, *Stock Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0082, 1866-1869, pp. 22-23.

Ibid., "Sundries," p. 24.

³¹ Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History: Or, The Imperialists' New Clothes*, Polity Press, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England, 2008, p. 57.

³² Andrew Godley, "Introduction: The Development of the Clothing Industry: Technology and Fashion," *Textile History*, Taylor and Francis, London, England, Volume 28, Issue 1, 1997, p. 8.

Inexpensive, readymade menswear in the form of slops³³ had been available for sale or barter in New Zealand since the early nineteenth century,³⁴ and remained a consumer staple when Clark's store opened in 1854. Slops were often referred to collectively as "strong clothing" in contemporary newspaper advertisements and settlers' diaries and letters. While inexpensive clothing would always find a market, by 1854 there existed a consumer demand for better quality readymade clothing to serve the more diverse and sophisticated urban working and middle class population that had developed in Wellington since 1840. Australian dress historian Margaret Maynard notes the existence of a "two-tiered system" in Australia by the 1850s with the least expensive slops supplemented by "an increasingly sophisticated and well-cut range of ready-made garments."³⁵ This development is clearly evident in the Wellington clothing market by 1854 in the importation of English branded clothing.³⁶ London readymade clothing manufacturers, in particular, were well represented in Wellington, with Welch, Margetson & Co and H.J. & D. Nicoll joining E. Moses & Son and S.W. Silver & Co,³⁷ whose clothing had been advertised in Wellington since 1849. Nicoll's readymade clothing was sold exclusively in Wellington by Timothy Nattrass (1812-1885) who arrived from London in 1853, having first negotiated with the London manufacturer to operate as their sole agent in New Zealand (Figure 8).

³³ Slop clothing (also "slops") refers to inexpensive forms of readymade clothing. The term was also used to describe the inexpensive readymade clothing worn by sailors.

³⁴ From the first period of European contact with Māori during the 1780s, items of European dress and textiles were amongst the range of goods bartered with Māori in exchange for necessities, such as fresh water and provisions. From the 1820s, dress and textiles often formed part of the goods exchanged by Europeans for Māori land.

³⁵ Margaret Maynard, *Fashioned from Penury: Dress as Cultural Practice in Colonial Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England, 1994, p. 118.

³⁶ While a manufacturer could achieve commercial distinction in the marketplace for individual products by patenting and registering the designs with the Designs Registry (Board of Trade, London, England), which operated during 1839-1991, it was the development of a corporate brand culture (the promotion of a company rather than one of their products) during the 1850s that contributed to the consumer desire for the goods of a particular company.

³⁷ Advertisement, "On Sale, ex Enterprize," *The New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume VI, Issue 435, 3 October 1849, Column 1, p. 2.

H. J. & D. NICOLL'S
(OF LONDON)
New Zealand Clothing & General Stores.

T NATTRASS, SOLE AGENT to Messrs. NICOLL, begs to acquaint the Inhabitants of Wellington, and other Settlements of New Zealand, that he has just arrived from London, and will commence business 27th instant with a large assortment of Goods of Superior Style and quality, consisting of—

Superfine Black Dress and Frock Coats

Medium do. do.

Mixed D'Eté Paletots

Single Llama do.

Milled do.

Mixed D'Eté Shooting Coats and Vests

Black Llama do. do.

Single do. do. do.

Black Cassimere Vests

Llama Shooting do.

White Quilting do.

Coloured Baratheas do.

White and Drab Moleskin Trowsers & Vests

White and Drab Cord do. do.

Super Black Doe Trowsers

Medium do. do.

Mixed Angola Suits complete

Milled do.

Toga Wrappers

Ladies' Riding Habits and Skirts

Waterproofs, South-Westerns, Fishing Boots

and Stockings, Leggings, Capes and Pilot

do., Cups and Bottles, Dressing Dresses,

Portable Cloaks in canes, Life Boat, &c.

Soft Felt Hats, Black, Brown, and Drab,

Square Crown, Aberdeen Shape ditto,

Ormond do.

Boots and Shoes

Superior Striped Guernsey Frocks, Merino

Pantaloon Drawers and Half-Hose, Braces,

&c., &c., &c.

Lambton-quay, Wellington,

April 20, 1853.

Figure 8:

Advertisement,

"H.J. & D. Nicoll's

(of London),"

The New Zealand Spectator

and *Cook's Strait Guardian*,

Wellington, New Zealand,

Volume IX, Issue 810,

7 May 1853, Column 4, p. 2.

Clark's business records rarely provide the names of specific manufacturers, but the vast range of price points within specific categories of clothing recorded in his two surviving stock books³⁸ demonstrate that he stocked inexpensive as well as superior readymade clothing, some of which may have been branded. The extensive variety of price points for common types of clothing, such as shirts and trousers, are consistent with Clark's aim to "please all parties." Of the varieties of shirts listed in Clark's September 1866 stock take, the most expensive item in stock was a "twill" shirt priced at £2-8s-6p; the least expensive was a "plain"³⁹ shirt at 1s-6p⁴⁰ (Figure 9). In 1866 the average wage for a common labourer was about six shillings per day (about £110 annually) while the more skilled managerial position of Wellington Harbour Master commanded an annual salary of £300 (about 17 shilling per day).⁴¹

³⁸ Clark, *Stock Book*, Undated, op cit.
Ibid., 1866-1869.

³⁹ "Twill" and "plain" are direct quotations from the stock book and reflect Clark's working description of the shirts, rather than conventional names for shirt types.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1866-1869, p. 16.

⁴¹ The average salary for a common labourer is based on an online search of wages in Wellington newspapers in 1866 using the online resource, titled, *Papers Past*. For more information, see <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers>.

Anonymous, "Provincial Council," *The Wellington Independent*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume XXI, Issue 2370, 2 June 1866, Column 5, p. 5.

Item	Prices	Total Price	Quantity
Sup	6/4, 6/10, 7/6, 7/6, 6/4, 6/4, 6/7, 5/10, 5/11, 5/7, 5/7	28 10	9
Plain	6/7, 6/7, 12/2, 11/6, 5/6, 4/4, 7/6, 7/4, 5/10, 5/11, 5/6, 5/6	25 0	8
Cambric	5/7, 11/10, 5/10, 11/6, 2/6, 3/3, 5/7, 13/4, 12/4	10 0	7
15-4	9/3, 13/4, 6/3, 5/7, 10/8, 13/11, 6/4, 3/7, 9/9, 10/10	27 2	2
Silk	10/6, 10/6, 7/7, 2/11, 10/9, 2/11, 4/4, 4/4, 4/6, 10/6	12 17	2
White	10/6, 10/6, 7/7, 2/11, 10/9, 2/11, 4/4, 4/4, 4/6, 10/6	23 7	10
10/11	6/10, 12/4, 3/10, 5/4, 6/6, 12/8, 16/9, 24/10, 6/9, 12/4, 6/4	57 11	7
	16/6, 11/3, 12/6, 6/4, 7/4, 2/4, 4/4, 8/4, 17/4	13 19	11
	2/4, 48/6	4 17	0
White	7/7, 12/7, 2/6, 5/6, 3/10, 2/4, 4/8, 2/7, 12/11	24 15	5
10/11	10/11, 2/7, 6/4, 5/5, 6/7, 6/7, 2/5	9 5	8

Figure 9:

Stocktake of Shirts, William Clark, Stock Book,

Photographed by Angela Lassig, 23 May 2018,

© The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand,

MSY-0082, 1866-1869, p. 16.

Of all the items of menswear sold by Clark, the costliest garments were outer garments—suits, jackets, and overcoats—their superiority principally defined by the quality of the cloth used to make them, their stylistic currency, and presumably a better standard of manufacture. Pākehā New Zealand consumers, like their Australian counterparts, typically looked to “home” [England] for direction: “...most colonial urban dress was closely modelled on European styles, fabrics and behavioural rituals.”⁴²

⁴² Maynard, op cit., p. 80.

While serving in New Zealand as a Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, William James Tyrone Power (1819–1911)⁴³ encountered large numbers of Māori men in Otaki, a settlement 45 miles north of Wellington, noting that “a taste for European clothing appears to be general, and almost every one [sic] had some article of English dress.”⁴⁴ Power further observed some young Māori men who were “quite dandies, dressed in chesterfields,⁴⁵ or paletots,⁴⁶ with cap, gloves, boots and straps complete. These favoured individuals had evidently a great opinion of their personal appearance.”⁴⁷

Two years later, the particularly observant visiting English letter-writer, Charlotte Godley (1821–1907), who resided in Wellington for six months during 1850, met two prominent Māori tribal chiefs, Tamihana Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Toa,⁴⁸ ?–1876) and Matene Te Whiwhi (Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Raukawa,⁴⁹ ?–1881), who in her opinion wore “as good clothes as can be made in the Colony.”⁵⁰ Te Rauparaha, in particular, enjoyed fashionable European dress and tended to wear it in public (Figure 10).

⁴³ As a Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, William James Tyrone Power assisted the Commissary-General in the provisioning and payment of “everything necessary for the subsistence and transport of an army.”

H.G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List for 1848*, John Murray, London, England, 1848, p. 308.

⁴⁴ W. Tyrone Power, *Sketches in New Zealand, with Pen and Pencil*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, England, 1849, p. 8.

⁴⁵ A Chesterfield is a “single-breasted, fly-front overcoat, of medium length, having a plain back with or without a centre seam.”

William Henry Baker, *A Dictionary of Men's Wear*, William Henry Baker, Cleveland, Ohio, United States, 1908, p. 54.

⁴⁶ A paletot is a “coat with a skirted back and a one-piece front into which a waistline is partly cut, extending there from being one or two under-arm Vs.”

Ibid., p. 180.

⁴⁷ Power, *op cit*, pp. 8–9.

⁴⁸ Te Rauparaha belonged to the Ngāti [tribal group] Toa. While Ngāti Toa lived near Auckland (Kāwhia) and in the north of the South Island of New Zealand, Te Rauparaha's people lived in the Kapiti-Ōtaki area just north of Wellington.

John C. Moorfield, “Te Aka” [The Vine], *Online Māori Dictionary*, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz>, Accessed 6 May 2020.

⁴⁹ Te Whiwhi belonged to both Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. While Ngāti Raukawa people originate from the central North Island of New Zealand in an area known as Maungatautari-Tokoroa, some, including Te Whiwhi, lived in the Ōtaki area just north of Wellington.

Moorfield, *op cit*.

⁵⁰ John R. Godley, Editor, *Letters from Early New Zealand by Charlotte Godley, 1850–1853*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1951, p. 113.



Figure 10:
Tamihana Te Rauparaha, George French Angus, 1852,
Watercolour on Paper, 68.5 x 48.0 cm,
© The Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington, New Zealand, C-114-001.

Suits made from a textile described as “black cloth” represented the best and most expensive available in Clark’s store. Given its superiority, Clark’s “black cloth” was likely superfine broadcloth, “one of the finest, warmest, richest, most useful, and most enduring of all tissues [textiles].”⁵¹ After weaving, the woollen cloth went through several processes, including felting, shearing, and pressing, imparting a soft velvet-like and lustrous finish that is visible in contemporary photographs. Clark sold most of his “black cloth” suits as separates—coats, waistcoats, trousers and overcoats—to upper middleclass and elite Pākehā and wealthy Māori men, to whom the garments served as professional day wear. Both Te Rauparaha and Te Whiwhi purchased black cloth garments from Clark’s store (Figure 11). Margaret Maynard notes that “black cloth” garments, like the white shirts often sold and worn with them, “were more difficult to keep clean and therefore had the aura of respectability.”⁵²

⁵¹ Edward Baines, “On the Woollen Manufacture of England; With Special Reference to the Leeds Clothing District,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, John William Parker and Son, London, England, Volume 22, Number 1, March 1859, p. 3.

⁵² Maynard, *op cit.*, p. 162.

Friday Nov 24		
Mr. Marten / Matene	at sp	5 2
✓ 12 Caps	@ 1/4	4 1 1/2
✓ 61 yds Duck	@ 1/4	2 1/2
✓ 12 White Shirts	4/4	2 1/2
✓ 12 pr Trowsers	1/1	2 1/2
✓ 12 Neckties	4/2	2 1/2
✓ 1 Doz Coll. Shirts	30/	1 10
✓ 1 Doz Coll. Shirts	30/	1 10
✓ 20 Coats	32/	3 4
✓ 6 Tweed Coats	15/	2 10
✓ 4 H. Blk Trowsers	24/	1 1/2
✓ 6 " Tweed Do	18/6	5 12
✓ 10 H. Trowsers	7/	6 6
✓ 12 Cloth Caps	13/	1 16
✓ 6 Alpaca Vests	4/6	1 7
✓ 6 Tweed Do	9/6	2 17
✓ 6 Flaid Do	7/6	2 5
✓ 6 Silk - Do	14/6	3 9
✓ 1 doz Blk Neck Ties	5/	2 2
✓ 1 " Check " Do	9/	1 7
✓ 6 pr Trowsers	6/6	1 19
✓ 4 Cashmere Dresses	14/	2 16
✓ 3 Copanes	13/	1 19
✓ 61 yds 5/4		6 1/2 4

Figure 11:

Purchases Made by Matene Te Whiwhi
 (also known as Marten or Martin) on Friday, 24 November 1854,
 William Clark, *Day Book*,
 Photographed by Angela Lassig, 1 March 2018,
 © The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand,
 MSY-0058, 1854-1855, p. 48.

For less formal dressing, Clark sold men's readymade separates in a wide variety of inexpensive fabrics. In Australia during the 1840s, suits of mixed materials comprising a "well made" tweed coat, vest, and corduroy trousers were sold together for 65 shillings as "Bush Clothing" by the Sydney firm, Henry Hayes.⁵³ While Hayes' selling technique was not directly copied in New Zealand, the visual record provides extensive evidence that this informal style of male dressing was also popular there (Figure 12).



Figure 12:
Government Surveyors, Wigglesworth and Binns, May 1868,
© The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, 1/2-003324-F.

⁵³ Advertisement, "Sydney Firm, Henry Hayes," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, Volume XIV, Number 1660, 13 September 1842, Column 2, p. 3.

In 1854 Clark sold readymade trousers of doeskin,⁵⁴ mole [moleskin], shepherd's plaid,⁵⁵ merino, pilot cloth,⁵⁶ corduroy, and tweed; vests of tweed, mole, and holland [unbleached linen]; and shirts made of Scotch twill,⁵⁷ baize,⁵⁸ merino and blue serge⁵⁹ and white, coloured and striped cottons.⁶⁰ Blue serge shirts (Figure 13) were widely worn throughout New Zealand during the 1840s and 1850s, after which they were replaced in popularity by the Crimean shirt.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Doeskin is a "Fine, soft...fulled (felted) woollen fabric...used for riding suits, etc."

Louis Harmuth, *Dictionary of Textiles*, Fairchild Publishing Company, New York, New York, United States, 1915, p. 54.

⁵⁵ Shepherd's plaid is a "twilled woollen fabric, made with black and white checks, formed by long and cross bars in black over white ground."

Ibid., p. 142.

⁵⁶ Pilot cloth is a "heavy, woollen overcoating, smooth faced, similar to kersey or beaver, usually dyed navy blue, and intended for marine wear."

Ibid., p. 12.

⁵⁷ Many different fibres may be used to produce twill, being "one of the principal weaves...in which the intersection of the threads forms lines running to the right or the left, diagonally across the fabric."

Ibid., p. 159.

This definition probably refers to a popular type of twill woven in Scotland at the time.

⁵⁸ Baize is a "coarse, open, woollen stuff [woven fabric] or flannel, having a long nap [surface texture]....It is generally dyed green and other colours...."

Thomas Webster, with Mrs. William Parkes, *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy: Comprising Such Subjects as Are Most Immediately Connected with Housekeeping*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, England, 1844, p. 965.

⁵⁹ Serge is "a twilled [diagonally lined] stuff [woven fabric]...; much used for linings of clothes, particularly cloaks. One sort has one side smooth and the other woolly."

Ibid., p. 966.

⁶⁰ This information was derived from examining the handwritten entries in Clark's day book, which document individual purchases as they were made.

William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1854.

⁶¹ "The so-called 'Crimean shirt' was a wide, collared V-necked flannel shirt without buttons, the long sleeves of which were rolled up during work. Popular in solid colours (usually red or blue) and often sashed or belted around the waist, it was often layered for warmth over boldly patterned striped or checked linen or cotton shirts, and worn with a neckerchief that served as a sweat-rag."

Anonymous, "1861 Goldminer," *Portrait Detective*, <https://www.portraitdetective.com.au/1861-goldminer>, Accessed 19 May 2020.

Wellington visitor Charlotte Godley described one of her host's servants as wearing "black trowsers [sic], and always a very clean white shirt, and over that one of blue serge; the regular colonial working garments."⁶² Often depicted in visual sources and mentioned in many contemporary written accounts, the blue serge shirt was a democratising garment worn by both labourer and landed gentleman. The price range varied widely, as with most of Clark's goods, to meet the differing purses, needs, and aspirations of his customers.



Figure 13:
"The Serge Shirt,"
*The Costume of
Colonists of All Ranks
in New Zealand*,
John Pearce,
circa 1852-1856,
Ink and Watercolour
on Paper,
17.8 x 11.1 cm,
© The Alexander
Turnbull Library,
Wellington,
New Zealand,
E-455-f-050-2.

⁶² Godley, op cit., p. 108.

Readymade Clothing: Womenswear

Margaret Maynard observed that by the 1850s “an increasing variety of imported, readymade garments for ladies could be purchased in Australia. These were chiefly informal, outerwear or leisure garments, and little in the way of stylish gowns.”⁶³ The sales recorded in Clark’s day books suggests that Maynard’s observations are also applicable to New Zealand. Although an examination of Clark’s business records reveals that he stocked a great deal of women’s readymade clothing from 1854, a closer examination reveals that much of this clothing comprises unfitted (and easy to fit) garments such as night gowns, and undergarments including stays, chemisettes (worn over the stays), drawers, and petticoats.

Of all the items of women’s readymade clothing sold by Clark, stays⁶⁴ represented the steadiest seller: not surprising given how essential stays were to women’s dressing at any level of society (Figure 14). For those who had to “make do and mend,” Clark sold replacement stay laces, whalebone busks,⁶⁵ hooks, and tape to rebind raw edges. There are few recorded purchases of stays by Clark’s Māori customers, although the historic record confirms that they were generally worn by Māori women who adopted European dress. During a visit to meet the wives of two prominent Māori chiefs, Charlotte Godley learned that Ruta Te Kapu (Ngāti Raukawa, ?–1870),⁶⁶ wife of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, who had greeted her “fully prepared in full English costume,” had later complained to her lady’s maid that she found her stays “very stiff and disagreeable.”⁶⁷

⁶³ Maynard, *op cit.*, p. 126.

⁶⁴ William Clark consistently used the term “stays” in his business ledgers, rather than the word “corset.” During the nineteenth century, both terms were used interchangeably.

⁶⁵ Busks are stiffening elements that are inserted into sewn channels in stays (or corsets) to make them rigid. Ivory, whalebone, wood, steel, and later, plastic, have been used to make busks.

⁶⁶ Ngāti Raukawa people originate from the central North Island of New Zealand in an area known as Maungatautari-Tokoroa.

Moorfield, *op cit.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

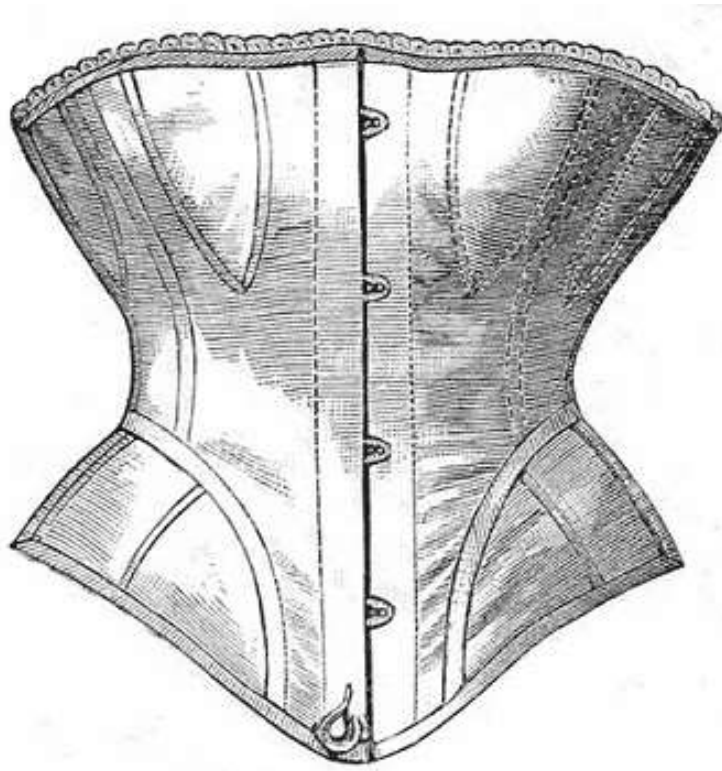
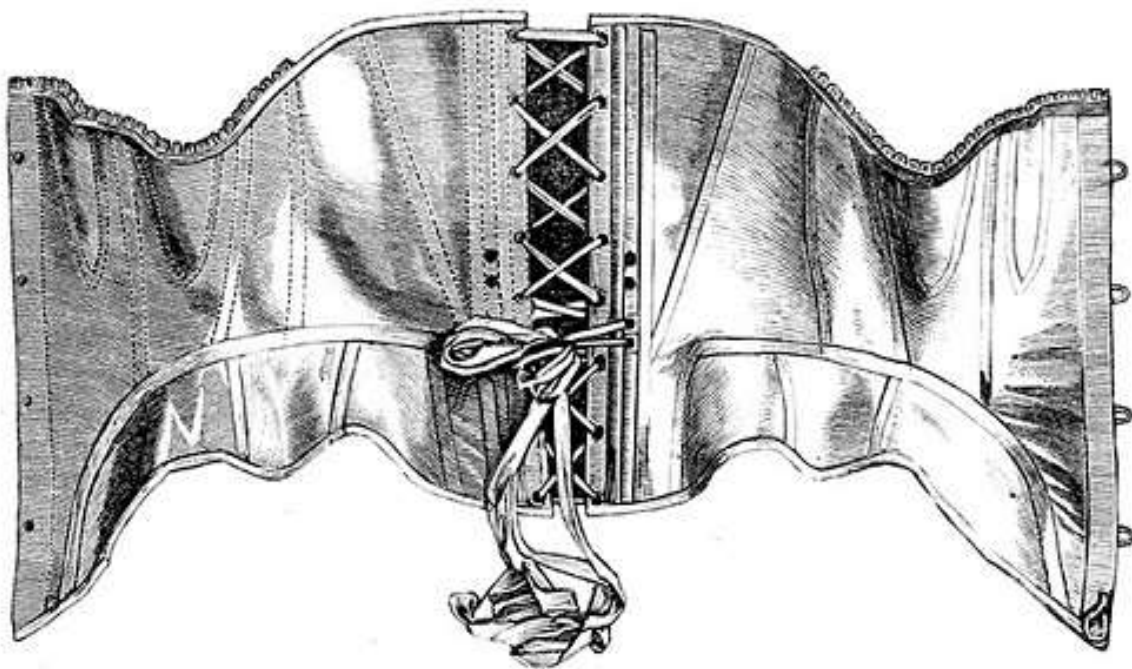


Figure 14:
“Common Cheap Stay,
Fastened;”
“Common Cheap Stay,
Open,”
W.B. Lord,
*The Corset
and the Crinoline:
A Book of Modes
and Costumes from
Remote Periods
to the Present Time*,
Ward, Lock, and Tyler,
London, England, 1868,
pp. 203–204.



In terms of more fashionable garments, Clark's stock comprised mostly outerwear, of many different types—cloaks, capes, coats, jackets, and shawls—and accessories such as collars, cuffs, undersleeves, gloves, veils, and hosiery.⁶⁸ One of the most versatile and fashionable items of women's outerwear in the 1850s was the shawl. Silk cloaks and shawls of various materials were the most popular items of women's readymade outerwear sold by Clark during his first year of trading. While inexpensive shawls were readily available and popular with his customers, Clark made many sales of costly examples priced from £1 to £4. Very few descriptions accompany the shawl entries apart from such identifiers as "paisley," "wool plaid," "lace," or "cashmere."⁶⁹ The popularity of paisley shawls reflects the potency of the "brand" at the time, due to Queen Victoria's fondness for the Scottish-made accessory.⁷⁰ On 29 November 1854, Margaret Knox (1803?-1883), wife of government medic Frederick John Knox (1794-1873) purchased a paisley shawl for £3.⁷¹

⁶⁸ This information was derived from examining the handwritten entries in Clark's day book, which document individual purchases as they were made.

William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057-0069, 1854-1868, 1874-1878.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ For more information, see:

Lucy Elizabeth McConnell, "The Rise and Fall of the Paisley Shawl through the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Dress History*, The Association of Dress Historians, London, England, Volume 4, Issue 1, Spring 2020, pp. 30-52.

⁷¹ William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1854-1855, p. 55.

On 11 February 1854, a most expensive shawl, described only as being of “barège,” a gauze-like fabric of silk and wool, was purchased for £4 15s on the account of Major Reginald Newton Biggs (1831–1868), a sheep station manager, soldier, magistrate, and regular customer at Clark’s store. It was probably intended for, if not purchased by, his wife Emily Biggs (1847–1868)⁷² (Figure 15). In 1868, during the unsettled period known as the New Zealand Wars,⁷³ the entire Biggs family were killed⁷⁴ by members of a Māori raiding party, led by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (Ngāti Rongowhakaata, ?–1893).⁷⁵



Figure 15:
Emily Biggs (1847–1868),
Photographer Unknown,
circa 1860–1865,
© The Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington, New Zealand,
PAColl-7961.

⁷² Ibid., p. 22.

⁷³ The New Zealand Wars were a series of mid nineteenth century battles between some Māori tribes and government forces (which included British and colonial troops) and their Māori allies.

⁷⁴ In 1868, two years after Reginald Biggs (in the position of Magistrate) had exiled the Māori leader Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki to the Chatham Islands, off the New Zealand coast, Te Kooti and his men attacked the township of Matawhero, killing 54 people including Biggs, his wife, their infant son George, and George’s nurse.

⁷⁵ Te Kooti belonged to Ngāti Rongowhakaata, who live in the area south of Gisborne, North Island, New Zealand.
Moorfield, op cit.

Māori customers were major consumers of English and European manufactured shawls which, like blankets, had begun to replace the hand-woven flax korowai [cloaks] worn by Māori as customary dress.⁷⁶ These shawls provided warmth, colour, and pattern, without the weight of the flax, and also saved the significant investment of time required to weave korowai of the highest quality. Māori chief Matene Te Whiwhi purchased 55 shawls during 1854. On 16 December 1854, he purchased an especially expensive “satin shawl” priced at £3 10s and a “Paris Cord”⁷⁷ dress for £2 5s.⁷⁸ The timing suggests that these garments might have been intended as a Christmas present for his wife Pipi Te Ihurape (Ngāti Toa/ Ngāti Raukawa, ?-1857), whom Charlotte Godley described as “an uncommonly nice woman, really quite a natural lady...so gentle and quiet in her manners, and even dignified.”⁷⁹

Dresses, Textiles, and Dressmaking

Clark also sold garments variously described in his business ledgers as “dresses” and “gowns.” In a letter to her mother in October 1850 requesting items of clothing unobtainable in Wellington, English visitor Charlotte Godley mentioned that she is able to get what she terms “scrub gowns” although they faded fast and wore out quickly from the “mud, and so much out-of-door work.”⁸⁰ From her description, “scrub gowns” were most likely informal readymade cotton dresses that were able to withstand the rigours of regular laundering. Examples can be seen in contemporary visual records, such as the following watercolour by William Strutt (Figure 16).

⁷⁶ There were many contemporary critics, particularly the Colonial Surgeon J. Fitzgerald, who argued that the shift to wearing blankets instead of cloaks by Māori contributed to their ill health due to the blankets being worn even when wet.

For more information, see:

John Patrick Fitzgerald, “To all the Natives of Port Nicholson and Other Places,” *Maori Messenger: Te Karere Maori*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume 1, Issue 17, 16 August 1849, p. 2.

The English translation of Fitzgerald’s article is found in columns 1 and 3 on page 2 and columns 1 and 3 on page 3. The Te Reo [Maori language] version is found in columns 2 and 4 on page 2 and columns 2 and 4 on page 3.

⁷⁷ William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1854-1855, p. 74.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Godley, op cit., p. 112.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 122.



Figure 16:
Settler Putting out Chimney Fire,
William Strutt, circa 1855-1856,
Watercolour on Paper, 25.5 x 21.5 cm,
© The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, E-453-f-003.

Primary sources from the period suggest that what Clark referred to as “dresses” were likely semi-fitted one- or two-piece garments that could be altered to fit better at home, if desired and if circumstances allowed. For Wellington’s elite (or would-be elite) women attempting to adhere to the strictures of English dressing conventions, it would appear that readymade dresses were perfectly acceptable as informal morning wear. Two expensive “morning dresses” were purchased on 25 February 1854 on the account of Major Murray of the 65th Regiment⁸¹ for £1 and £1-4s respectively,⁸² at a time when the average daily wage of a labourer was 6 shillings.

For non-elite women—Māori and Pākehā—a new readymade dress probably served as “best dress,” just as a new shirt would have served a working man as “Sunday best,” with older garments demoted to everyday clothing. As a member of the social elite, Charlotte Godley was well aware of the expectations and social mores regarding dress and had no hesitation in commenting on those who transgressed them. In reporting to her mother about the Queen’s Birthday Ball held in Wellington in May 1850, Godley remarked on the presence of “...about three Māori ladies (in what we should call morning dresses).”⁸³

⁸¹ The 65th Regiment refers to the 2nd Yorkshire North Riding Regiment (of the The York and Lancaster Regiment), which was based in New Zealand during 1846-1865.

⁸² William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057, 1854, p. 30.

⁸³ Godley, op cit., p. 50.

When Clark records the words “dress” and “dresses” in his ledger, he may not always have been referring to a garment. Some so-called “dresses” were most likely “dress lengths” of fabric, given that a yardage accompanies the entries. As the day books can be relied on to provide a relatively accurate record of sales, entries described as “dresses” without a yardage noted can be assumed to be readymade garments. In 1854, Clark’s ledgers record readymade dresses made from a variety of textiles, including delaine (or mousseline de laine),⁸⁴ muslin, coburg,⁸⁵ gingham, derry,⁸⁶ merino, cashmere, Paris cord,⁸⁷ and cotton print.⁸⁸

Printed cotton, available by the yard and as pre-cut pieces of varied lengths, was one of the most popular dressmaking textiles sold by Clark. Countless yards were purchased by individual customers and fellow shopkeepers to sell in their Wellington stores and further afield. One of these out-of-town shopkeepers was George Bevan (1823–1866), William Clark’s brother-in-law. From 1852, Bevan owned an accommodation house at the mouth of the Waikawa River near Otaki, to the north of Wellington. From there, he sold a range of general goods, purchased from Clark, to local Māori. These were loaded onto his schooner, the *William*, in Wellington and sailed north up the coast.

⁸⁴ Delaine (or mousseline de laine) is a “...woollen fabric, of an extremely light texture....” Originally an expensive textile made in France, from about 1840 it began to be made in England, sometimes in a mix of wool and cotton, where it was sold more cheaply.

Webster, op cit., p. 966.

⁸⁵ Coburg is “an English fabric introduced after the marriage of Queen Victoria; made of closely placed silk or cotton warp and worsted filling, woven in a 2/1 cashmere twill weave; used for coat lining and dress goods.”

Harmuth, op cit., p. 41.

⁸⁶ Derries are “cotton dress goods, made in brown and blue colours, in India.”

Ibid., p. 58.

⁸⁷ Paris cord is a “stout, all-silk cloth with fine weft ribs, originated in France.”

Ibid., p. 117.

⁸⁸ This information was derived from examining the handwritten entries in Clark’s day book, which document individual purchases as they were made.

William Clark, *Day Book*, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSY-0057-0069, 1854–1868, 1874–1878.

Bevan's brother Thomas later recalled the scene: "When the schooner...was seen crossing the bar...crowds of Māoris would assemble on the beach to see her come in, and to render assistance as required. Next day they would all come over from the pa [tribal village] to see the new goods."⁸⁹ In a typical visit to Clark's store, Bevan would spend between £50 and £100 pounds on goods. The order would always include the purchase of printed cotton fabric, much of which would have been intended for his Māori customers.

Māori purchased a great deal of printed cotton and calico⁹⁰ directly from Clark for making into clothing. The ready availability of inexpensive printed cottons provided Māori women (and men) with the opportunity to indulge their taste for bold colours and patterning, a preference well documented in contemporary visual and written sources. In 1848, William James Tyrone Power noted that most Māori women living with Pākehā men at a whaling station on the coast north of Wellington wore calico gowns and blankets (as shawls).⁹¹ Charlotte Godley corroborates this observation with more visual detail, noting that the gowns worn by Māori women attending a church service at Otaki were of "bright coloured cotton [worn] with a shawl, or blanket, or mat wrapped round them, and put over the head, or not, according to the state of the weather"⁹² (Figure 17).

⁸⁹ Thomas Bevan, *The Reminiscences of an Old Colonist*, The Otaki Mail, Otaki, New Zealand, 1907, p. 24.

⁹⁰ During this time period, and in this context, "calico" was a term for cotton dress fabric. A contemporary source stated in 1844, "The various kinds of calicoes made in this country [England] are common plain white calico, usually called cotton cloth...Printed calicoes, or, as they are called, prints, originally made in imitation of those from India, are now manufactured here of an infinity of patterns, of which each year produces some new ones. Vast quantities are exported to every part of the world."

Webster, op cit., p. 980.

⁹¹ Power, op cit., pp. 10-11.

⁹² Godley, op cit., p. 113.

ON SALE,
At the Stores of the Undersigned,
3 BALES SCARLET & BRIGHT PATTERN
 SHAWLS for Natives
 2 “ Fine All-Wool Scarf do.
 1 “ Flannel
 2 “ Fine Long Cloths
 2 Cases 5-4 Prints
 1 “ Ladies’ Cloth Mantles
 2 “ Men’s Regatta Shirts
 1 “ “ Longcloth do
 2 “ “ Scotch Twill do.
 1 Bale “ Blue Serge do.
 1 Case “ Striped Guernsey do.
 1 “ Fancy Wool Rugs
 1 “ Men’s Pilot Coats
 1 “ “ Black Cloth Trousers
 3 “ “ White and Drab Moleskin do.
 1 “ Boys’ and Youths’ do. do.
 1 “ Men’s Black Cloth Coats and Paletots
 2 Bales Stout Grey Calico
 2 Cases Saddles
 8 “ Hair Oil for Natives
 15 Casks Hill Underwood’s Malt Vinegar
 20 Drums Turpentine
 40 “ Black Paints
 50 Dozen Finest Bottled Port
 10 “ “ “ Sherry
 4 Hhds. “ West India Rum
 3 Half-tierces Small Fig Negrohead Tobacco
 JOHN STEVENSON & Co.
 April 17th, 1856.

Figure 17:
 Advertisement,
 “On Sale, At the Stores of the Undersigned,”
The Southern Cross, Auckland, New Zealand,
 Volume XIII, Issue 920, 22 April 1856, Column 5, p. 1.

Māori girls and women were taught to sew and repair their own clothing as part of the so-called “civilising” curricula of various Christian missionary schools established in New Zealand since the 1820s. From the 1840s, with increased European settlement, Māori women without the requisite skills or inclination could turn to one of the many immigrant women who listed their profession as “dressmaker” or “sempstress.”^{93, 94} One such immigrant, Susan Waters (1813–1899), was engaged in dressmaking “mostly for native women”⁹⁵ after her arrival in New Zealand in 1842.⁹⁶

A number of professional Wellington dressmakers, tailors, and milliners shopped for their supplies at Clark’s shop. Most of these businesses were not large enough to afford to import their own supplies, and they purchased what they needed from wholesalers and retailers as required. One of these customers was Miss Emma Marriott (1826–1898), who began advertising as a “Milliner and Dress Maker” in the Wellington newspapers on 19 June 1858.⁹⁷ Another was “Miss Holmes,”⁹⁸ who shopped with Clark from the time he opened in 1854. Holmes’ purchases were sometimes quite extensive (Figure 18) and often comprised many yards of different types of ribbon, presumably used for trimming the hats she made during the course of her trade as a milliner.

⁹³ The word “seamstress” first appears in searches of New Zealand newspapers (using PapersPast) in 1850; whereas, the word “sempstress” was used from 1840. Sempstress (rather than seamstress) was used to describe the profession of some of the assisted skilled immigrants arriving into New Zealand during the early 1840s.

⁹⁴ For example, in 1842 one dressmaker and five sempstresses were listed among the immigrants who arrived in Wellington, New Zealand from London, England aboard the ship, *Clifton*. Public Notice, *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Wellington, New Zealand, 26 February 1842, Column 1, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Brookes, op cit., pp. 65–66.

⁹⁶ Susan Waters and her husband, George Waters (1811–1873), arrived in Wellington in 1842. They travelled from Gravesend, London, England aboard the emigrant ship, *Birman*.

⁹⁷ Emma Marriott’s first newspaper advertisement was published on 19 June 1858, and her last advertisement was published on 9 August 1870.

Advertisement, “Emma Marriott, Milliner and Dress Maker,” *The Wellington Independent*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume X, Issue 1302, 19 June 1858, Column 1, p. 3.

Advertisement, “Emma Marriott, Milliner and Dress Maker,” *The Wellington Independent*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume XXV, Issue 3030, 9 August 1870, Column 5, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Miss Holmes placed various millinery-related advertisements in Wellington newspapers during 1852–1857. She began importing women’s fashionable headwear in 1852, and from 1854 she advertised as a “Straw Hat Manufactory” in Lambton Quay, the same street on which Clark’s store was situated.

301 *Friday Oct 19th 1855*

Miss Holmes

21 yds Blond	24	3	11
4 ³ / ₄ yds Tartan	24	9	6
100 Sacks $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ Ribbon	23 ³ / ₄ 2 ¹ / ₂	8	11
101 1 roll 18 yds	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	7	10
102 4 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 13-5 1 ¹ / ₂	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	1	5-9
103 2 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 15 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	8	11
104 1 " 14 ¹ / ₄ Pink	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	9	10
105 4 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 18-4 9 ¹ / ₂	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	1	13-
106 2 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 23 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	16	6
107 1 " 5 ¹ / ₂	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	4	1 ¹ / ₂
108 3 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 32 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	1	5-3
109 6 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 18-5 0 ¹ / ₂	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	2	2-1
110 1 " 8 ¹ / ₄ Straw	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	8	-
111 8 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 69 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	3	9-3
112 1 " 7 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	8	5
113 6 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 68	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	3	19-4
114 2 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 18-3 6 yds	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	2	5-
115 2 " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 15 "	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	1	1-10 ¹ / ₂
116 1 " 3 ¹ / ₄ "	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	5	5-5
1 " 13 ¹ / ₂ 15 "	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	15	-
3 " Plain Satin 54	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	2	7-3
1 " " 18	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	-	8-
1 " " 18	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	-	6-6
117 1 " White " 18	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	-	9
118 2 " " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 33 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	19	8
119 1 " " 18	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	13	6
120 1 " " 9	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	7	6
121 3 " " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 18 34 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	1	15-9
122 1 " " 11	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	11	-
123 2 " " $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ 26 ¹ / ₄	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	1	11-3
124 1 " " 7 ¹ / ₂ (70)	100 @ 3 ¹ / ₄	11	-
32 8 4			

Figure 18:
*Purchases Made
 by Miss Holmes
 from
 William Clark's
 Store on Friday,
 19 October 1855,
 William Clark,
 Day Book,
 Photographed by
 Angela Lassig,
 1 March 2018,
 © The Alexander
 Turnbull Library,
 Wellington,
 New Zealand,
 MSY-0058,
 1854-1855,
 p. 301.*

Conclusion

Very little has been published on everyday dress worn in New Zealand during the nineteenth century, and even less on the market for European dress among Māori. The raw data contained within the pages of a rare surviving group of business records, documenting the day-to-day dealings of colonial draper and clothier William Clark, provides a valuable resource for research into these underexplored areas of colonial dress history. Primarily using the business records of Clark's first year of operation, 1854, the records also provide insight into the everyday workings of a Victorian period draper during a period of social, economic, and mercantile transition.

Clark's business records establish that in mid nineteenth century New Zealand there was a significant demand for readymade clothing for men, women's dresses, and textiles for dressmaking, at a wide range of price points and quality levels. This article has revealed how consumer goods were sourced in early colonial New Zealand before the establishment of local manufacturing. This article has also examined the diversity of the local market in terms of status, affluence and race, and has explored the market for European dress among Māori customers. The records suggest that local commerce was democratic and integrated, with customers from all walks of life, Māori and Pākehā, purchasing the wares of William Clark.

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Advertisement, "W. Clark, Draper. Clothier, &c.," *The Wellington Independent*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume XIX, Issue 2127, 12 November 1864, Column 2, p. 4.

Advertisement, "William Murray/Tailor, and General Furnisher of Gentlemen's Wearing Apparel," *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Wellington, New Zealand, Volume I, Issue 31, 14 November 1840, Column 2, p. 2.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank The Friends of The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand and The New Zealand History Association for research grants awarded during 2018. I appreciate their support of my work on nineteenth century New Zealand dress. It was during my tenure at The Alexander Turnbull Library that I discovered William Clark's business records. I would also like to thank Garry Clark, a descendent of William Clark, for his ongoing interest in, and assistance with, my research.

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Widowers' Weeds: Men's Victorian Mourning Fashion, 1837-1901

Anne M. Toewe

Abstract

An individual's place in Victorian society was judged by how they evidenced their mourning. Men, women, and children adhered to codified expectations based upon their gender, age, class standing, and relationship to the deceased. Colours, fabrics, and style of items worn followed a defined set of societal rules. This rigour was often followed long after the funeral itself; in fact, it could extend for years after a loved one's death. This article analyses the sartorial practices of Victorians through the stages of mourning, with particular emphasis placed upon the practices of men. The research concludes that the mourning customs of men were similar to that of women, though men's customs were more truncated in time.

Introduction

In his book, *Victorian Conventions*, John Robert Reed states, “The fetish of deep family mourning...was one of the most strongly entrenched customs of the age. Mourning the dead is an instinct as old as man, but in no era had it become such an ironbound convention as in the Victorian age.”¹ It is noteworthy that the convention to which Reed refers was ascribed to by men, women, and children alike (Figure 1). Yet, although these conventions were outlined for all, it is women’s practices that have been more fully studied and documented by many notable scholars, including Lou Taylor, pre-eminent scholar of mourning dress.² This reporting of women’s practices is so varied and widespread that, at times, the rules even appear contradictory.



Figure 1:
Family Portrait,
W.L. Germon³
and W. Penny,
circa 1855,
Photograph,
Salted Paper
Prints with
Applied Media,
39.8 x 56.3 cm,
© The
Metropolitan
Museum of Art,
New York, New
York, United
States, 1981.1165.

¹ John Robert Reed, *Victorian Conventions*, Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, United States, 1975.

Ellipses added by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe.

² For more information, see:

Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, George Allen and Unwin Publishers, London, England, 1983.

Karin Bohleke, “Identifying Stages of Grief in Nineteenth-Century Images,” *The Daguerreian Annual 2015: Official Yearbook of the Daguerreian Society*, The Daguerreian Society, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, 2015, pp. 166–191.

Sonia A. Bedikian, “The Death of Mourning: From Victorian Crepe to the Little Black Dress,” *OMEGA: Journal of Death and Dying*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, United States, Volume 57, Issue 1, August 2008, pp. 35–52.

³ W.L. Germon was a photographer with a gallery at 702 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States.

What is consistent is that men were not held to the same extreme standards as women in donning mourning attire. The change in men's dress seems so limited as to be seen as inconsequential. This limited nature can be seen in evidence, in particular, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art's 2015 exhibit, titled, *Death Becomes Her: A Century of Mourning Attire*, in which few of the exhibit's groupings even included men, and those that did, relegated those male figures to the back (Figure 2).



Figure 2:
Exhibition Gallery View, "A Family in Mourning,"
Death Becomes Her: A Century of Mourning Attire,
Curated by Harold Koda and Jessica Regan,
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, New York, United States, 2014-2015.⁴

⁴ The dress in Figure 2 includes items from the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, with the following identification numbers: Suit 2009.300.218a,b; Dress 2009.300.645; Dress 1976.122.3; Bonnet 1980.376; Shawl 2009.300.1431; Mourning Dress 1980.376/2009.300.7703.

However, in closely studying Victorian mourning practices and customs, it becomes clear that men did have expectations of them for mourning decorum. What is also apparent is that men's practices are either more mundane, or plainly, of less interest, so much so, that little is written on the topic. Even less has been written on the practices observed by men in the United States during the Victorian era.⁵

This article focuses on the practices adhered to by Victorian men in England and Europe with some discussion of the practices followed by men in the United States. To better understand the necessity for these codified sartorial practices of the Victorians regarding mourning, this article first addresses the concept of mourning practices as an outward display of grief for both men and women. Additionally, it outlines the mourning practices that were expected of Victorian women as a point of comparison for men's mourning fashion. By laying the practices of women alongside those of men, it is possible to see that men, too, had conventions that were expected to show their proper respect for the passing of a loved one.

⁵ For more information, see:

Pat Jallard, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 1996, pp. 251–264.

Stephen Garton, "The Scales of Suffering: Love, Death and Victorian Masculinity," *Social History*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London, England, Volume 27, Number 1, January 2002, pp. 40–58.

Melissa Bellanta, "His Two Mates Around Him Were Crying: Masculine Sentimentality in Late-Victorian Culture," *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London, England, Volume 20, Number 4, December 2015, pp. 471–490.

Mourning Attire as the Outward Expression of Grief and the “Widows’ Weeds”

Prescribed mourning attire was the expected outward social representation of Victorian grief, and it has long been studied by historians, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and costume historians.⁶ The outward expression of one’s grief as a codified system of dress and behavior predates the Victorian era, but it seems to have reached a pinnacle in this time. In *Death in the Victorian Family*, Pat Jallard discusses the therapeutic value of these particular practices. Professor Jallard states, “Mourning-dress rules were based in part on traditional customary judgement regarding the most appropriate time required to work through grief. It was assumed that normally the period of mourning dictated by society would approximate to the period of personal grief.”⁷ Basil Montagu, in his book, *Funerals of the Quakers*, identifies mourning dress as the “outward sign of sorrow.”⁸

Research shows that the majority of the evidencing of grief through attire fell to women, and of those women, it was on widows on whom the greatest expectation was seen. It is also true that widows were most greatly impacted by the death of a spouse, in that her home, income, and definition of self were derived primarily from the status of her husband. Lou Taylor identified the widow as “one of the saddest in society,” and further states that, “without her husband she became unnecessary and therefore a social outcast.”⁹ This change in social standing for women upon the death of their spouse called for the acquisition of a new style of dress that was dictated by society and is commonly termed “widows’ weeds.”¹⁰

⁶ For more information, see:

Jallard, op cit., pp. 190–357.

Garton, op cit., pp. 40–58.

Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England*, W.W. Norton, New York, New York, United States, 2003, pp. 366–371.

⁷ Jallard, op cit., p. 300.

⁸ Basil Montagu, *The Funerals of the Quakers*, William Pickering, London, England, 1840, p. 40.

⁹ Taylor, op cit., pp. 48–49.

¹⁰ “Widows’ weeds” was a Victorian phrase that referred to the clothing worn by a married woman whose husband has died; “widows’ weeds” were a signifier of death and mourning. “Weeds” derives from the Medieval term for clothing in general and the descriptor “widow” indicates it is the clothing for the wife of the deceased. More commonly in Victorian writing the term “weeds” is left without the descriptor, although some writing of the era does indeed use the full term.

For more information, see:

Elizabeth J. Lewandowski, *The Complete Costume Dictionary*, Scarecrow Press, Plymouth, Devon, England, 2011, p. 315.

John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, The University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, 1972, pp. 70–71.

By comparison, men were less impacted both socially and economically by a family member's passing. A man's worth was not defined by his spouse, which allowed him greater social freedoms after his wife's death. He was, however, expected to keep his feelings of loss to himself. He was "socially conditioned to believe that strong men controlled their emotions."¹¹ Additionally, it was expected that a man return to work as soon after bereavement as possible and that he remarry, especially if he had children. This pressure to return to life as it was before the death of a family member dictated that men not practice a prolonged mourning that was evidenced through clothing. This left a man's outward expression of grief, through "widowers' weeds," to be more subtle.¹²

The Business of Mourning

Etiquette guides, such as *Cassell's Household Guide*,¹³ helped guide the mourning family through the proper practices for arranging the necessary events to commemorate the passing of their family member. This particular guide detailed the "classes of funerals," defined the attendants and their attire, and outlined the cost for each of the classes.¹⁴ The extravagance required of proper mourning led to the explosion of commerce in the creation of mourning departments in prominent stores in England, such as Harrods in London and Hannington's of Brighton. The success of these dedicated departments led to the establishment of mourning warehouses in London and the surrounding area. Some of the more noteworthy of these mourning warehouses were Jay's Mourning Warehouse (established 1841), Pugh's Mourning Warehouse (established 1849), and Peter Robinson's Mourning Warehouse (established 1854), most of which were located in the shopping district of Regent Street in central London.¹⁵ These establishments, or Maisons de Deuil [mourning house], offered all the necessary supplies and staff for a proper Victorian funeral.

¹¹ Jallard, op cit., p. 252.

¹² This term, widowers' weeds, was created by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe, to create a parallel between the clothing of men and clothing of women worn during bereavement. This is not a term discovered during research.

¹³ Anonymous, *Cassell's Household Guide: Being a Complete Encyclopedia of Domestic and Social Economy and Forming a Guide to Every Department of Practical Life*, Volume 3, Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, London, England, 1881.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 291-292, 314-315.

¹⁵ Taylor, op cit., pp. 189-191.

On 1 March 1887, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* described Peter Robinson's mourning warehouse as:

A house in which we can order every detail required for mourning in a comfortable private room, free from observation or...we can give our order to the very intelligent travelling assistants who will come to our house immediately on being summoned by letter or telegram, bringing a choice of dresses, costumes, mantles, chapeaux, petticoats, hosiery, gloves and necessary jet ornaments as brooches, earrings etc.”¹⁶

It is interesting to note, that there is no mention of materials, clothing items, or accessories for men in this account. It is evident that the planning of the funeral fell fully on the female family members.

The expectations of appropriate ritual practices became so complex that many of these companies published guidebooks to assist the family, such as Richard Davey's, *A History of Mourning*.¹⁷ As much as these books provided information regarding the number of attendants that should be hired for the affair, the dress required for all, and even the luncheon that should be served, they were also filled with advertisements for the goods and services that their particular establishment could provide. This made these guidebooks more about acquiring the business of a family's funeral than being an unbiased report of social practice or funeral history.¹⁸ In addition to published materials and guidebooks, these warehouses also offered travelling assistants who could be sent to the home of the bereaved to help with measurements for attire or advice on planning the funeral.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁷ Richard Davey, *A History of Mourning*, Jay's Regent Street, London, England, 1889.

¹⁸ Taylor, op cit., p. 189.

¹⁹ Taylor, op cit., pp. 189-195.

Mourning warehouses were not limited to England but were present in most major cities throughout Europe. One such European establishment, the Grande Masion de Noir [Great House of Darkness] in Paris was responsible for starting the practice of catering to middle class clientele, as opposed to the wealthier families to which Jay's and other mourning warehouses in London were known to serve. Furthermore, these mourning warehouses in England and in Europe would ship desired mourning items such as "gowns, Mary Stuart caps and long veils of black crape"²⁰ to the United States, proving that some American families followed the Victorian mourning etiquette practised across the Atlantic. This seems to be especially evident in larger American cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Denver.²¹ Following the practices of England and the European continent, these American cities started to see the rise of their own mourning facilities, *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* notes,

Shops, usually known as 'mourning stores,' have sprung up in all of our larger towns and cities. We have already noticed Jackson's in New York, and the ever reliable and excellent house of Beeson & Sons, Philadelphia. Besides these...nearly all large dry goods houses...have a mourning department where materials can be purchased.²²

There is no evidence, however, that any of the English or European mourning warehouses dispatched any staff or assistants to the United States, relying, instead, on local undertakers to be knowledgeable about the proper practices required. Additionally, there lacks any evidence that American mourning stores, or local dry goods stores with mourning departments, employed assistants to make home visits in the manner of those of the establishments in England.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 188.

²¹ Bernadette Loeffel-Atkins, *Widows Weeds and Weeping Veils: Mourning Rituals in 19th Century America*, Gettysburg Publishing, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, United States, 2012.

²² Anonymous, "Chitchat upon New York and Philadelphia Fashions for March," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, L.A. Godey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States, Volume 58, Number 3, March 1859, p. 287.

Ellipsis added by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe.

Timelines for Practising Mourning

Mourners' clothing choices were dictated by the amount of time since the deceased passed, the family's social standing, the mourner's age, the mourner's relationship to the deceased, and most stringently, the mourner's gender. The detailed practice of mourning attire for women was most exhaustively outlined in society pages of newspapers, fashion magazines, and etiquette guides. It was Queen Victoria (1819–1901) who most familiarly evidenced these practices upon the death of her husband, Prince Albert (1819–1861). At that time, Queen Victoria donned black and continued to wear the colour for formal appearances until her death in 1901 (Figure 3).



Figure 3:
Königin v. England,
Kronprinzessin
Victoria,
Erbprinzessin
v. S. Mein,
Prinzessin Feodora
v. S. M.
 [Queen of England,
 Crown Princess
 Victoria,
 Heiress Apparent
 of Saxe-Meiningen,
 Princess Feodora
 of Saxe-Meiningen],
 Photographer
 Unknown,
 circa 1884,
 Albumen Silver Print
 from Glass Negative,
 © The Metropolitan
 Museum of Art,
 New York,
 New York,
 United States,
 1973.641.4.1.

It should be noted that there exists an erroneous opinion that Queen Victoria only wore mourning black after Prince Albert's death. This is not actually fully accurate. For more her more private moments, Queen Victoria did don some clothing items that were not black. She notes in her journals that on some of her visits to the countryside in Scotland, she added tartan shawls to her daily attire.²³ Furthermore, her more formal photographs do depict her wearing garments with limited white cuff trim or even mutely coloured trim on her usual Mary Stuart mourning cap.

The Queen's prolonged mourning period was well beyond most societal expectations. The amount of time in which mourning was practised by anyone aside from Queen Victoria is a topic of debate by scholars as source materials do not completely agree. *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* in October 1867 states, "The limit of mourning varies from six months to four or five years."²⁴ The information continued to be varied, so much so that England's Courtaulds, the most notable purveyor of quality mourning crape, compiled a reference leaflet in 1902 called *Notes on Fashionable Mourning*. This document drew from reputable contemporary sources such as *Queen*, *Gentlewoman*, *The Lady*, *Lady's Pictorial*, and *Ladies Year Book* and provided enough recommendations that their customers could observe death in a respectful manner and still maintain society's standards. The most common practices are synthesised as follows.

- Two-and-one-half years of a widow for her husband (of which one year and one day was first [deep] mourning, nine months were second mourning, three months were in ordinary mourning, and six months were in half-mourning)
- 18 months of deep mourning for the death of a parent (although this might be shortened if said parent left little in the way of an inheritance)
- One year for the death of a child
- Nine months for the death of a grandparent
- Six months for the death of a sibling
- Six weeks to three months for the death of a cousin (depending upon how distant the relation).²⁵

²³ John Kerr, *Queen Victoria's Scottish Diaries: Her Dream Days*, Eric Dobby Publishing, Orpington, Kent, England, 1992, pp. 77, 82.

²⁴ Bohleke, op cit., p. 169.

²⁵ A Member of the Aristocracy, *Manners and Rules of Good Society or Solecisms to be Avoided*, Frederick Warne and Company, London, England, 1898, pp. 231-234. Bulleted points added by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe.

Documenting the amount of time expected to express grief, did not, however, address the style of mourning clothing, as was the practice of earlier eras. The colour and some suggestions of fabric types were all that were addressed in Victorian mourning guidance. The various sources that addressed common practices regarding length of time for mourning also spoke of appropriate fabrics (dull) and colours (black for deep mourning, et cetera) but they did not mention a style of dress, such as long sleeved or high collared, thus leaving the mourner to fashion their attire to suit the style of the time while still being suitably attired for their stage of mourning. This allowed the mourner to remain fashionable while still evidencing the expected state of mourning. Therefore, as the fashionable silhouette changed throughout the reign of Queen Victoria, so too did the mourning attire worn by women (Figure 4 and Figure 5).



Figure 4:
Mourning Dress,
Maker Unknown, circa 1850–1855, Silk,
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York,
United States, 2009.300.6884.



Figure 5:
Mourning Ensemble,
Maker Unknown, circa 1870-1872, Silk,
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, New York, United States, 2009.300.633a-c.

Men were not held to such tight constraints as women in dressing to express their bereavement. Generally, the times of outward evidenced mourning for men were about a half of those referenced above for women. The only specifics for grief-stricken men were the standards outlined for men who lost their wives. Widowers were expected to wear their mourning attire for three months. There was no expectation that men slowly return to daily attire as women did by progressing through the stages of mourning from deep through to half mourning.

Colours, Fabrics, and Accessories

It is important to review the expected colours and preferred fabrics utilised by both men and women while in mourning in this era. The previously established practices of black and white as the simple colours of mourning became more codified in the Victorian era, fueled by the publication of mourning guidebooks and by the mourning warehouses.²⁶ Deep mourning, defined as the period immediately after the death of the loved one, was observed by adults, both men and women, who dressed in dull black.²⁷ This non-reflective black was donned from the inside out, including black undergarments such as corsets, stockings, and petticoats. Men had one exception to this unrelenting black attire: their shirts. Men continued to wear white shirts while the rest of their ensemble was expected to be dull black.

By contrast, children under the age of 12 dressed in white if the mourning period was in summer, and in grey if mourning were in winter. In either incidence, children's attire was then trimmed with black ribbon, buttons, and belts.²⁸ White was considered appropriate for children as a signifier of their innocence at the time of the family member's death.

²⁶ Taylor, op cit., pp. 302–304.

²⁷ The author of this article, Anne M. Toewe, has used the word, dull, as the descriptor of surfaces that are non-reflective. The word, dull—as opposed to “matte” or “flat,” which might be used today—is what the author has found to be the preferred term in the Victorian era for non-reflective surfaces. It is also important to note that the Victorians were a highly superstitious society. They, therefore, felt that if a person were to wear items that were reflective, then the family member who has passed away would be drawn back towards the family, rather than passing to their next existence. This concept was discussed in the following presentation:

Allison Pfingst, “Now You See It Now You Don’t: The Influence of the Occult in Victorian Fashion,” The International Conference of Dress Historians, The Victorian Age: A History of Dress, Textiles, and Accessories, 1819–1901, Hosted by The Association of Dress Historians, held at The Art Workers’ Guild, London, England, 25 October 2019.

²⁸ Mary Brett, *Fashionable Mourning Jewelry, Clothing, and Customs*, Schiffer Publishing, Atglen, Pennsylvania, United States, 2006, p. 87.

Furthermore, the most common black dye of the Victorian era, bichromate of potash, was especially caustic on delicate young skin. Bichromate of potash was “an intense poison...when allowed to remain much or long in contact with the skin. The hands...become swollen and ulcerated, and in time the mischief extends to the toes, palate, jaw-bones, etc.”²⁹ It was this health effect on children, combined with a fear that children would not fully comprehend the meaning of a family member’s passing that allowed young children to be clothed in colours other than black.

Women’s mourning attire was most commonly made from a vast number of fabrics in all weights and fibers, but the most commonly utilised were bombazine, paramatta, and crape.³⁰ All mourning fabrics had one common feature: all of them had dull surfaces regardless of their fiber content and quality. Silk bombazine was the most revered as a high-end mourning fabric. This fabric dates from as early as the thirteenth century in Europe and was first woven in England in 1575.³¹ It is a fabric of low reflective quality that was “woven of worsted [wool] on a silk warp...woven in an unbalanced twill which left most of the wool showing...Although the surface was smooth enough to be dressy, it also was dull and therefore seen as appropriate for mourning wear.”³² In the Victorian era, silk bombazine fabric became the gold standard, with *Harper’s Bazaar* noting that English bombazine was preferred as it “was heavier and less lustrous than French bombazine, and is worn for first deep mourning during all seasons.”³³ Bombazine became so intricately entwined with mourning attire, that it was commonly referenced, even in fiction. In his story, “Bluebeard’s Ghost,” William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863) wrote, “There is not a widow in all the country who went to such an expense for black bombazine.”³⁴

²⁹ John William Slater, *The Manual of Colours and Dye Wares: Their Properties, Applications, Valuation, Impurities, and Sophistications*, Lockwood and Company, London, England, 1870, p. 144.

Ellipsis added by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe.

³⁰ Taylor, op cit., p. 202.

³¹ Ibid., p. 290.

³² Susan W. Greene, *Textiles for Early Victorian Clothing 1850–1880: A Workbook of Swatches and Information*, Q Graphics Production Company, Arlington, Virginia, United States, 2002, p. 25. Ellipsis added by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe.

³³ Anonymous, “New York Fashions: Mourning,” *Harper’s Bazaar*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 6, Issue 22, 24 May 1873, p. 322.

³⁴ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Complete Works*, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 1889, p. 502.

For those women who needed fabric for a dress that was less expensive than bombazine, paramatta was an alternative. Paramatta was similar to bombazine in its twill construction; however, in paramatta the warp threads were replaced with cotton, causing George Dodd (1808–1881) to report in *Textile Manufacturers of Great Britain* (1844), “It is curious to mark the changes which time, fashion, and a love of cheapness induce in the quality of the woven fabrics produced.”³⁵ The cotton warp threads provided an even more dull appearance, and the overall drape of the garment would be less luxurious than the similarly woven bombazine.

Aside from bombazine and paramatta, the third mourning fabric of note was crape (or crepe).³⁶ This fabric became the standard for daywear during mourning, leaving bombazine and paramatta better suited for evening and dress attire. Initially, crape was woven from silk exclusively, although later it was also manufactured from cotton, wool, or a cotton-wool blend. The most notable characteristic of crape is a “crinkled or pebbly surface...achieved either by weaving alternately with yarns twisted in opposite directions or by treating the fabric chemically.”³⁷ As early as 1818, a specific type of crape, called Norwich crape, was given the “official sanction in the ‘Orders for Court Mourning for Queen Charlotte.’”³⁸ The English manufacturing firm, Courtaulds, created a monopoly on the manufacture of crape, seeing a boom in its manufacture during the Victorian era, due largely to the introduction, through fashion magazines, of crape to the middle class for mourning.³⁹ Crape became a mourning standard that was evidenced in menswear, womenswear, accessories, and for household adornment. As home décor, crape ribbons were placed on doorknobs or front door knockers of a house of bereavement, indicating that the family was observing mourning. During this time, the family could receive callers; however, etiquette dictated that family members should not attend theatre, banquets, or any type of frivolities for the first three months after the death.⁴⁰

³⁵ Greene, op cit., p. 25.

³⁶ “Crape” is the English spelling of silk or wool fabric used primarily for mourning during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After 1900, the French spelling, “crepe” became the standard. Phyllis G. Tortora and Robert S. Merkel, *Fairchild’s Dictionary of Textiles*, Fairchild Publications, New York, New York, United States, 2010, pp. 147–148.

³⁷ Diane L. Fagan Affleck and Karen J. Herbaugh, *Textiles for Victorian and Edwardian Clothing: 1880–1920: A Workbook of Swatches and Information*, Q Graphics Production Company, Arlington, Virginia, United States, 2004, p. 35.

Ellipsis added by the author of this article, Anne M. Toewe.

³⁸ Morley, op cit., p. 64.

³⁹ Taylor, op cit., pp. 215–223.

⁴⁰ Flanders, op cit., p. 377.

Crape as an option for mourning clothing or accessories, such as veils, had many issues. The most critical issues were that crape was not water resistant and the black dye was unstable and therefore could run, staining the hands and body. Crape's lack of water resistance also resulted in the fabric becoming water marked, so that any garment or accessory worn in the rain would be rendered unserviceable for future wear, and the wearer would have to pursue the arduous task of stain removal from their skin. Interestingly, it was considered unlucky to keep crape in the house after the period of mourning had ended; therefore, each death required purchasing new crape for the occasion. In all likelihood, this superstition was favoured by the funeral warehouses and crape suppliers, who might, in fact, have been great perpetuators of this belief.⁴¹ Archival research for this article has suggested that in some cases, mourning clothing was stored for a future death, but no resources discussed this in great depth. As there are so many extant garments in museum collections, garments with provenance traced to mourning, it is reasonable to assume that on occasion mourning garments were kept and re-worn in spite of the superstition and potential ill luck that keeping the garments was suggested to bring.

Men's Attire

As the standard dress of Victorian men was dark, a man's perfectly serviceable daily suit of clothes would suffice for the base of his mourning attire, with little adjustment. The changes men practiced included the elimination of reflective fabrics and accessories. Men also added elements such as cloaks, capes, sashes, and/or arm bands and hat bands. Unlike women, men were expected to wear garments constructed from fabrics with more roughhewn textures. Research does not state it was intended to make the wearer uncomfortable, but it can be surmised that it is at least, in part, the exact reason that any new coats or trousers would be made from cheviot, which was a particularly rough woolen made from the fur of sheep from the Cheviot Hills marking the boundary between England and Scotland.⁴² The nap of this particular fabric would be irritating to the skin of the wearer, especially in the warmer summer months. The implication was that men's mourning fabric was especially uncomfortable because mourners should feel comfortable during mourning.

⁴¹ Morley, op cit., p. 66.

⁴² Traditionally, cheviot was a worsted fabric with a hairy nap, which does not hold a crease and sags with wear.

Tortora and Merkel, op cit., pp. 110-111.

Until a new mourning suit was acquired, a man's charcoal grey or brown suit would suffice for daily mourning; however, the coat of that suit must not possess a velvet collar as this fabric was considered too reflective a fabric to properly observe mourning. In 1865, Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) stated, "A gentleman of the present nineteenth century, attired for the gayest evening party, would, apart from his jewelry, be equally presentable at the most sorrowful funeral."⁴³ For the actual funeral ceremony, men would be expected to don a dull black mourning coat, still without a velvet collar, and trousers with a waistcoat of equally dull black material. Judith Flanders, author of *Inside the Victorian Home*, also identified the accessories of men's dress that should be changed to indicate mourning, she notes "a black watch chain, buttons, and tie"⁴⁴ as the appropriate accompaniments to a man's funeral suit. As men were discouraged from attending frivolous events, there was no need for a man to purchase a new dress shirt at this time. His daily shirt was expected to be crisp and white, with no further adornment, thus providing the only relief to a man's dark spectre during his observance of mourning.⁴⁵

Outer garments worn by men for mourning during the Victorian era have evolved from the long, dark over-cloaks worn over ordinary dress in observance of mourning in previous eras.⁴⁶ However, as funeral practices changed with time, the fashion of wearing longer cloaks gradually transitioned to shorter, hoodless, woolen cloaks, which were worn by both male mourners and undertakers (Figure 8).

⁴³ Morley, op cit., p. 63.

⁴⁴ Flanders, op cit., p. 377.

⁴⁵ Morley, op cit., p. 63.

⁴⁶ Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths*, Adam and Charles Black, London, England, 1972, p. 241.



Figure 8:
The Mourners, Photographer Unknown, circa 1853,
© The Private Collection of Ann Longmore-Ethridge,
Myersville, Maryland, United States.

It was during the 1850s that the practice of wearing these shorter capes was relegated to only the undertaker and his employees, and no longer funeral attendees. Eventually, these shorter capes were discarded by the undertaker and his hired associates as well. The capes were replaced with large sashes that draped the body, left to right (Figure 9). These extravagant sashes were worn for the most public parts of the funeral proceedings, such as the procession and public funeral service.



Figure 9:
A Funeral Bearer,
Robert William Buss,
circa 1831–1840,
Oil on Tinplate,
47.5 x 38.5 cm,
© The Museum
of London,
London, England,
A9251.

The undertaker's employees included funeral "mutes" who silently escorted the procession from the funeral service to the final resting place of the deceased. Funeral mutes were men who could speak but would stand mutely with the hearse throughout all the proceedings of the service. Additionally, funeral mutes carried staffs, tied with "love ribbons," which were long crape streamers, black if the deceased was an adult and white if a child (Figure 10), that floated in the breeze behind the staff.⁴⁷ In addition to the funeral mutes, the undertaker would employ "feathermen, who each carried a tray of waving black plumes [white for children]; men holding staffs, or wands; and [funeral] mutes, also with staffs, each of which had a "love ribbon" tied to it, in black normally, or in white for a young girl."⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Flanders, op cit., p. 371.

⁴⁸ Ibid.



Figure 10:
A Funeral Bearer,
Robert William Buss,
1831–1840,
Oil on Tinplate,
47.5 x 38.1 cm,
© The Museum
of London,
London, England,
A9252.

These love ribbons worn on the hats of the funeral mutes and feathermen were then copied by family members. It was this copying that became the practice of wearing “weepers” to signify mourning. A weeper was, then, a crape band wrapped loosely around the hat and hanging off the back of the hat leaving tails that floated in the breeze, much as the love ribbons did from the staffs of the funeral attendants (Figure 11).



Figure 11:
Performers: After a Respectable Funeral,
 John Leech (1817-1864),
 Published in *Punch* in 1850, Print, 17 x 22 cm,
 © New York Public Library, New York, New York, United States, 826387.

As the era progressed, sashes, love ribbons, and extravagant weepers became the more simplified and dignified practice of placing a simple band of bombazine, or crape, over the shaft of a high hat. This practice had its own set of rules:

For the widower the band of fine bombazine comes to within one-quarter of an inch from the top. For the father or mother one half an inch from the top. For brother or sister or grown child, three and one-half inches up from the brim, for an aunt, uncle or collateral relation, three and one-half inches up from the brim.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Chris Woodyard, *The Victorian Book of the Dead*, Kestrel Publications, Dayton, Ohio, United States, 2014, p. 107.

Although the “high hat” was the preferred hat for mourning, as it was considered more formal and better suited, in style, to support the mourning hatband, derbies could also be adorned with crape bands, thus transforming the derby into an appropriate mourning hat. The placement of such bands and overall attire make it possible to read Victorian mourning photographs not only to date them, but also to assess the relationship of the deceased to the subject in the photograph. The following image can be determined to be the sibling of one deceased, based on the width of banding on his hat (Figure 11).



Figure 11:
Man in Mourning Attire,
Photographer Unknown, circa 1850,
Quarter-Plate Daguerreotype, 12.07 x 9.53 cm,
© The Thanatos Archive, Duvall, Washington, United States.

As much as women appeared to be judged by society regarding the depth of their expressed mourning through attire, men were also judged. The judgement came less from the style and colors of the attire as it came from the extent to which a man craped his hat. In 1875 the *Latrobe Advance* printed an item about a contest between a Mr. Brown and a Mr. Jones and the extent to which they were willing to evidence their mourning over the death of their respective wives.

...after the funerals, Brown appeared...with three inches of crape on his high hat, while Jones only had two. Jones was so much afraid people would think he didn't mourn for his wife as deeply as Brown...he added four inches of crape to his hat, whereupon Brown, apprehending that people would believe that he thought more lightly of his loss...put eight inches of crape on his hat. Then Jones...put on so much more crape that it extended considerably above the top of his hat crown. Whereupon Brown...cutting the crown from an old hat, he dovetailed it on his new one, and swathed it in crape to the summit. Jones...enveloped his hat in pasteboard four feet high and wrapped it in all the blackest crape he could buy...Brown...bought fifteen feet of stovepipe, jammed it down over his head, bandaged it with two hundred yards of crape...Jones sent to the city and ordered a hat eighty feet high, craped six inches thick. It was sent from the freight office on a dray, and the next morning Brown knocked off, married the widow Metcalf and resumed business in a straw hat.⁵⁰

It is clear from this newspaper account that even in death, men wanted to be certain that their grief was well observed and noted by society. In addition to the donning of a black crape hatband, many men chose to add a black armband to their daily attire. This item could be added to any ensemble and thus indicate the state of one's mourning. The band would be of black crape and generally measured three inches in width. The band was added to the left upper arm, finely stitched in place in such a manner that it could be removed at the end of the required mourning period.

⁵⁰ Max Adler, "Rivalry in Crape," *Latrobe Advance*, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, United States, 3 February 1875, p. 4.

Accompanying one's hatband and armband, men changed their other accessories to dulled black tones as well. John Morley quotes a passage from an 1880 edition of *The Queen* magazine, which stated, "It should be bourne in mind that, with crape, only jet ornaments are permissible."⁵¹ Therefore, all accessories were to be non-reflective, such as ties that were of dull fabric; additionally, gold, silver, or precious gemstone jewelry was replaced with onyx or jet.⁵² If a gentleman could not afford the more costly stones, he might substitute them with cut glass that was buffed and not highly polished, thus providing a lustre, but not a reflective shine. This low reflective stone came to be known as "French jet" and was carried by both high- and low-end funeral suppliers.⁵³ Another option for men's jewelry was enamel, which proved to be especially suitable for cufflinks and shirt studs (Figure 13) as enamel could be carved with the deceased's initials or even their image.



Figure 13:

English Memorial Studs,⁵⁴

9K Gold, Enamel, Maker Unknown, circa 1860s,

© The Private Collection of Darlene Bolyard, San Antonio, Texas, United States.

⁵¹ Morley, op cit., p. 66.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Jayne Shrimpton, *Victorian Fashion*, Shire Publications, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 2016, p. 92.

⁵⁴ Figure 13 shows a set of studs meant to fasten the collar and the two buttonholes in the bib of a men's dress shirt. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines a "stud" as "a kind of button (made of bone, ivory, mother-of-pearl or some imitation, or of metal, sometimes jewelled) which is passed through one or more eyelet-holes, either in order to fasten some article of dress, or merely for ornament."

James Murray, Editor, et al., "Stud," *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Compact Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 1971, p. 3106.

Even something as innocuous as the chain for a pocket watch needed to be dulled in appearance. Watch chains could be made from hair of the deceased loved one or made of horsehair and dyed black (Figure 13).



Figure 13
Pocket Watch Fob,
Maker Unknown, circa 1870s, Horsehair,
© The Private Collection of Anne M. Toewe,
Greeley, Colorado, United States.

Mourning Practices for Those of Lesser Means

The question has been posed regarding the ability of those who were not of the highest means to follow these strict mourning practices that were outlined by society. As a matter of propriety, all classes of people would adhere to these practices as their station would allow, with some families having the means to provide appropriate attire for the entire household staff. As Lou Taylor observed, “Servants of rich families were the only working-class people who could be guaranteed to wear mourning.”⁵⁵ This observance of mourning for servants was the outward expression of the household grief for their employer, not an expression of grief for personal loss. This would be in the richest of households as “working-class people who could be guaranteed to wear mourning...were put into cheap mourning clothes immediately and wore them for the same time as the rest of the family.”⁵⁶ As the family progressed through the stages of mourning, the servants would continue to wear the black that was provided at the time of the death. Male servants were standardly dressed in black livery to start and would add black crape armbands and black crape hatbands to their standard household attire.

As for those who did not work in a household that provided mourning attire, or for those who were mourning their own family member’s passing, the practice of dyeing one’s clothes black was common. There is an account of a family who could not afford new attire when their niece died suddenly: “We got as much money together as we could and started to make arrangements for the funeral...They bought what black they could and Mary suggested dyeing several articles black.”⁵⁷ As was discussed with crape, not all clothing fared well in the dyeing process. The issue of dyeing existing clothes to black was less the problem of the dye bleeding and staining the skin as with crape; it was the problem of clothing not dyeing to true black. It was therefore not uncommon to see mourning family members of the lower classes in shades of olive greens and greyed out blues. Regardless of the final outcomes, there are enough such accounts of these practices in the archives that as much as an individual was able, the lower classes attempted to adhere to the mourning practices of the upper classes.

⁵⁵ Taylor, op cit., p. 154.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 15.

⁵⁷ A.S. Jasper, *A Hoxton Childhood*, Centerprise Books, London, England, 1974, p. 121.

Conclusion

Although men's Victorian mourning practices appear to be largely a footnote to those of their female cohorts, this is not true to fact. The practice of mourning for men was as codified by society as it was for women. For men, it just did not offer as many excuses for shopping as women were allowed by the depth to which men were to outwardly express their sorrow. Men had fewer levels to their mourning; in fact, their practice was one of being in mourning or else no longer in mourning, at which time they could return to their daily wardrobes. Men also experienced an expectation of continuing the daily practice of living day-to-day and providing for those left behind as a result of the death. Long, protracted periods of restricted daily activity and cumbersome clothing was not a practical expectation for the Victorian man. It was important for men to return to the established routines of their lives after the death of their loved one in a timely manner, in order to keep their household in motion. Thus, the cult of mourning became so much a part of women's lives but was not as deep or extensive for men. It must be noted that it did exist for men; it was just a less intrusive part of the Victorian man's life.

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Acknowledgements

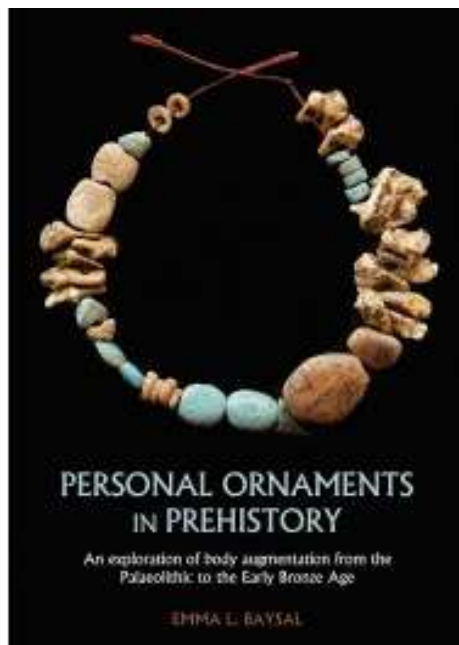
I would like to offer my thanks to the peer reviewers and editors of The Journal of Dress History for all the guidance they provided for the writing of this article. I would like to thank my students at The University of Northern Colorado (UNC) for continually listening to my avenues of research through this project. Additionally, I have to thank Jennifer Leffler at UNC Libraries, who has been an unending source of research materials no matter how deeply she has to dig. Finally, my completion of this project could not have been accomplished without the assistance, advice, love, and support of Steven Watson.

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Book Reviews

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Emma L. Baysal, *Personal Ornaments in Prehistory: An Exploration of Body Augmentation from the Palaeolithic to the Early Bronze Age*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, 2019, Notes, Bibliography, Acknowledgements, 22 Colour Illustrations, 71 Black-and-White Illustrations, 256 pages, Softback, £38.00.

Emma Baysal's work attempts to circumnavigate the evolution of society and human development through several thousand years of prehistory, using personal ornaments as a guide. As many dress historians are all too well aware, personal ornament can often be overlooked despite providing insightful clues into trade, worship, and technology, among other areas. In her book, Baysal gets to grips with these themes by examining the personal ornaments of prehistoric peoples.

Baysal received a PhD from The University of Liverpool in 2010, was a postdoctoral research fellow at the British Institute at Ankara (2013–2014), and is currently an associate professor of Prehistory at Trakya University, Turkey. Her research focuses on material cultures through items of personal adornment and their technologic, social, and economic role in prehistoric societies up to the Bronze Age. She co-edited *Bordered Places/Bounded Times* with L. Karakatsanis in 2017, and *Time and History in Prehistory* with Stella Souvatzis and Adnan Baysal in 2018. She has also published a wide range of articles on the subject of prehistory, often with a focus on Turkey.

The book is structured over an introduction, and nine chapters, which are divided into subsections and case studies. Broadly these are in chronological order, although the introduction and the first two chapters set the scene and provide some context, introducing the field, explaining the importance of personal adornments in prehistory, and providing an idea of the geographical context. Baysal also explores how adornments have been and can be interpreted, and how this relates to the knowledge of prehistory societies. The rest of the book works through the periods of Palaeolithic, Epipalaeolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the Bronze Age, with the final chapter acting as a conclusion. This format works very well.

As a whole, the book gives context to an area that is probably largely misunderstood by many historians (and the public in general), and provides a very satisfying journey, working through chronologically, in order to chart the evolution of human society.

Personal adornments provide the perfect lens through which to do this, and it is pleasing to see adornments being given centre stage, especially as they are such relatable and attractive objects. The reader is guided by the expert knowledge and experience of Baysal, who feels fully in command of her subject. Baysal's research is largely centred on dig sites, and the text is supported by plenty of glossy images of finds, in black and white as well as colour, often to scale or with measurements to help the reader understand the scale, tables to illustrate the passage of time and changes in the items, as well as maps of regions, which all help add to the treasure trove of knowledge this book provides. There is little doubt that Baysal has been extremely thorough in her research.

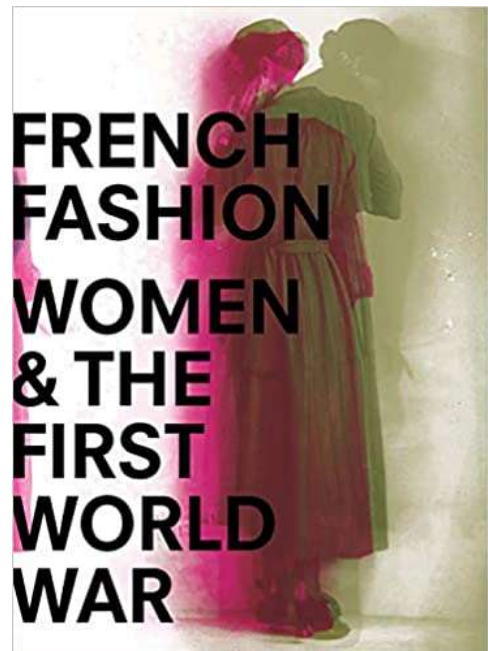
So, what can we learn about ancient societies from these decorative, personal items that they left behind? The types of materials used tells us a lot about the surroundings and what was available, which can then provide clues as to trade and travel. The possible techniques used to retrieve and fashion these items can sometimes reveal a society's technology, skill level and complexity as further advanced than academics might previously have thought, through both the tools used to make ornaments and the ways in which adornments themselves were used. Was an adornment a religious item, a decorative trinket, an inherited piece, or a signifier of social status? If the wearer places value upon such things for any one of these reasons, it is an argument for the evolution of their society into a more complex system than has previously been recognised. Additionally, the relevance of human remains found with adornments can be used to help work out the importance of such people in society, and therefore teach us much about how these societies functioned in terms of leadership roles and religious structures as well as gender roles, helping answer questions as to whether societies functioned under patriarchal structures or in other ways. Baysal's research highlights how past archaeologists' interpretations of these items has often been governed (anachronistically) by their own social values and norms, particularly their ideas about gender.

There are not many books focusing on prehistory personal adornment and this one covers a wide range of early eras. Other books on Ancient societies and adornment tend to focus in the Iron Age and this one stretches all the way back to very early man. It is quite a heavy-going read, and not designed for someone with only a cursory interest in the subject. Despite the chapters contextualising the societies, it is not an introductory level book by any means. *Personal Ornaments in Prehistory* is very scholarly and thorough in its approach, and would be of interest to those who study the prehistoric time period and the following Iron Age. It would also provide excellent reading for scholars of anthropology and archaeology in general, as well as those with an interest in the history of material cultures. An immense achievement by an expert in her field, this book shines a light onto a complex, neglected, and misunderstood era.

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Katie Godman is a Costume Librarian for Islington Education Library Service, in London, England. She studied MA Fashion Cultures: History and Culture at London College of Fashion and received The Yarwood Award from The Costume Society to fund her research into women's fashion during the early 1800s. On 28 October 2017, Katie presented a paper, titled, "The Importance of Fashion History in the Implementation of Colonialism: A Case Study of Nineteenth Century British Fashion Plates" at The International Conference of Dress Historians, hosted by The Association of Dress Historians, of which she is a member. On 26 October 2019, she presented "Nineteenth Century Gothic: Before Victoria's Mourning" at The International Conference of Dress Historians. She also presented a paper at The International Conference of Romanticism Manchester 2019. Her own books are represented by the John Jarrold Agency, and she is currently working on a proposal for a book on the history Gothic fashion, as well as drafting a novel set during the Napoleonic Wars. Her areas of interest are the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Maude Bass-Krueger and Sophie Kurkdjian, Editors, *French Fashion: Women and the First World War*, Bard Graduate Center/Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, United States, 2019, Time Lines, Bibliography, Index, 520 pages, Hardback, £50.00.



The First World War is a highly popular topic both within and outside academia, over a century on from the end of the war. Numerous exhibitions, conferences and publications have commemorated the soldiers and victims, and informed audiences about the political, social, and cultural dimensions of the war. Among these publications is the book, titled, *French Fashion: Women and the First World War*. The book, which is the first comprehensive study discussing the relationship between war, gender, and fashion in France, merits attention. It demonstrates the ways in which French women and fashion industries negotiated their positions in these particular historical circumstances. The book accompanied a 2019 exhibition with the same title shown at the Bard Graduate Center Gallery in New York. The exhibition had been presented first in 2017 in Bibliothèque Forney in Paris. The book is based on an impressive amount and variety of sources, including archival documents, press media, images and objects, many of which were included in the two exhibitions.

Aside from the editors, a number of outstanding researchers have contributed to the publication. The narratives in the book reveal that the social position of women and fashion gained considerable attention in the context of the war. During 1914–1918, the war challenged gender relations, and urged women to renegotiate their roles within French society. The authors explain the discourse on female roles and how their engagement with the war effort involved fashion. Fashionable dress was a matter that displayed the fragility of the female position. For example, women were expected to buy clothing to support the national industry but were simultaneously criticised for being immodest and excessively frivolous in the face of national tragedy (p. 39). The book presents three topics, namely women's relation to the war, developments of female professional dress during the war, and the adaptation of the fashion industry to the war circumstances.

Margaret H. Darrow outlines the subject of women's relations to the war in Chapter 1. Darrow describes the situation of French women working at the home front or for the war economy and the case of those women who suffered under occupation. She reflects on the social discourse about the female role in military and public services. As Susan R. Grayze demonstrates, women could also engage in the war efforts by sewing and knitting for soldiers (Chapter 2). In addition to making warm clothing, women produced respirators and gas masks (p. 175). Traditional female home activities accrued the associations of social and political agency. The ways that women should spend their time waiting for men to return from war became a topic of public discussion. Maude Bass-Kreuger writes about this dilemma in the chapter, titled, *Fashion Gender and Anxiety*. She also focuses on the debate surrounding how French women should appear to soldiers on their leave from the front (p. 190). Importantly, the war simplified the sartorial practices of mourning dress (p. 203). In the chapter, titled, *Mourning Dress*, Bass-Kreuger explains how, in the face of multiple deaths, women found the means of expressing different gradations of grief.

Furthermore, the authors pay substantial attention to female professional dress. For example, Johanne Berlemont and Anaïs Raynaud discuss the uniforms of nurses (p. 114). Many female volunteers joined the ranks of nurses during wartime. As they mainly cared for young male patients, they needed to cover their sexual appeal. Although the uniforms of nurses were often reminiscent of the habit of nuns, they were more practical than the latter (p. 130). In Chapter 4, Sophie Kurkdjian describes the photo collections of working women, which originate from the archive of the newspaper *Excelsior*. Through these sources, Kurkdjian analyses the appearance and uniforms of women who took over male jobs during the war. In the subsequent chapter, Jérémie Bruckner writes about how male overalls were reshaped for female bodies. Bruckner argues that the introduction of overalls for women was not a sign of the changing position of women in the male-dominated sectors of labour, but rather a matter of necessity (p. 248).

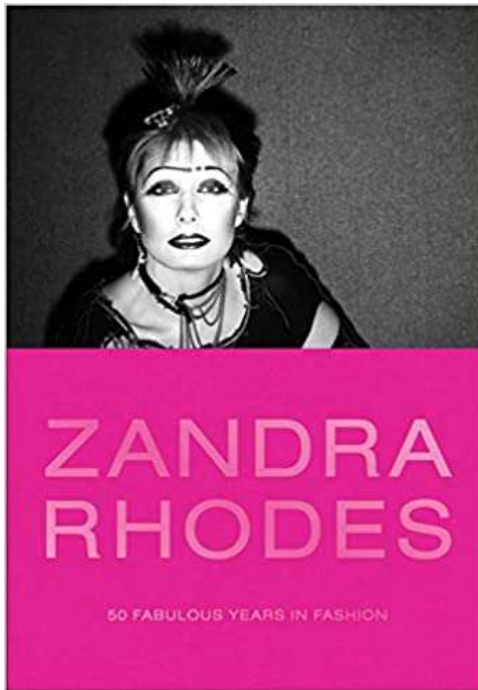
The book should be applauded for the range of its chapters, which present a diverse and reliable image of the French fashion industry during the war. The authors discuss the efforts of fashion houses and designers to continue their work despite the difficult market situation. They also explain how war damages to the textile industries influenced the use of fabrics (p. 271) and dyes (p. 280). Nonetheless, as Bass-Kreuger argues, the changes that occurred in the female silhouette during the war were a matter of usual practices adopted by the fashion industry to stimulate consumer demand (p. 263). Kurkdjian describes the important role of the *Chambre Syndicale* in ensuring the survival of the French couture, creating initiatives that were beneficial for the war effort and implementing the new structural organisation of Paris fashion design (p. 410). She also explains how the stealing of French fashion designs by counterfeit magazines in Austria and Germany, which had occurred before 1914, developed into

a political scandal during the war. This situation prompted the creation of the new magazines exhibiting specifically French fashion, *Le Style Parisien* and *Les Éléances Parisiennes* (p. 423). Finally, Bass-Kreuger writes about the economic crisis of 1917 and explains how American textile restrictions considering the import of French fabrics affected the fashion industry in France (Chapter 8). She subsequently describes the strike of seamstresses that transpired in Paris in 1917 (Chapter 9). The author explains why this undertaking was considered a victory for women (p. 468).

The book covers important topics that are related to war, gender, and social history. However, readers may miss more personal narratives that could reveal individual experiences. The authors therefore encourage other scholars to conduct further studies that would focus on individual voices or biographies. They also suggest future transnational and transcultural comparisons on the subject of gender, war, and fashion relations. Alongside such valuable research, interesting narratives, and in-depth analyses, the book deserves praise because of its visual aesthetics. The book is published in hard cover and is filled with rich and well-selected illustration material; it also has an original design. Furthermore, the authors provide structure to the information by including an illustrated chronology (p. 21), lists of French fashion houses (p. 488), fashion magazines (p. 493), and a checklist of exhibitions (p. 496). This publication sets a good example of a research approach to the value of material culture in the negotiation of the female social position during times of war.

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Dr. Marta Kargól received her MA in History (2007) and History of Art (2009) at Jagielloński University in Cracow, Poland. In 2013, she obtained her PhD in Cultural Anthropology for the dissertation, titled, *Tradition in Fashion: Dutch Regional Dress in Various Contexts of the Contemporary Culture*; written in Polish, and published in 2015. She is also the author of two exhibition catalogues written in Dutch and English. Furthermore, she worked as assistant curator for the exhibition *Women of Rotterdam* (Museum of Rotterdam, 2017). Since 2016, she has written regularly about contemporary textile art for the Dutch periodical *Textiel Plus*.



Dennis Nothdruff, Editor, *Zandra Rhodes: 50 Fabulous Years in Fashion*, Yale University Press, London, England, 2019, Acknowledgements, Foreword by Suzy Menkes, Bibliography, List of Collections, 260 Colour Illustrations, 208 pages, Hardback, £30.00.

This lavishly illustrated book provides a comprehensive documentary of the stellar career of the renowned fashion designer, Zandra Rhodes. It spans 50 years of her oeuvre in fashion and in textile design.

Zandra Rhodes studied at The Medway College of Art and at The Royal College of Art. In 1967, she opened The Fulham Road Clothes Shop in London, and in 1969 she founded her fashion house. Her first collection was made up in printed felt, printed satin, and printed silk chiffon. She presented it in New York; Diana Vreeland took note and featured her designs in American *Vogue*. The launch was so successful that Rhodes started to travel to the United States to show her collections. As early as 1972, she was awarded Designer of the Year, already stamping her identity on the world of fashion—and in particular, putting London at the forefront of international fashion. This was a key moment in the history of fashion, as Rhodes challenged fashion's conventions and led the way with the largely untapped potential of printed textiles to define the silhouette of her designs. Her acclaimed Conceptual Chic collection of 1977 was a landmark. It featured dresses with holes and beaded safety pins mixed with drawn figures screen-printed on silk. Rhodes blended London street culture and punk with the glamour of couture; she had a particular admiration for the fashion designer, Elsa Schiaparelli (1890–1973).

Rhodes' innovative use of bold prints as unique creative statements saw Rhodes branch out from fashion to other arts. There is a theatrical element to her designs with their vivid colour palette. So perhaps it is not surprising that she would apply her mind to opera. She is celebrated for her costume designs for Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, Bizet's *Les pêcheurs de perles*, and Verdi's *Aida*. The operas are set in wildly disparate countries and time frames. Rhodes took this opportunity to breathe new life into them with her theatricality; for example, in *Aida*, where the gold and turquoise costumes beautifully evoked ancient Egypt.

Alongside producing her collections and opera costumes, Rhodes has also dedicated herself to fashion education and has championed the significance of the study of fashion. She founded The Fashion and Textile Museum in London, which showcases exhibitions of contemporary fashion and textiles. Past exhibitions have included Missoni in Colour and The World of Anna Sui. It is also an accessible archive and resource centre with a regular programme of talks, courses, and workshops.

Zandra Rhodes's talent is so multi-faceted that this book will find its way into many fashion libraries. It will undoubtedly be of particular interest to dress historians interested in textiles. Her designs are textile-led; the shape of the garment is informed by the textile. There is a substantial section in the book devoted not only to her methods, but also to her influences, much inspired by her travels. For example, her exquisite beaded pieces reflect the lush fabrics of India. Dress historians interested in fashion illustration will find much to study in the detailed drawings in her sketchbooks. It is astonishing how her drawings translate into cloth, as it is through her drawings that the motifs of her print textiles are developed and explored as dress fabrics. Rhodes' drawings produced exquisitely harmonized clothes made out of beautiful textiles, creating a veritable dialogue between the sketch and the fabric.

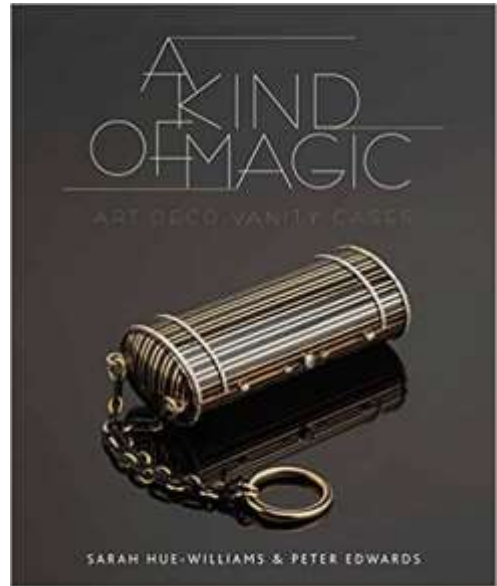
There are some excellent collated commentaries in the book by fashion designers. Those of Pierpaolo Piccioli, the creative director at Valentino, are particularly insightful. He invited Rhodes to create a range of prints inspired by the Renaissance and also by Hieronymus Bosch's triptych, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. In her collection, Piccioli found everything he had been looking for: the freedom, the colour, the lightness. All of these components are distinctive and individual to her.

Zandra Rhodes is, indeed, one of the most original and inventive fashion designers of the late twentieth century and continues to be well into the twenty-first century. A complementary exhibition about the work of Zandra Rhodes was held at The Fashion and Textile Museum from 27 September 2019 to 26 January 2020.

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Dr. Alice Mackrell received her MA with Distinction in the History of Dress 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*.

Sarah Hue-Williams and Peter Edwards, *A Kind of Magic: Art Deco Vanity Cases, The Kashmira Bulsara Collection*, Unicorn Publishing Group, Bracondale, Norwich, England, 2017, Notes, Bibliography, Index, Picture Credits, Further Reading, Acknowledgements, 192 Color Illustrations, 199 pages, Hardback, £40.00.



The photo-essay book *A Kind of Magic* is a visual exploration of the extensive Art Deco collection of vanity cases owned by Kashmira Bulsara. The sister of rock legend Freddie Mercury, Bulsara spent years seeking out and building a collection that she believed her brother would have enjoyed. The book is divided into four distinct sections, each exploring different facets of the explosion of the Art Deco movement and the art and objects it created. The vanity cases that were crafted at the time were quintessentially of the era, with all the glamor of the time immediately invoked. This glossy table book opens immediately after the Great War, when the world was shaking off the malaise of the prior decade and embracing the pleasures of life. The beginning of the Jazz Age and Roaring 1920s was reflective of this newfound zeal for life, and likewise reflected in the jewelled accessories being produced.

The book leads the reader through the end of the Art Nouveau movement and into the rise of the Art Deco era. It then goes on to explore the zeitgeist of Parisian culture and society, and the hedonistic zest for culture, music, and freedom that was emulated worldwide. *A Kind of Magic* ties the vibrancy of Paris directly to the rise of the Art Deco movement, which it deems the first truly international twentieth century design style. The book describes the burgeoning Art Deco style as the ultimate in creativity and self-expression, and then moves seamlessly into its overarching theme to which it returns continuously, that of women's evolving role in culture and society, and the changes that arose along with the newfound female independence.

Using posters, art, and jewellery of the time to highlight the glitzy glamour the Roaring 1920s invokes, the book touches upon the rise of Art Deco jewellery design. Highlighting the artists and designers that gave birth to the movement in jewelled accessories, such as Lalique, Van Cleef and Arpels, Boucheron, and Mauboussin, the book argues that the apex of the Art Deco movement was found through jewellery design. The world was able to view the newly designed Art Deco masterpieces at the L'Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes, which opened in Paris in 1925 as the grandest display of the "style modern" for the masses.

Returning to the common theme, the role of women and their daily lives are once again touched upon in an essay regarding the accessories that they began carrying. Exploring the new artistic design concept of Art Deco and its rise in jewellery is when the book gains its focus, beginning to highlight the cases from the Collection it describes. Women's roles within families and society were changing, and new freedoms were found in every aspect of a women's daily life. A few of these freedoms included the rise of makeup and smoking, the public display of either would have been unheard of a few years prior. Touching upon the changes in fashion, the rise of the fashion designer, and then into the adulation of Hollywood and celebrity, the exploration of women's issues leads directly into a section on the rise of vanity cases, which had become the most coveted accessory of the time.

The second half of the glossy book turns its attention entirely to Bulsara's collection, and the various types, styles, and designs of vanity cases. When viewing the various forms that the cases could come in, from standard compact and lipstick holders, to cigarette cases, to mirrored powder boxes, the reader begins to understand the full scope of the daily use of such decadent objects. Gliding directly into the decorative styles and motifs found, the book touches upon flora, fauna, and figurative motifs, machine age styles, Egyptian exoticism, Indo-Persian, Chinese, and Japanese influences, while walking through the materials and techniques such artisans and jewellers employed. The materials included enamels, lacquers, gemstones, and gold and silver to bring to life the designs of the day. The book then describes the great jewellery houses that produced many of the vanity cases found within the collection, both in Europe and America.

The whole world was abuzz with the new music and attitude of the century, and *A Kind of Magic* reflects that hedonistic embrace with visually stunning and entertaining photos. The pictures are not only of the decorative compacts that Bulsara collected, but of-the-era photos of the Moulin Rouge mixing with images of the Kit Kat Klub in Harlem. Such images display the change in architecture, design, and advertising, and the newly minted radio and film stars of the day. This wide-ranging book is brightly designed with visually stunning layouts, combining photos, illustrations, and art to reflect the themes of the book, and the times it is meant to invoke. More than just an engaging coffee table book, the well-researched text takes the reader on a journey through the evolution of an era, in which life was being reimagined and engaged, and many were dreaming of new styles and designs. Meticulously researched and laid out, the book's main themes are not only the rise of the Art Deco movement, placing that artistic venture in the context of its time, but also the rise of the woman and her reimagined role in society.

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Clara Berg, *Seattle Style: Fashion/Function*, MOHAI: Museum of History and Industry, The University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington, United States, 2019, Notes, Selected Bibliography, Credits, Acknowledgments, 137 Colour Illustrations, 18 Black-and-White Illustrations, 144 pages, Hardback, £27.00.

Seattle Style: Fashion/Function is the catalogue for an exhibition by the same name that ran from 4 May 2019 to 14 October 2019. Written by Clara Berg, the catalogue explores the collections at the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI) where she is the Collections Specialist for Costumes and

Textiles. The clothing in this exhibition spans from the earliest days of the city's history in the mid nineteenth century through the Seattle of today. With the support of Luly Yang's forward, Berg makes a compelling argument for a unique sense of style that is borne by the singular mixture of the geography and the people in Washington state's largest city.

This book is broken into four thematic chapters: "Nature and Place," "Growth and Aspiration," "Northwest Casual," and "Innovators and Rule Breakers." Each chapter begins with an introduction that conveys the new theme while tying back to Berg's thesis. Page after page, the reader is presented with beautiful illustrations of a variety of clothing and accessories that are tied together by their shared connection to Seattle. Berg has excelled at using MOHAI's location-based collection to tell a more precise story about Seattle's history. Other curators and collections have told the story of a particular region in the past; however, *Seattle Style* is the first book to cover Seattle, which makes it all the more important.

Through this book, Berg has brought the museum exhibition to the personal bookshelf. Often, something is lost between the creation of an exhibition and its corresponding catalogue. When only having access to the catalogue, readers feel that they have missed out on an experience: either because the text appears edited from that used in the exhibition, or the images hold no comparison to seeing the exhibition in person. However, Berg's use of stunning images gives the reader a true sense of the exhibition. You leave the page feeling as if you have received a richer understanding of the significance of each garment and a better concept of the Pacific Northwest.

The majority of the pieces featured were created after company branding became a standard practice. When applicable, images of the clothing tags are included with their corresponding garments. This detail of exploration is an aspect of costume study that is often overlooked when it comes to clothing exhibitions; however, its inclusion here adds depth to the stylistic choices of Seattle's makers and merchants. In each chapter, Berg also strategically uses extant period photographs to further contextualize the exhibition and holistically provide the reader with a sense of place.

The first chapter, "Nature and Place," features clothing ranging 1890–2018. In this chapter, Berg illustrates the clothing both worn and created when the two worlds of rural and urban collide. This chapter highlights the juxtaposition of Seattle's city centre surrounded by bucolic vistas of mountains, forests, and waterways, and emphasizes that in Seattle, "the natural world and the urban environment are in constant conversation" (p. 9).

In the second chapter, "Growth and Aspiration," Berg uses the MOHAI collections to explore the propensity of Seattleites to "look to fashion as a barometer of cosmopolitan success" (p. 37). The author illustrates that Seattle's geographic location in the Pacific Northwest could cause many people to think of it as provincial. However, from the late nineteenth century onwards, the transcontinental railroad combined with the rise of keen clothing buyers made the latest fashions accessible to consumers living in the Northwest coast. Berg shows that Seattleites' tastes for global fashions continued throughout the city's history.

The third chapter, "Northwest Casual," explores the shift from Seattle as a consumer city to becoming a manufacturer of global fashions. This chapter includes examples of clothing from Seattle's entire history. From the 1850s until today, practicality has been a constant in Seattleites' fashions. In the earliest years, the city's remoteness from the more heavily populated east coast resulted in most people adopting "a relaxed way of living and dressing" (p. 72). Whether it is a printed cotton dress from the mid nineteenth century or an office-casual dress made from moisture wicking, wrinkle-resistant material, casual clothing has a consistent presence in Seattle. Clothing manufacturers in Seattle view comfort as a principle element of clothing design.

In the last chapter, "Innovations and Rule Breakers," clothing from the mid 1930s to today is displayed. Berg presents these garments alongside the idea that, despite not being known for their high fashion, the ability of Seattleites to create "exceptional garments and accessories can [be seen as] a kind of rebellion" (p. 105). This chapter illustrates the argument by exploring the small-batch maker community. Additionally, each page highlights Seattle's ability to answer the call of a particular community. From practical life-saving clothing for adventurers, to creating style for various subcultures, Seattleites have been fulfilling the needs of such communities seemingly

from the city's founding. Berg's work suggest that these tiny acts of rebellion allow the maker culture and the Seattle community to thrive.

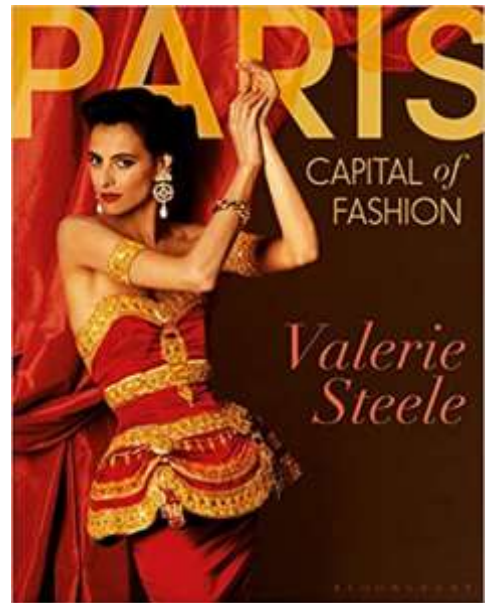
One downside is that there is little discussion of the fashion contributions of the native peoples who pre-existed Seattle's founding, but it is unclear whether this is due to the limitations of MOHAI's collections or if it was outside of the scope of Berg's exhibition. That being said, Berg has still made the effort to include other minority groups within the range of the book. Whether they were the African-American, Asian-American, Indigenous-American, or LGBTQIA community, the milliners or clothing manufacturer, the proprietors selling these items, as well as many of the owner/donor of the garments featured, these minority communities are woven into each chapter, offering a level of inclusion that is not seen in many exhibitions. This can be a challenge for some collections, but by not having a separate section for these communities, Berg has made their stories feel both normalized and inclusive.

This volume is well designed and thoughtfully laid out. The text is very easy to read. It touches brilliantly on social history of the objects and why they matter. There is one unfortunate layout mishap. On page 97, down the right side of the text block, a portion of Berg's writing is cut off by the border of the illustration. Luckily, this accident does not seem to affect the readability of the page. Otherwise, this book truly is a joy to experience and should be a staple for any fashion historian interested in American fashion from either the Pacific Northwest or the mid nineteenth century through the early twenty-first century.

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Valerie Steele, Editor, *Paris: Capital of Fashion*, Bloomsbury Visual Arts, London, England, 2019, Preface, Endnotes, Image List, Notes on Contributors, Index, Acknowledgements, 140 Colour Illustrations, 39 Black-and-White Illustrations, 216 pages, Hardback, £40.00.



Published to accompany the recent exhibition at The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) in New York, *Paris: Capital of Fashion*, offers an analysis of Paris within a wider cultural context and addresses its position as “capital” of fashion, both today and throughout history. For this insightful publication, Valerie Steele, director of the Museum at FIT, assembled a coterie of fashion historians, scholars, and influencers to contribute essays addressing the mythology of Paris as the symbolic mecca of French fashion and interpreting its worldwide perception. One of the fundamental strengths of this publication is its multifaceted approach to Paris as the beating heart of the fashion industry, both historically and within contemporary fashion commentary. It addresses the rich dialogue between the city of Paris and the rest of the world, the power and influence of Parisian fashion and designers, and the comparative position of other cities within the rundown of the world’s fashion capitals. Although published to support an exhibition, the book and its content extends far beyond the confines of an exhibition and will continue to serve as a valuable resource for students and academics of fashion and social history.

Paris: Capital of Fashion is a collection of essays collated to form chapters pertaining to Paris as fashion’s sacred hub. Each instalment provides a different interpretation of Paris within a wider social context. The publication’s editor, Valerie Steele, who previously published *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (1998), reiterates the history of the myth of Paris in her opening chapter, titled, “Paris, ‘Capital of Fashion,’” pointing out that throughout fashion history, Paris has always been the benchmark of taste and luxury. Historically, it was Louis XIV (1638–1715) who “strategically utilized fashion as an element of his political and economic policy” (p. 12). In the mid seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries, the barometer of style and taste was determined at the centre of royal and political power: the French court of Versailles. In her introduction, Steele points to the earliest reference to Paris as the capital of fashion, which dates from 1755 and was published in *Les journal des sçavans* (p. 11). Nevertheless, Steele argues that it was in the nineteenth century, with the establishment of the Second French Empire (1852–1870) and the talents of a certain young Englishman, Charles Frederick Worth (1825–1895), that Paris became the

undisputed international capital of womenswear. By this point, Parisian taste was synonymous with high society and therefore high fashion. Moving into the twentieth century, Steele explains how Paris held the top spot when Christian Dior (1905–1957) introduced his “New Look” in 1947, reviving an interest in the workmanship and craftsmanship of fashion. His short career from 1947 until his premature death in 1957 is often heralded as the “Golden Age” of haute couture. Where this book clearly differs from her previous title, published over 20 years ago, is in inclusion of the “now,” analysing the role of Paris in the twenty-first century and questioning the city’s current status as leader.

Although the book is formulated in chapters, each one can be read individually, like a themed academic journal. As one progresses through the book as a whole, a comprehensible flow of ideas and investigations provide a deeper understanding towards decoding the “myth” of Paris. Within the text, the use of quotations, auxiliary images, and endnotes corroborate the information presented, and provide insightful extras on the subject at large. Chapter 2, written by fashion historian Christopher Breward, discusses the idea of the fashion city—taking a particular focus on Shanghai, its modernisation throughout the twentieth century and its position as the so-called Paris of the East. David Gilbert, a professor at Royal Holloway, University of London, presents in Chapter 3 a social and geographical discourse on the world order of the fashion capitals, and asks the question: is fashion a situated practice? Special Project Editor at Condé Nast Italia, Grazia d’Annunzio, gives Chapter 4 an Italian perspective as she discusses the rivalry between France and Italy as competing fashion capitals, arguing that a lack of unification in Italy allowed Paris to flourish. In Chapter 5, Antonia Finnane, a professor at the University of Melbourne specialising in Chinese history, explores the emergence of Beijing and Shanghai as leaders within the fashion sphere. In Chapter 6, fashion historian Sophie Kurkdjian focuses on Paris, haute couture, and the establishment of the *Chambre Syndicale*. And finally, Chapter 7, which gives us a contemporary analysis of fashion’s digital age and its perception of Paris and what it means to be Parisian, is written by Agnès Rocamora, a reader in Social and Cultural Studies at the London College of Fashion.

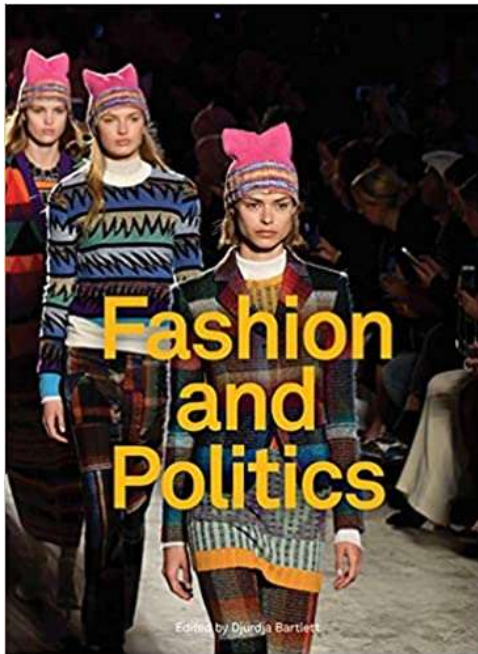
While this book will join an abundance of literature on the subject, the main point of difference from other publications is undeniably its outreach beyond the confines of Europe. Breward, Gilbert, and Finnane successfully extend Parisian fashion’s reach into Asia, one of the largest growing fashion economies in the world. Not only do they discuss the influence of Paris on Asia, they also evaluate the establishment of cities such as Beijing and Shanghai in the top ten fashion capitals of the world. In her chapter on the aforementioned Chinese cities, Antonia Finnane takes a new direction in analysing China’s home grown fashion industry, asking important questions surrounding creativity, and examining how it can flourish “in a world where the arts in general are subject to censorship and where training is provided in a politically

controlled environment” (p. 121). It is this fascinating insight into Chinese culture that offers a new perspective on the differences between the eastern and western fashion systems, giving this title its unique distinction from other publications.

Paris: Capital of Fashion goes global in its attempt to decode the myth of Paris and successfully questions its coveted place as the centre of fashion. With this in mind, having read the publication from cover to cover, the only thing that appears to be lacking is the question mark in the book’s title, which should ask, *Paris: Capital of Fashion?*

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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.



Djurdja Bartlett, Editor, *Fashion and Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, United States, 2019, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 120 Colour Illustrations, 240 pages, Hardback, £37.00.

Fashion and Politics, a collection of essays edited by Djurdja Bartlett, explores the ways in which fashion and politics merge, and the ways that fashion can be used for political purposes. Featuring essays from emerging and established fashion scholars, this book explores fashion throughout the past two centuries and how clothing can be used as an expression of nationalism, terrorism, symbols of capitalism, and as a means of constructing personal and political identities.

In the preface Bartlett states that “the essays gathered in this book also acknowledge that there is no simple answer to the question, ‘Is fashion political?’, and that fashion’s engagement with the political may compromise political ideals and aims” (p. 10). While the book poses the question, “Is fashion political?” it actually focuses more on *how* fashion is political. It operates from a standpoint that however one feels about fashion and capitalism, fashion—as both an expression of identity and as an industry within a capitalist world—is inherently political. Bartlett argues, “As a globally dispersed, emotionally charged and highly visual practice in our image-saturated world, fashion may even go some way to repair old and new injustices, at the same time creating a bridge between politics and economics, so providing a platform for today’s most urgent social and cultural conversations” (p. 13). Following the preface, the book is broken into four parts and a total of 10 chapters, including two photo essays. The book features 120 colour images, making it a brilliant combination of both intensely academic scholarship and a visually interesting piece to have on display.

The collection features a strong selection of essays on the intersection between fashion and the various areas of politics. Part I, “Political Fashion, Fashionable Politics,” is comprised of one chapter: an essay by Bartlett, titled, “Can Fashion Be Defended,” which argues that, “fashion should not be dismissed but instead observed as an important social, cultural, and political phenomenon” (p. 17). Djurdja explores a variety of historical and contemporary case studies, from Elisabeth von Österreich Ungarn, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary, to the use of “pussy” hats by Missoni for the Autumn/Winter 2017/2018 ready-to-wear collection in February 2017. Djurdja finally states, that “As imperfect as it is, fashion is a globally dispersed,

highly visual and emotionally charged practice [...] In an era when politics is largely mistrusted, and increasingly divides people along lines of nation, class, race, sex and gender, fashion might effectively address old and new injustices, not only those of fashion but also of the wider world" (p. 56). This essay effectively sets up the scholarship that follows throughout the next three sections of the book.

Part II, "Reform or Revolution," explores the way fashionable dress works with and against political ideologies and has been used to either embrace or reject those ideologies. Part III, "Bodies and Borders," looks at the way fashion literally and figuratively transcends ideas of borders, geographical and ideological, and the intersection between bodies and dress in an era of terrorism and surveillance. Finally, Part IV, "Resistance or Recuperation," grapples with contemporary issues plaguing the fashion industry, such as the way modes of dress of political figures can be used against political opposition, addressing colonialism in museum collections, and fast fashion production within the European refugee crisis.

Among these essays, the research methods and arguments presented are well organized, thoughtfully articulated, and effectively supported. The two photo essays in the collection are a brilliant blend of scholarship and images that graphically illustrate the main arguments being made. With a wide range of case studies that demonstrate the ways fashionable dress, clothing, and the fashion industry weave in between and among political beliefs and ideologies, the essays in *Fashion and Politics* show that fashion is indeed political and cannot be divorced from politics, no matter how much some might wish it could be. Whether those politics extend to a top level of national or transnational politics as in the case of revolutions or systematic reform, or to the individual consumer level in terms of the choice to support fast fashion or not (and why that choice isn't as easy as some critics make it seem), the essays in this collection are timely and necessary as we move forward in the twenty-first century.

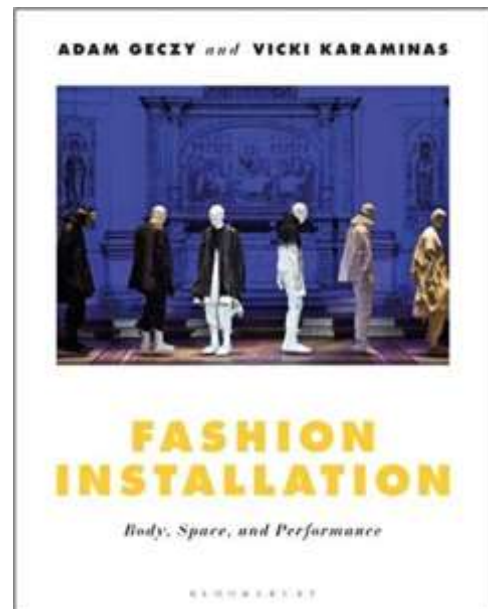
This book is relevant for cultural, historical, and fashion studies scholars, particularly for scholars of contemporary fashion with an interest in politics, identity construction, feminism, and the intersection between any of these fields. This book would not be appropriate for readers interested solely in the history of fashion—but for those looking for a collection that brings historical issues into conversation with contemporary questions, this book is an excellent option. *Fashion and Politics* is engaging and thought-provoking, and could be read and reviewed multiple times yielding new insights upon repeated reading.

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Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas, *Fashion Installation: Body, Space and Performance*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2019, Acknowledgements, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 21 Black-and-White Illustrations, 144 pages, Softback, £50.00.



The adaption of presentation forms from visual art can lead fashion consumers to experience fashion with all their senses, while at the same time the clothing itself becomes part of a fashion installation as a total work of art. It is therefore to the great credit of Adam Geczy, artist and writer, who teaches at Sydney College of the Arts, and Vicky Karaminas, Professor for Fashion at Massey University in New Zealand, to enter new territory with this book. Their analysis covers synergies between design forms and the visual arts that modify the aesthetic experience of fashion, and the writers present their research on fashion installation with immersion at its heart.

In their introduction, Geczy and Karaminas show how the latest trends in clothing and dress were presented in Edward Steichen's series of photos for Paul Poiret in 1911 (p. 2), where the setting for the models functioned as a narrative—a concept that may be regarded as a fashion installation *avant la lettre*. Today, it is understood as installation art and has been closely linked to conceptual art since the 1960s. Based on the avant-garde movement of early twentieth century art, conceptual art focused on an intensive engagement with the audience (p. 3). For the authors of this book, it is precisely the encounter with the audience that can be intensified by telling stories, and the examples presented in the book illustrate this aspect wherein both art and fashion installation work with and without a body.

Clothing only becomes fashion through the movement of the human body in space. Therefore, the three chapters of the book framed by an illuminating introduction and a conclusion follow a logical choreography of the fashion body that performatively moves in space.

The first chapter “Body: Mise en Scène,” traces the beginning of fashion through the lens of its staging (p. 9). It shows that the early arcades and the great exhibitions of the nineteenth century could provide the setting for the dream worlds that Benjamin described in his famous arcades project, and into which the consumer could immerse himself or herself. The great exhibitions of the nineteenth century, with their technical innovations, laid the foundation for the staging of a parallel world to which many in

the arts were eager to refer. The avant-garde of the early twentieth century, with its rapid succession of “-isms,” used the abundance of creative and technical innovations—for example, fashion’s early shop displays made use of the emerging lighting technology for staging remarkable fashion installations (p. 19).

In the next chapter, “Fashion (almost) without bodies,” the authors introduce scenographies of fashion without a body, or at least with body surrogates like dolls. In addition to the catwalk, the fashion boutique serves as a presentation site. Further parallels to art became recognisable, since in addition to conceptual art, conceptual fashion emerged as a concurrent trend. From the early 1970s the conceptual store (Malcolm McLaren/Vivienne Westwood, *Let It Rock*, 1971) developed from the fashion boutique as a multifunctional space. It conveyed the encounter with fashion consumer as an overall experience. Geczy and Karaminas see the Dover Street Market in London, or Ralph Lauren’s All-American style flagship stores, as significant examples of how fashion brands can offer a whole lifestyle as the consumer item. At the same time, labels such as Louis Vuitton (L’espace Louis Vuitton) or Prada (Fondazione Prada) appear as art sponsors or offer delicacies in specially designed restaurants. These examples served as the blueprint for the presentation of Chanel’s Fall/Winter 2014/2015 collection in the Grand Palais in Paris. Chanel created a branded environment (p. 68) as a supermarket with Chanel products.

In the final chapter, “Body in space and the Gesamtkunstwerk,” the design of garments forms an alliance with the locations of fashion and art, resulting in narratives displayed through multimedia fashion installations as live performances in unusual locations, in fashion films or museums and galleries. The ideas of Alexander McQueen, Hussein Chalayan, Iris van Herpen, or Gareth Pugh follow the notion of the Gesamtkunstwerk [total work of art], a concept coined in the nineteenth century. At that time, the different art forms worked together. In the world of contemporary fashion and art, this means that innovative digital technologies are used to make the immersion of the human body happen.

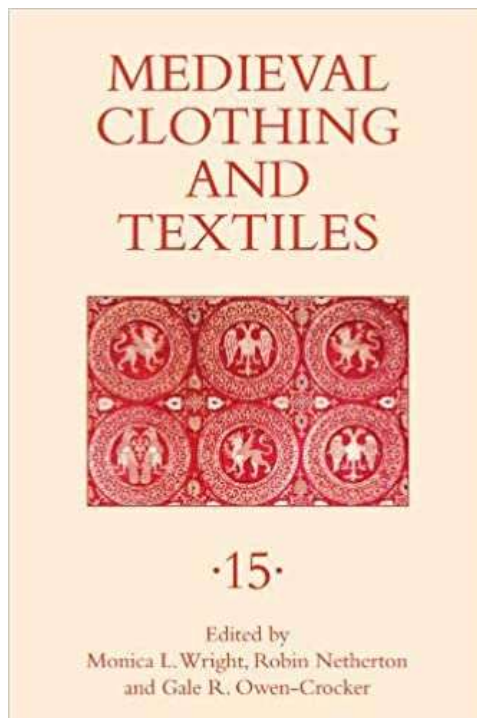
In conclusion, Geczy’s and Karamina’s volume, *Fashion Installation*, connects seamlessly to the quality of their previous and meritorious research in the context of fashion and art. The coherence of their ideas presents a convincing argument to the reader, even if the numerous references to recent conceptual art history requires some prior knowledge. The protagonists of fashion theory (Bourdieu, Veblen, Benjamin, Barthes, et al.) enrich the presented research and help to fruitfully expand the field of fashion studies.

Although there are a number of publications on the concept of the catwalk, an ample body of research on fashion installations has not been previously published. Geczy and Karamina’s comprehensive overview of the history of fashion presentation as

installation provides a welcomed insight into the interaction of different design spaces, and documents the desire of people who want to perceive fashion as an extensive experiential space that needs to be equipped with elaborate stagings. In addition, the design possibilities from the field of performative art offer particularly useful starting points. From this perspective, the volume is particularly recommendable, and worthwhile reading as a valid and reliably compiled academic contribution.

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Monica L. Wright, Robin Netherton, and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Editors, *Medieval Clothing and Textiles 15*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 2019, Illustrations, Tables, Contributors, Preface, Recent Books of Interest, Contents of Previous Volumes, 4 Colour Illustrations, 34 Black-and-White Illustrations, 215 pages, Hardback, £40.00.

In 2011, Stephen Greenblatt caused controversy when his book, *The Swerve: How the World Became Modern*, revived an idea many academics had long since refuted: that the Middle Ages were dark and illuminated only with the dawning of the Renaissance. This stubbornly persistent orthodoxy is the cause of many muddles about the medieval

period. One of the most trenchant is the claim that a discernible fashion system becomes apparent only when the gloom of medievalism recedes in the fourteenth century. Since 2005, the *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* series has done much to demonstrate that the medieval period, viewed through its clothing, fabrics and dress accessories, is every bit as colourful, creative, individual, shocking, and subversive as periods earlier and later. It is fitting that one of the series' founding editors, Gale Owen-Crocker, begins this volume (her last as lead editor) with a historiographical survey of how the study of medieval dress has evolved over the past fifteen years (pp. 1–31). She shows how new technologies, typologies, and thematic studies have expanded the scope of this field. Convincingly, she argues that fashions are discernible in Anglo-Saxon women's dress of the fifth and sixth centuries and cites research showing how "the social importance of clothing" is evident within eleventh century formal wedding gifts (p. 17).

The importance of clothing in bridging cultures and defining people's roles runs like a thread throughout the volume. The point is most apparent in Tina Anderlini's chapter, which examines the prevalence and popularity of medallion silks in western Europe, stemming from their association with an "Other World" of Old Testament figures and anointed terrestrial rulers (pp. 101–136). Hugh Thomas' study of clothing at the court of King John (pp. 79–100) shows how one of England's most mercurial monarchs was adept at dressing his body, his bedding—which included a cover lined with otter skins and a quilt embroidered with parrots (p. 83)—and his band of followers, whose horses were chosen "because their colouring set off the vividly dyed cloth" of their saddles (pp. 81–82)—magnificently to make him distinct.

The legitimation that King John sought through luxury cloths and furs has parallels to the beguines—an ill-defined group within the category of *mulieres religiosas* (note 10, p. 139)—who form the focus of Alejandra Concha Sahli's chapter (pp. 137–156). Concha Sali describes how European women who wore versions of monastic habits attracted papal opprobrium because they were thought to be feigning membership of a religious community. However, Concha Sahli suggests many of these women may have genuinely sought acceptance and wore the habit to signal their readiness to “start a new way of life” (p. 138). She explains how the habit was a powerfully symbolic garment. Wearing it was “equivalent to entering a religious order” (p. 138). It could even provide a means of distinguishing oneself from other monks and nuns, for to wear a coarser version was to claim a deeper holiness by implication. Not surprisingly, this sartorial strategy was often decried as hypocritical (p. 142).

The recognition that medieval clothing and textiles could be simultaneously legitimating and transformative is underscored in Joanne Anderson's chapter, which analyses the curious visual cues in a series of paintings that decorates the walls of a Dominican church in Bozen, South Tyrol (pp. 157–182). Focusing on the detail of a vertical loom belonging to the Virgin that is being used to make a heraldic fabric, Anderson connects the figurative act of weaving to the “weaving of new family bonds” through marriage (p. 179). The dynastically informed mural was a means by which Margaret von Brandis could harness weaving, “a ‘respectable’ craft for a woman,” and proclaim that “a new identity [was] in the making” through her second marriage (p. 181).

These complex clothing strategies, sometimes subtle, other times overt, negate Greenblatt's assumptions of medieval darkness. They also challenge a linked and long-held assumption that visual cues were more relied upon at a time of widespread illiteracy than in future years. The second and third chapters of the volume, by Maren Clegg Hyer and Elizabeth Swedo, respectively, demonstrate that authors in Old Norse and Middle High German—and, presumably, their readership and listenership, too—enjoyed the “overlapping, metaphorical relationship between text and textile” (p. 33). In the *Nibelungenlied* and *Völsunga saga*, Swedo asserts that the different usages of dress and fabrics can enhance “understanding of medieval perceptions and projections of wealth, class, and social status as well as the construction, performance, and regulation of gender roles” (p. 63).

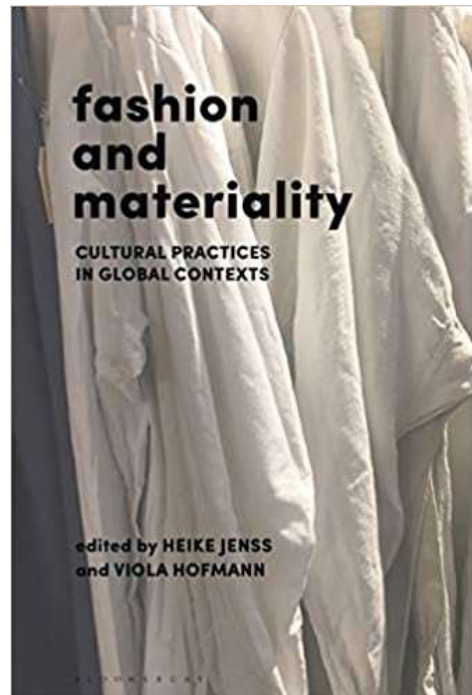
The volume's seven chapters provide eloquent and compelling testimony to the existence of a deeply embedded and vibrant fashion system throughout the Middle Ages. The human concerns raised through these investigations, of status, belonging and memory, can be compared with contemporary preoccupations. If the volume refutes claims of medieval separation through darkness, nonetheless it hints at why this view remains so trenchant. Accessing medieval dress and textiles is difficult. It

requires a knowledge of unfamiliar languages, iconography, and the rubric of bureaucracy. It requires, as Gale Owen-Crocker asserts at the end of her chapter, people “with the vision and the will” to practice these skills and to collaborate with others who possess them in different disciplines (p. 31). That this volume exists is evidence of such cooperation, but the simplifying narratives of Greenblatt and others reveal that more remains to be done. Remedies require a cultural shift, which no single academic series can tackle alone, but the breadth and precision of scholarship contained in this volume underscores the importance of the *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* project to all people working and interested in dress, irrespective of chronology. Here’s to the next 15 years of the series, under its new lead editor, Monica Wright.

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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.

Heike Jenss and Viola Hofmann, Editors, *Fashion and Materiality: Cultural Practices in Global Contexts*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2020, List of Contents, List of Figures, Notes on Contributors, Credits, Index, 69 Black-and-White Illustrations and Photographs, 297 pages, Hardback, £85.00.



Heike Jenss and Viola Hofman have created a welcomed book on the diachronic and synchronic materiality of fashion. The touch of fabrics, garments, and silhouettes contributes enormously to wearers' experiences of fashion, and without adequately describing these aspects, any research on fashion dress is rendered mono-dimensional. For example, social science academics straying into fashion disciplines may describe a sari fabric only as “pink”—failing to describe the fibre, weave, or ornamentation. There is considerable difference between a fine, muted-pink, tussah silk sari and a cheap, machinemade, florescent-pink nylon one, a difference that speaks volumes about respective wearers' social positions, tastes, and ages.

In their introduction, the editors describe a returning focus on materiality in recent literature, and in political debate, noting the role that inherited, recycled, or remodelled garments play in anti-fashion or non-progressive stances. The editors' German academic backgrounds allow inclusion of material which might otherwise have been limited to German-speaking readers, and make an important contribution to the few English language publications in the field. Consideration is given to the nature of materials, especially since industrialisation and the resulting fast fashion trend can conflate the psychological aspects of fashionable dress, including memory and emotion, to “a resource for self enhancement” (p. 6). The book showcases the less-remembered aspects of dress, making meaning—a term that encompasses hierarchy, collectivity, individuality, gender, age, race, time, and place—into a record that incorporates sensorially experienced, embodied, physical objects.

After the introduction, chapters are arranged in four sections, each section commencing with a brief introduction. All sections and chapters (and for dress historians, particularly the first two) are notable, and are worth summarising. In “Materials in Time and Place,” Susan Kaiser examines how people, time, and place converge, illustrated by the pink “pussy” hat. Additionally, Christel Kohle-Hezinger

considers the extant dress of two twentieth century German women as records of material culture, longevity, and continuity, particularly in regulating their purchase and continued use of “best dress.” Jutta Zander-Seidel documents the role that dress played in educating Europeans on “foreign” economic and cultural practices in cross-cultural comparisons in early modern Germany. Daniel Devoucoux questions archaeologists’ assumption that Ancient Egyptian clothing depicted in written documents, or on papyri, limestone, or pottery fragments, are idealized representations since no cold-weather clothing is depicted, and the conditions in which cellulose-based (cotton) or protein-based (wool) textiles would survive are antagonistic to each other. Importantly, Devoucoux suggests that such depictions also form a utopian ideal; that reality was distinct from representation; and that a dress research, or archaeology methodology, rather than costume history, should be used to re-examine a wide range of time periods.

The second section, “Materiality in Motion,” considers global circuits of fashion. Daniel Leonard Purdy examines China, refracted through the lens of Jesuit priests corresponding with the Sinologue author Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1697), whose enthusiasm helped develop the seventeenth and eighteenth century western fashions for chinoiserie, and the fashion for European-manufactured goods decorated with random Chinese images (the editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2013). In a subsequent chapter, Lola Shamukhitdinova examines the use of “golden embroidery,” Uzbekistan’s craft tradition, tracing its changing uses and popularity. Meanwhile Karen Tranberg Hansen pairs the development of Zambian independence (1964), exemplified by the national coat of arms, with the development of Zambian dress. She demonstrates that, although men’s dress has diverged from the image on the country’s coat of arms, women’s dress has embraced it: resulting in a new popularity for *chitenge*, the roller-printed fabric used for women’s wrappers, skirts, and plain dresses. In a final chapter, Christina H. Moon discusses the Korean-operated garment market in downtown Los Angeles, California, where mass-market, Chinese-made fashions are retailed with replacement garment labels, emulating those of currently popular western brands.

Section Three, on “Materiality and Embodiment,” seems a little less well chosen in parts, perhaps because some of the contributors have backgrounds other than textiles or fashion. Leyla Beikaid-Neri’s useful section on Philip Lim clothing, all “much loved” by her informants, beautifully discusses the consumption and after-life of fashion garments—a project that might be interestingly replicated using other popular premium designer fashion brands. Otto von Busch’s article meritoriously highlights the conflating nature of current activewear garments, which may provide an interesting text for group discussion, but focuses on a particular studio class, which some readers may find hard to recognise as “yoga.” Similarly, Jennifer Craik’s comparison of contemporary Australian yoga-wear focuses on generic elements of contemporary

activewear brands rather than consideration of distinctive colour palettes, patterns of specific brands, and fabric quality. Inclusion of user insights on wear qualities for vigorous practice might have added a further dimension, as not all yoga clothing brands are alike, nor all yoga practices.

The last section, “Material Exchanges: Fashion and Migration,” considers fashion production. Andrea Hauser begins the section with a fascinating discussion of international fashion shows, and the opportunity they offer designers to comment on current events. This text affords multiple opportunities for detailed critical studies discussion, as she shows how newly arrived migrants in the Tenever district of Bremen, Germany, were encouraged to stage a fashion show using recycled garments supplied by a vintage store. This fostered friendships between migrant participants of different races and cultures, while also creating a spectacle to publicise the district. The show evolved to include clothing and accessories created from upcycled materials including bottle tops, garbage bags, and paper, and while a discussion of the materiality of such items is not examined, there is perhaps a limit to the profitability of such a discussion. Subsequently, professional organization funded by European Union subsidies allowed more frequent iterations and relocation to a larger venue. These later events separately showcased western fashion garments and the traditional, regional dress of the cultural origins of the participants. They allowed space for reflection on the nature of fashion and folkloric or peasant dress—that is, dress worn in the absence of social dynamism, and the customary use of both types of dress by an individual depending on occasion. More recently, wary of creating opportunities for the display of hostility towards new migrants, collections have showcased the repurposing of traditional or regional garments and accessories from a varied selection of sources, which may not reflect the cultural origins of the model wearing or carrying the item.

Arguably, discussion of the materiality of this worthy project becomes rather lost in its other commendable aims: to publicize an end to violence against women, and to foster self-reflection of the participants’ economically precarious situations. Intriguingly, however, the text also raises questions about the nature of transnationalism and the appropriation of regional and cultural dress by the West—an established trope of western fashion. Given that the models, all recent immigrants, wear appropriated and repurposed western dress, their adoption of fusion fashions might be said to showcase individuality while conveying identity and membership of other social groups.

The section concludes with Elke Gaugele’s examination of Prada’s 2016 use of asylum seekers as runway models, which attracted considerable media attention and raised awareness of migration and employment opportunity. In addition, Gaugele considers the dress of an African diasporic group of immigrant “flaneur” models, and

an African fine-artist working in a textile-based medium, before discussing the contribution of immigrants in global fashion production.

Well written throughout, the content is clear and succinct without limiting potential readers by use of complex terms or “wordy” English. This work is fascinating and a joy to read for all those interested in dress across time. It also offers thought-provoking discussion opportunities for critical studies, and is recommended for inclusion in all dress history libraries. Highly recommended.

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An international fashion professional with a background in design, retailing, and marketing, Dr. Valerie Wilson Trower worked in Asia for 15 years as a consultant, lecturing in Visual Merchandising (VM) and Marketing for three academic institutions and private clients. She holds a doctorate in Historical and Critical Studies on Asian dress from The London College of Fashion, UAL. As Trend Director, APAC, for Stylesight (the American online fashion trend and analysis provider), Valerie spoke and published on global fashion trend and VM, before joining a premium VM supplier as Creative Director. Returning to England, Valerie published 300+ articles as a VM journalist for Retail Design World, and curated VM Conferences. Lecturing in Historical and Contextual Studies for three years at Istituto Marangoni, at Condé Nast, and at Falmouth University, Valerie has been an Associate Lecturer at London College of Fashion for the past four years as a dissertation supervisor for Fashion Business students.

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.

Jonathan C. Kaplan, *Kleider machen Leute: Jewish Men and Dress Politics in Vienna, 1890–1938*, PhD Thesis, The University of Technology Sydney, Australia, 2019.

Abstract:

Dress played an important structural, management and sometimes a poetic role in the construction of Jewish male identity in Vienna from the end of the late nineteenth century to the Anschluss (1890–1938). The adoption of the modern suit by urban men over the course of the nineteenth century corresponded to the general period of Jewish emancipation in Western and Central Europe. In donning this iconic garment of bourgeois respectability, Jewish men expressed both desire and intention to join modern European society. The absence of prescribed Jewish modes of dress in this era meant that Jewish men could now appear dressed as their Gentile counterparts. What was the impact of this major clothing development? For xenophobes, a Jew could no longer be identified by his clothing alone, generating a new series of social codes in which ‘Jewishness’ could be identified via physiognomy, grooming, posture and speech. An identifiable participatory clothing culture for Jewish men emerged that was simultaneously modern and democratic as well as holding elements identified as archaic and non-Gentile. This thesis deploys a wide range of visual texts including studio and vernacular photography, sketches and line-drawings in contemporary print media as well as published and non-published written sources including the press, ego-documents such as letters, diaries and memoirs, as well as oral histories. It argues that dressing in a modern manner was not simply a matter of assimilatory desires on the part of Viennese Jewish men. Rather, Jewish men of the day engaged in sartorial self-fashioning for multiple reasons, including the process of acculturation for political, cultural and ideological purposes. They dressed for both their own communities and wider Viennese society, yet the dress choices, preferences and practices of Jewish men also had direct and wide-ranging implications for the antisemitic image of ‘the Jew’ in myriad literary and visual manifestations.

Julie Ripley, *Surf's Us: Constructing Surfing Identities through Clothing Culture in Cornwall*, PhD Thesis, University of the Arts London and Falmouth University, London and Falmouth, England, 2018.

Abstract:

Critical literature on surfing is concerned primarily with its development as a competitive sport, focusing on ‘stand-up’ surfing in the USA and to some extent in Australia, resulting in a body of work populated almost exclusively by young white males. However, in Cornwall, forms of surfing including belly and body boarding have been enjoyed for almost a century by all ages and ethnicities, both sexes, at every level from international competition to non-competitive leisure, from daily practice to holiday novelty. The area has developed a distinctive clothing culture stemming from this plethora of surfing activities. This study asks, how has the material culture of bellyboarding and surfing in Cornwall developed historically, and how does the

clothing culture in the area relate to the global phenomenon of surf style? The contemporary scene is evaluated by means of a visual ethnography of a Cornish seaside village where surfing is the focus of social events and commercial endeavours. Through an examination of the clothing culture in the area, it explores how gender and sexuality, class and consumption, community and belonging are negotiated and articulated. The historical and cultural contexts in which this complex relationship developed are discussed with reference to archival material from regional museums, personal collections and interviews with amateur and professional surf historians. Oral histories of surfing, bellyboarding, bodyboarding and beach life compiled for the study and from existing collections are additionally used to interrogate existing narratives of surfing history. Drawing on and extending theoretical perspectives on subculture, taste, consumption, space and place, this will be the first study that investigates how the clothing culture of surfing explores and constitutes, constructs and reconstructs gender, class and regional identity, and how it defines and redefines the region's surfing locales by its visible presence.

A. Concha Sahli, *The Meaning of the Habit: Religious Orders, Dress and Identity, 1215-1650*, PhD Thesis, University College London, London, England, 2017.

Abstract:

It is well known that there was an increasing concern with clothing as a means of social and cultural distinction in the late medieval and early modern periods. This has been called the birth of fashion. One way in which this importance was expressed was through the development of some well-defined sartorial codes and rules, both tacit and explicit. These gradually lead to more exhaustive and specific regulatory forms. Hitherto, most of the scholarly emphasis has been on the secular world, particularly through the study of sumptuary laws, whereas analysis of the ecclesiastical sphere (the Carmelite order apart) has not got much attention beyond anecdotal description. This dissertation aims to provide a 'thick description' to understand the meaning of ecclesiastical dress in a social and cultural context for the period 1215-1650. Thus, the focus is not on clothes as such, but on the ways by which dress can express conscious and unconscious ideas at the base of the interaction between people, groups and institutions. Studying the dynamics, ideas, worries and controversies generated by religious habits, both within and outside the religious orders, reveals the layers of meaning that exist beyond the anecdotal evidence. And what they reveal is how religious orders in Western Europe developed a complex process of identity formation in which clothing, in its different levels, played a fundamental role. What lies at the core of this analysis of the conceptions about religious clothing—used as a heuristic tool—is precisely its capacity to show not only how the identities of the religious orders of the period evolved, but also how they were perceived and conceived, and how they shaped these changes.

Jo Stephenson-Thompson, *Telling Fashionable Tales: The Form and Function of the Non-Fiction British Fashion Film*, PhD Thesis, Queen Mary University, London, England, 2017.

Abstract:

This thesis examines the promotion of the British fashion industry in the underexplored genre of non-fiction British fashion film. Whilst critical attention has been paid to the role of fashion within fiction film, and costume within historical drama, the significance of fashion in non-fiction, state-sponsored British film has passed largely without exploration. The threshold of fact and fiction is the site of investigation in this analysis of film and media materials, that draw on fairy tale narratives of transformation to produce fashion as the ‘integration of the two worlds of reality and imagination’ (Bettelheim, 1975). The main focus of my analysis is a body of texts ranging from the forties to the present day. The corpus of study consists of films produced by British Pathé and the Central Office of Information (COI), film, televisual, and DVD outputs of royal weddings, and the BBC’s live television broadcast of the 2012 Olympic Games. Fashion has a reputation for facilitating change and performing makeovers, and the texts studied here present three levels of transformation, powered by the magical fiction of fairy tales, the transformative potential of capitalism, and the renewing capabilities of the fashion industry. These texts demonstrate the way fashion stories are used to negotiate key historical junctures in British identity, finding in the structure of the fairy tale a way to articulate an economy of renewal that can be harnessed to a national, ideological state agenda aimed at women. This thesis argues that national events are commandeered as platforms for officially sponsored tales of Britain’s heritage, which testify to the importance of fashion to the British economy and its role in political strategy.

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.

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.

<https://www.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collections/dress-fashion-and-textiles>

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

The collection brings together pieces from the seventeenth century to today. The museum also offers a timeline of fashion with descriptive information and images.

<https://museodelamoda.cl/colecciones>

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, et cetera, 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 and Hove Museums Costume Collection, Brighton

Brighton and 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.

<https://www.burgon.org.uk/collections/academic-dress>

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

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/en/learn/collections-resources.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>

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.rmnm.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

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

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

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>

de Young Museum, San Francisco, California

The Caroline and H. McCoy Jones Department of Textile Arts contains more than 13,000 textiles and costumes from traditions around the world.

<https://deyoung.famsf.org/deyoung/collections/textile-arts>

The de Young Museum is a part of The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, which maintains a searchable database:

<https://art.famsf.org>

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>

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

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

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>

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 and 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.

<https://henryart.org/collections/costume-textiles>

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 nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

www.museum.wales/collections

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>

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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 lecturer, 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.

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 lecturer, 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), 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 and Book Reviews

Articles and book reviews for publication consideration are welcomed from students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals, 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.

For more information, please read the comprehensive Submission Guidelines, available at www.dresshistorians.org/journal.

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ADH Membership and Calls For Papers

If you enjoy reading The Journal of Dress History, please consider becoming a member of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH). Your support is appreciated!

ADH membership is open to anyone with an interest in the field. The ADH receives no public funds, is a non-profit educational charity run by a team of unpaid volunteers, and is wholly funded by annual memberships and donations. As Registered Charity #1014876 of The Charity Commission for England and Wales, your membership dues contribute to our ongoing support and promotion of the study and professional practice of dress history. ADH memberships are only £10 per year and can be purchased on our website, www.dresshistorians.org/membership.

To participate in our ADH Calls For Papers, please visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp for the most up-to-date information, some of which is as follows.

The Journal of Dress History Calls For Papers

Articles are welcomed for the following special themed issues of The Journal of Dress History. Submission Guidelines are available at www.dresshistorians.org/journal.

Costume Drama: A History of Clothes for Stage and Screen

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2020

Article submissions are encouraged for this special themed issue of The Journal of Dress History. Topics of potential articles could include (but are not limited to) clothes in ballet, opera, theatre, pantomime, film, television, advertisements, cartoons, et cetera, of any time period and culture or region of the world.

Curation and Conservation: Dress and Textiles in Museums

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2021

Article submissions are encouraged for this special themed issue of The Journal of Dress History. Topics of potential articles could include (but are not limited to) curation, dress and/or textiles in museum displays (for example, organisation and exhibition curation between past and present; exhibition practices and museography) or conservation (for example, planning and intervention problems; applied studies and diagnostic analyses).

Fashioning the Body for Sport and Leisure: A History of Dress and Textiles

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2022

Article submissions are encouraged for this special themed issue of The Journal of Dress History. Topics of potential articles could include (but are not limited to) dress and textiles for sport activities, such as archery, cricket, cycling, football, golf, hiking, mountaineering, Olympic sports, riding, soccer, tennis, winter sports; or leisure activities, such as camping, dancing, fishing, gardening, holidays, hunting, photography, playing a musical instrument, roller-skating, shopping, sunbathing, water sports.

Conference Calls For Papers

The Association of Dress Historians is delighted to announce our international conferences and the corresponding Calls For Papers. Everyone is warmly welcomed to submit a proposal to present at our conferences, including students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals.

The New Research in Dress History Conference

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 September 2020

Both 10-minute and 20-minute presentation proposals are welcomed for submission on any aspect 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 conference will be held on 23-24 April 2021 at the historic Art Workers Guild, 6 Queen Square, London, WC1N 3AT, England. For more information, visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp-london-2020.

The New Research in Dress History Conference

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 September 2020

Both 10-minute and 20-minute presentation proposals are welcomed for submission on any aspect 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 conference will be held on 18-19 August 2021 at The Röhsska Museum of Design and Craft in Gothenburg, Sweden. For more information, visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp-gothenburg-2020.

Curation and Conservation: Dress and Textiles in Museums

The International Conference of Dress Historians

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2020

Presentation proposals are welcomed on the topics of dress and textiles in museum curation or conservation. Proposals can be submitted in English or Italian as the conference will be conducted in both languages. This conference will be held on 21-22 October 2021 at the Conservation and Restoration Center (CCR) “La Venaria Reale” in Turin, Italy. For more information, visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp-turin-2020.

Fashioning the Body for Sport and Leisure: A History of Dress and Textiles

The International Conference of Dress Historians

CFP Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 September 2021

Both 10-minute and 20-minute presentation proposals are welcomed for submission on any aspect of the global history of dress and textiles specifically for sport and leisure. This conference will be held on 30 September–1 October 2022 at the historic Art Workers Guild, 6 Queen Square, London, England. For more information, visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp-sport.

ADH Conference

Costume Drama: A History of Clothes for Stage and Screen

The International Conference of Dress Historians

The Call For Papers is closed, and the conference programme is now set! You are invited to attend our international conference, which will be held on Monday, 2 November 2020 at the historic Coopers Hall at the Bristol Old Vic, King Street, Bristol, BS1 4ED, England. Built in 1766, the Bristol Old Vic is the oldest continuously working theatre in the English-speaking world. Please join us for an exciting day of research in dress history! For more information, visit www.dresshistorians.org/bristol-conference-2020.

