



The Journal of Dress History

Volume 2, Issue 3, Autumn 2018

Front Cover Image:

Textile Detail of an Evening Dress, circa 1950s, Maker Unknown, Middlesex University Fashion Collection, London, England, F2021AB.

The Middlesex University 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. Browse the Middlesex University Fashion Collection at <https://tinyurl.com/middlesex-fashion>.

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Volume 2, Issue 3, Autumn 2018



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Published by
The Association of Dress Historians
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The Journal of Dress History
Volume 2, Issue 3, Autumn 2018

journal@dresshistorians.org
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ISSN 2515-0995
Online Computer Library Centre (OCLC) accession #988749854

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The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History encourages the unsolicited submission of academic articles for publication consideration on any topic of dress history, textiles, or accessories of any culture or region of the world. Articles and book reviews are welcomed from students, early career researchers, 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 journal@dresshistorians.org.

Articles can be submitted any time during the year (except for special themed issues, which have a specific deadline). Articles must be between 4000 words (minimum) and 6000 words (maximum), which includes footnotes but excludes the required 120-word (maximum) abstract, five (minimum) images with captions, the tiered bibliography (that separates Primary Sources, Secondary Sources, Internet Sources, etc.), and 120-word (maximum) author's biography.

The graphic design of The Journal of Dress History utilises the font, Baskerville, a serif typeface designed in 1754 by John Baskerville (1706-1775) in Birmingham, England. The logo of The Association of Dress Historians is a monogram of three letters, ADH, interwoven to represent the interdisciplinarity of our membership, committed to scholarship in dress history. The logo was designed in 2017 by Janet Mayo, longstanding ADH member.

The Journal of Dress History

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Welcome

Dear ADH Members and Friends,

I hope you enjoy reading this issue of *The Journal of Dress History*, Volume 2, Issue 3, Autumn 2018, which contains six academic articles and nine book reviews.

Included in this issue is a recurring guide, titled, *A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research*. This guide documents online sources that play a role in furthering the academic study of dress history. Additions and suggestions to this guide are warmly encouraged as *A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research* is a living document and will be updated and published in every issue of *The Journal of Dress History*.

The Editorial Board of *The Journal of Dress History* encourages the unsolicited submission of academic articles for publication consideration on any topic of dress history, textiles, or accessories of any culture or region of the world. Articles can be submitted any time during the year, except for special themed issues, which have a specific deadline. Please note the following deadlines for, and titles of, the next two special themed issues of *The Journal of Dress History*.

11:59pm GMT, Sunday, 1 December 2019:

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

11:59pm GMT, Tuesday, 1 December 2020:

Costume Drama: A History of Clothes for Stage and Screen

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

Best regards,

Jennifer Daley

Chairman and Trustee, The Association of Dress Historians

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The (Saint) Birgitta Schools: Dressmaking and Fashion between Tradition and Renewal in Stockholm, 1910–1935

Maria Carlgren

Abstract

The Birgitta Schools were two dressmaking schools, based in Stockholm, Sweden, and operated from 1910 to the 1930s. Because of a rift in 1914 between the two directors, Emy Fick and Elisabeth Glantzberg, the original institution was divided into two separate schools. Both retained the “Birgitta” name. This article analyses the two schools, based on visual artefacts, including trademarks, photographs, and garments, while utilising art history, visual studies, gender theory, and cultural sociology methodologies. The aim of this research is to interpret The Birgitta Schools in light of the contemporary discourses of femininity, fashion, and modernity, as a “whirlpool” of different aspects and attitudes that emerged from their work in the contexts of modernisation and the modern.

Introduction

The Birgitta School [Birgittaskolan], named after the Swedish Saint Birgitta [Bridget] (1303–1373), was a combined dressmaking school and fashion studio that operated in Stockholm, Sweden from 1910 to 1914, and was directed by Emy Fick (1876–1959) and Elisabeth Glantzberg (1873–1951). Together, they founded and directed the original, so-called “Birgittaskolan.” But a rift in 1914 caused them to separate the business into two separate schools, yet both retained the original school’s name and structure. From 1914 until the mid 1930s, Emy Fick ran The Saint Birgitta School

while Elisabeth Glantzberg ran The Birgitta School. They operated for 20 years in Stockholm.

Utilising visual arts, cultural sociology, and gender theory, the work of The Birgitta Schools is interpreted in the context of the socio-historical conditions of that era.¹ The goal is to describe their work and how it related to the contemporary discourse of fashion yet also address the wider relevance of the evolution of femininity and modernism. This study is based on Emy Fick's donation of clothes, photographs, and documents to the Östergötland Museum, in Linköping,² and documents left by Elisabeth Glantzberg which her relatives provided. Archival corporate documents, such as Annual Shareholder Meeting Minutes, have also been utilised.³

Additional material includes drawings by the fashion designers and artists, Siri Derkert and Valle Rosenberg, while they worked at Glantzberg's Birgitta School. Derkert's archival material at The National Library of Sweden in Stockholm is another important source, including Rosenberg's letters to Derkert, which includes much about fashion and her fashion drawings.⁴ From 1916 to 1919, Derkert and Rosenberg lived separately: Derkert remained in Sweden while Rosenberg lived in Paris and Italy.⁵ These letters have been useful for tracing and analysing their work in designing clothes, and for understanding the work of Glantzberg. Contemporary articles on Fick and Glantzberg have also provided additional, important information.

¹ Maria Carlgren, *Birgittaskolorna. Modeateljéer och sömnadsskolor mellan tradition och förnyelse* [The Birgitta Schools: Fashion Studio and Dressmaking School between Tradition and Renewal] PhD Thesis, The University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden, 2016.

² Emy Fick Personal Archive, Östergötland Museum, Linköping, Sweden: 17 folders: Letters E.1, Letters E.2, Certificates F.1, Lease Contracts, Wills, Insurances, Passports, Personal Data F.2, Diplomas F.7, Diaries, Notebooks F.9, Almanacs, Folders F.10, Accounts G, Photographer's K, Newspaper Clips L, Patterns, Drawings, Posters N, Other Ö.1. Catalogue Emy Fick Collection: "Fickska samlingen: A.18300-18403" Dress Catalogue A.18367: 1-53: a; A.20.309.

³ The National Archive, Stockholm, The Birgitta School (Elisabeth Glantzberg) Company Papers, including Bankruptcy Proceedings, The Gothenburg Birgitta School Chairman's Papers. Annual General Meeting Minutes and Company Statutes, and Census and Church Records that concern Elisabeth Glantzberg and Emy Fick.

⁴ The National Library, Stockholm, Department of Manuscripts, Maps and Images: Siri Derkert Collection, Personal Archive, 31 volumes, HS signum: L.170: 1-14; Siri Derkert, Liv Derkert Lybeck and Bertil Lybeck, including Letters, Press Clippings, Biographical Notes, other Notes and Diaries. The Letters of Valle Rosenberg, Siri Derkert, and Elisabeth Glantzberg have been especially relevant.

⁵ All letters from Siri Derkert to Valle Rosenberg were missing and were considered to be lost until a few years ago, then five letters were rediscovered and are now housed in The National Library, Stockholm, Sweden.

The social and cultural theories of Pierre Bourdieu are of particular relevance to this study and his notions of capital, habitus, and social fields have been especially useful.⁶ Complementary to them are the cultural sociological views of Howard Saul Becker with his notion of worlds, which generates a greater understanding of how individuals act in a group.⁷ Together, he and Bourdieu provide perspectives with multiple dimensions for understanding The Birgitta Schools.

These insights have enabled an interpretation of the schools' work on a variety of levels, including the personal interactions and the social networks formed by those working there, together with their aesthetic expressions, ideas, perspectives, and activities. Judith Butler's performativity theory has also been useful with her concept that identity and gender are constructed through a person's actions,⁸ for which clothes are significant. The "social body," consisting of the physical body together with its clothing and symbolic capital and habitus, is relevant as constructed social and

⁶ To study social space, Bourdieu uses the concept of capital, meaning a person's symbolic, cultural, and material assets. Symbolic capital encompasses the trust, respect, reputation, prestige, etc., that a person receives from their group, but having a viable reputation in one group does not necessarily mean that one has it with another. Symbolic capital is also generated by such sources as cultural capital. This concept includes education, but material and economic assets are also capital for Bourdieu and can contribute to symbolic capital. Social capital consists of one's network of family ties and friendships, and he emphasises that all actions should be regarded as "economic" in the sense of being measures that aim at maximising gain. Bourdieu also developed the concept of habitus to constitute the individual's socialised and unconscious behavioral pattern. An individual's habitus is founded by the symbolic capital that is absorbed from one's family life and experiences in school, etc. In order to safeguard their capital, individuals (and groups and institutions) use different strategies to defend or improve their position—but not always consciously. The concept includes social space, capital, habitus, and strategy to constitute a field as an area of competition; a social space where individuals with common interests struggle for power using different strategies based upon their capital assets. See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, United States, 1984, p. 172; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, United States, 1996, pp. 182–183; Helena Webster, *Bourdieu for Architects*, Routledge, London, England, 2011, p. 30.

⁷ The concept of an art world addresses all the relationships that build a group with a common goal, without explicitly ranking them in value hierarchies. An art world consists of people, with different functions, who do something together. Becker emphasises the individual's scope for action in the group. New constellations can occur when individuals want to do something else. In this way new worlds arise. There is thus no natural limit for where the boundary between inside and outside an art world goes. See: Howard Saul Becker, *Art Worlds*, Revised Edition, The University of California Press, Berkeley, United States, 2008, pp. 378–385.

⁸ See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, New York, United States, 1990.

symbolic forces. I have also applied Christer Ahlberger's definition of the contrasts between modern and traditional consumption, to show how, as consumer strategies, they were both negotiated and simultaneously used at the two schools, yet also contributed to the differences between them.⁹

The First Birgitta School, 1910–1914

Emy Fick and Elisabeth Glantzberg met in the spring of 1910 and together founded The Birgitta School that autumn. In Figure 1, Fick stands on the left wearing a black dress with a large lace collar, while Glantzberg stands on the right. As the first of its kind in Sweden, The Birgitta School was a retail business that taught dressmaking and had a fashion studio under the same roof and was situated in the fashionable centre of Stockholm. It attracted interest early on with several complimentary articles written by respected journalists, which helped to establish its reputation, which in Bourdieuean terms means that it gained substantial symbolic capital with the public and attracted customers from the upper classes and aristocracy.

Inspiration for the original school appears to have come from both founders. Fick had studied for a year at the House of Worth fashion firm, founded by Charles Frederick Worth (1825–1995) in Paris. In the United States, Glantzberg had run a business similar to The Birgitta School in Boston, Massachusetts for several years at the turn of the century. Hence, both brought practical experience and a foundation of symbolic capital into their business. During this era many unmarried female entrepreneurs were running businesses in Sweden. Figure 1 shows how they wished to be depicted in their work, which was common at that time, by showing women bending over their sewing with lowered gazes that visualises both industriousness and virtue. This photograph appeared in various articles about the school and exemplifies Rozsika Parker's and Judith Butler's concepts of the construction and "making" of traditional feminine gender.¹⁰ This subservient, eager-to-please identity had emerged over the course of the nineteenth century to become a dominant ideal around 1910. Yet it was being increasingly challenged by new feminist views, which had emerged with modernisation.

⁹ Ahlberger's discussion of consumption history includes economic, ethnological, and anthropological concepts to analyse the transformation from a traditional consumption pattern to the modern one. See: Christer Ahlberger, *Konsumtionsrevolutionen. Om det moderna konsumtionssamhällets framväxt 1750–1900*, Humanistiska fakulteten, Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg, 1996 [*Consumption Revolution: The Emergence of the Modern Consumer Society, 1750–1900*, Faculty of Arts, The University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden, 1996].

¹⁰ See Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, LB Tauris, London, England, 2013.



Figure 1:

The Birgitta School, 1910, Photographer, Almberg & Preinitz, Stockholm,
Emy Fick Personal Archive 4, Folder K,
Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, Sweden.

While Fick and Glantzberg had several interests and abilities in common, they had different social backgrounds, which seems to have instilled in each a strong symbolic capital, but with a different habitus.¹¹ Fick came from an urban upper-class home in the capital of Stockholm while Glantzberg grew up in a rural clergyman's family in remote Dalarna in central Sweden. These diverse social backgrounds are reflected by their differing aesthetic preferences; Fick was particularly interested in lace, which she both made and collected, being renowned in her early years for fine needlework and embroidery. Fick's aesthetic preferences were typical of an aristocratic, upper-class femininity. Glantzberg was instead interested in developing and preserving Swedish folk traditions, especially weaving. Glantzberg's aesthetic preferences were not about cultivating upper-class femininity but focused instead on the culture of the common

¹¹ See Footnote 7 for the theories of Pierre Bourdieu.

people. With their differing social backgrounds and aesthetic preferences, they probably had divergent aims and ambitions for the school from the start.

The Conflict

By 1914 there was a rupture in their collaboration and so each started their own Birgitta School. Fick named hers The Saint Birgitta School. Glantzberg moved her business a few hundred metres away and also maintained the original name, but as The Birgitta School. This conflict continued throughout their lives and generated a court case lasting until 1932 over the use of the name, Birgitta. After a verdict in the Court of Appeals, Glantzberg had to change the name of her school and called it The Elisabeth Glantzberg School. But their conflict was about more than just names, for which their different backgrounds and divergent aesthetic preferences were relevant. This exemplifies Bourdieu's theory of a personal strategy of opposition, in which to misrecognise one's opponent is to denigrate all their assets and abilities and thus their symbolic capital.¹² So what were the major differences that caused them to become lifelong antagonists? Their divergent ambitions can be seen in the clothing produced in their respective fashion studios, their different social networks, and in the divergent ways in which they related to modernity, femininity, and the emerging notion of the modern woman.

Trademarks of The Saint Birgitta School and The Birgitta School, 1914–1930s

As Director of The Saint Birgitta School, Emy Fick's source of inspiration came from the fourteenth century Swedish Saint Birgitta, which Fick established as the school's trademark. The primary iconographic image of this trademark is the veil worn traditionally by married women,¹³ which Fick retained as the primary image (Figure 2). Along with the trademark from the first Birgitta School, Emy Fick's Saint Birgitta School also had a new trademark in the form of a seal, coloured red with gold lettering, embossed with an image of Saint Birgitta, and a wavy, gold border with the inscription, "S:ta Birgitta - School - Stockholm" (Figure 3). The central motif is a portrait of a veiled woman, indicating married status, her head surrounded by a halo, which is a similar portrait image that appeared in the first brand (Figure 2). Fick was not alone in using the image of Saint Birgitta. Since the turn of the century in Sweden, Saint Birgitta became a focal point of public debates for many purposes, from nationalism and essentialism—to women's emancipation. The image of Saint Birgitta was also used in the marketing of various products for women, including cosmetics and perfumes.

¹² Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 1992, p. 118.

¹³ Birgitta married young and had eight children; she was a widow when she started her religious journey.



Figure 2:
Print of the Original Birgitta School Trademark, Ingrid Günther, Artist, 1910, Emy Fick Personal Archive 4, Folder N, Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, Sweden.



Figure 3:
The Saint Birgitta School Trademark and Seal Stamp, 1914, Emy Fick Personal Archive 4, Folder N, Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, Sweden.

While Fick utilised the image of Saint Birgitta in her business from 1914, Glantzberg chose to reject all references to Saint Birgitta in choosing the trademark for her Birgitta School. (Figure 4). Instead she selected a secular trademark consisting of a “B and S” logo, the “S” standing for “school” rather than “saint.” This logo is similar to the monograms that Swedish women traditionally embroidered on their linens upon becoming engaged to be married. Fick’s trademark shaped like a stamped seal (Figure 3) and Glantzberg’s monogram style logo (Figure 4), both evoked their claims to be the legitimate director of the authentic Birgitta School, and can thus be interpreted as “weapons” in their protracted conflict.

The “Making” of Professionals and Housewives

Dressmaking education formed the core of both businesses but their curricula diverged, aiming to form the pupils into either professionals or housewives, which were then the two prominent ideals and major life choices for women. In addition to these alternative vocational roles, the schools also catered to two different classes; while middle-class women were often educated to take up a profession, upper-class women undertook shorter courses in preparation to become housewives. In Glantzberg’s school, pupils tended to pursue courses in preparation for future careers, while Fick’s Saint Birgitta School “made” housewives.

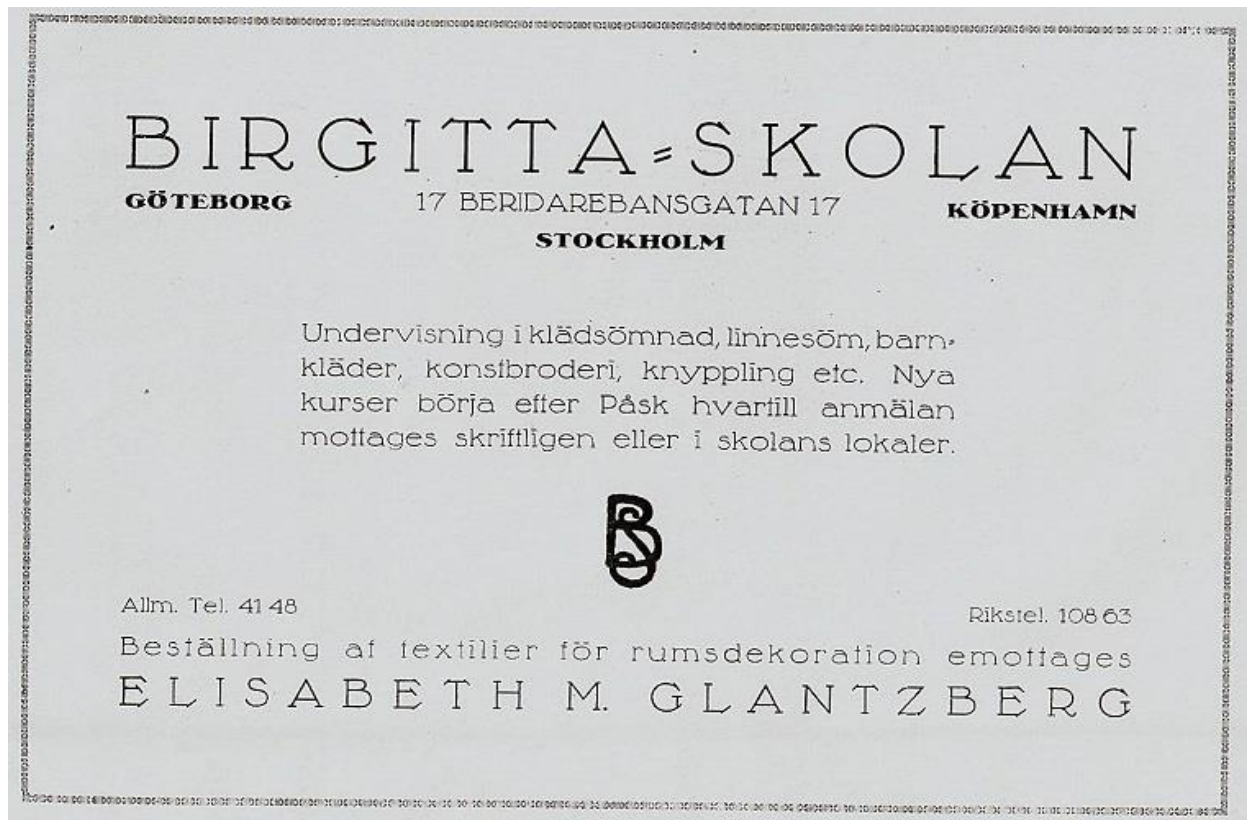


Figure 4:
 Advertisement for The Birgitta School with the “B and S” logo,
 Published in the Fashion Magazine, *Saisonen*, Issue 24, 1920.

The Birgitta Schools as Rive Droite and Rive Gauche

In the years leading up to the 1920s coinciding with the First World War (1914–1918), Elisabeth Glantzberg engaged the artists Siri Derkert and Valle Rosenberg to create fashion collections for her school. At the time, Derkert lived in Stockholm while Rosenberg stayed in Paris and Italy, and these different locations in a neutral and a combatant country, respectively, can be discerned in the clothes they designed. Derkert designed unique evening dresses for the privileged few in peacetime Sweden (Figure 5 and Figure 6).



Figure 5:

*A Fashion Design by Siri Derkert for The Birgitta School, "Signs of Spring in the Big Fashion Houses," [Vårtecken i de stora modehusen], Published in the Women's Magazine, *Idun*, Issue 14, 1920, © Siri Derkert, 2016.*



Figure 6:

*A Fashion Design by Siri Derkert for The Birgitta School, "Signs of Spring in the Big Fashion Houses," [Vårtecken i de stora modehusen], Published in the Women's Magazine, *Idun*, Issue 14, 1920, © Siri Derkert, 2016.*

Rosenberg, however, created plain dresses and coats for everyday life and work that evoked his wartime experiences abroad (Figure 7 and Figure 8). Glantzberg does not seem to have been averse to the idea of ready-to-wear clothes; she wanted her business to deal in exclusive haute couture as well as clothes for every day and for sports. She was particular about always wanting to work with "artistic clothes," and consequently selected designers who worked in modernist idioms.



Figure 7:
A Fashion Drawing
by Valle Rosenberg, 1917,
Private Collection, Photography by
Borås Textilmuseum, Borås, Sweden.



Figure 8:
A Fashion Drawing
by Valle Rosenberg, 1917,
Private Collection, Photography by
Borås Textilmuseum, Borås, Sweden.

The fashion drawings of the artists Derkert and Rosenberg were based upon contemporary modern aesthetics, which included influences from their own respective painting styles. Rosenberg wanted The Birgitta School to open “their own atelier”¹⁴ which was in keeping with Glantzberg’s ambition to create unique designs rather than to buy patterns and fabrics from Paris fashion houses like many other

¹⁴ 4 July 1917 letter from Valle Rosenberg to Siri Derkert, The National Library, Stockholm, Sweden, Department of Manuscripts, Maps and Images: Siri Derkert Collection, Personal Archive, HS signum: Folder L.170: 1.

contemporary fashion design studios did at the time. Derkert and Rosenberg thus contributed to making it possible for Glantzberg to combine aesthetic modernism with the modernisation of her business.¹⁵

By contrast, the qualities Fick appears to have valued highest in her Saint Birgitta School were diligence, patience, and an insistence on spending ample time in making the clothes, which were often very detailed (Figure 9 and Figure 10). She thus followed the principle of sewing by hand to turn out high-quality work, believing that there was a direct correlation between superior work and expending the amount of time that she believed to be necessary for its creation. This appears to have been at least in part a reaction against modern mass-produced methods and possibly the hurried pace of modern life.



Figure 9:
Dress, circa 1925, Emy Fick Collection,
Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, Sweden,
A.18367:5.

¹⁵ “Fashion is also modern because it embodies within itself the two poles of modernity: aesthetic modernism and industrial modernisation,” Ilja Parkins, *Poiret, Dior, and Schiaparelli: Fashion, Femininity and Modernity*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2012, p. 2.



Figure 10:
Detail, *Dress*, circa 1925, Emy Fick Collection,
Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, Sweden, A.18367:5.

This approach to making exclusive clothing (Figure 11 and Figure 12) can be regarded as an example of contemporary sociologist Thorstein Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption.¹⁶ This approach is also an example of what Christer Ahlberger argues to be a traditional pattern of consumption, i.e., the symbolic prestige of fine craftwork.¹⁷ Accordingly, in Bourdieu's terms, the garments produced at The Saint Birgitta School embodied the wearer's symbolic capital.

¹⁶ Thorstein Veblen, "Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture," in Malcolm Barnard, ed., *Fashion Theory: A Reader*, Routledge, England, 2007, pp. 339–346.

¹⁷ Ahlberger, op cit. Ahlberger discusses the consumption history from three perspectives: economically, ethnologically and anthropologically. Based on these perspectives and with the concepts of modern and traditional consumption, he discusses the processes that led from a traditional consumption pattern to a modern one.



Figure 11:
*Dress, circa 1925, Emy Fick
Collection, Östergötlands Museum,
Linköping, Sweden, A.18367:37.*



Figure 12:
*Dress, circa 1922, Emy Fick Collection,
Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, Sweden,
A.18367:14.*

From the point of view of Howard Becker, Elisabeth Glantzberg appears to have been a more independent agent in the world of dressmaking and was also more innovative with fashion, when compared with Fick's more traditional approach.¹⁸ By contrast, the time and diligence spent on the clothes created at The Saint Birgitta School reflected Fick's version of femininity, which advocated that women should spend their time at home, doing handiwork. She expressed her aversion to "the modern woman" and those who were interested in "jazz dances, car maintenance, sports and flirting," stating that, "Our girls have unfortunately become inspired by so-called "independence" and prefer to seek places in the wider world instead of marrying young—and thus throw themselves into office work, banking, school studies, etc."¹⁹ On another occasion, Fick asked, "And where are the formerly dignified housewives?...But perhaps one can hope for a recovery when the men start to claim more from their wives than dancing to jazz, taking care of a car, pursuing sports and flirting."²⁰

Yet, the fashionable clothes created by The Saint Birgitta School during the 1920s also included short, loose-fitting knee-length skirts, which made it possible for the women wearing them to live more active, freer lives than they could have pursued just ten years earlier. Fashion and modern aesthetics contributed to the social transformations of the first decades of the twentieth century, and these contemporary developments combined with women's growing demands for emancipation, which they expressed in their dress.

¹⁸ Howard Saul Becker, *Art Worlds*, Revised and Expanded Edition, The University of California Press, Berkeley, United States, 2008, p. 375.

¹⁹ Quote translated from Swedish: "våra flickor ha tyvärr blivit så bitna av den s.k. självständigheten att de hellre vilja söka sig platser än gifta sig unga och kasta sig därför in i kontorsarbete, bankgöromål, studier etc," in "Kvinnorna böra utbildas för sitt naturliga verksamhetsfält. Tävlan inom yrkena med männen är av ondo. Beundransvärda uttalanden för Kvällstidningen av fru Emmy Fick, S:ta Birgittaskolans chef," [Our girls should be trained for their natural field of activity. Their competing with men in the professions is evil. "Outlandish Statements in the Evening Newspaper by Mrs Emy Fick, Director of Saint Birgitta School"], 9 January 1925, Author Unknown, *Kvällstidningen* [*The Evening Newspaper*], Stockholm, Sweden, (Circulation 1925–1926).

²⁰ "Och var finnas forna tiders dugliga husmödrar...Kanske kan man hoppas på en bättring härutinnan, där männen fordra mer av sina hustrur än att dessa dansa jazz, sköta en bil, sporta och flirta," in "Flinka flickor och härliga handarbeten. Sancta Birgitta skolan—den kvinnliga handslöjdens högskola" ["Nice Girls and Lovely Handcrafts. The Saint Birgitta School—the Female Handcraft Institute"], 4 April 1925, Author Unknown, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* [*All Kinds of Daily News*], Stockholm, Sweden, (Circulation 1859–1944).

Bourdieu's study of the structure of the Paris fashion industry points out that its geographical positions on the Right Bank (Rive Droite) and Left Bank (Rive Gauche) formed its ideological poles.²¹ Emy Fick's Saint Birgitta School can be viewed as a Swedish Rive Droite by its being a traditionalist fashion studio, for which conservative prestige and exclusivity were important. By contrast, Elisabeth Glantzberg's Birgitta School is the equivalent of the Rive Gauche, since she employed avant-garde artists who pursued an approach that was characterised by a creative, modern boldness. These differences also appear in the different views that Fick and Glantzberg espoused on artistry and craftsmanship: Fick's school emphasised craft skills, which is equivalent to the term, *techne*, in ancient Greek, while Glantzberg aimed for more modern aesthetics, a modern idiom which is closer to the classical term, *aesthesis*, signifying sensual perception.²²

The Directors' Social Networks

Other women who worked in the schools, and the clothes they wore, are also significant for constituting the social networks of Fick and Glantzberg in their respective schools. Fick established extensive connections with women from royalty and aristocratic families, both as pupils and customers, and a strong affection for this level of society runs like a thread throughout her life. In the vocabulary of the day, young, aristocratic and upper-class women were called "girls from the better families" or "educated girls;" they were expected to marry and The Saint Birgitta School strongly encouraged them to act according to this norm.²³ Fick apparently realised that her views were questioned and challenged by the era's ongoing demands for democracy, the women's liberation movement, and, not least, by the women's suffrage movement. Yet undoubtedly, many of the old ways of the aristocracy and upper class, which she supported, were fading away during the 1910s and 1920s. She fought a losing battle by struggling against the tide.

²¹ See Pierre Bourdieu and Yvette Delsaut, "The Couturier and His Label: A Contribution to a Theory of Magic," [Originally Published in 1975] in Pierre Bourdieu, *Kultursociologiska texter, [Cultural Sociology Texts]*, Fourth Edition, Brutis Östlings Bokförlag Symposium, Stehag, Stockholm, Sweden, 1993.

²² For a discussion on these concepts, see "Episteme and Techne," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/episteme-techne>, Accessed 9 September 2018; and Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Konstarternas moderna system. En studie i estetikens historia," Stockholm, Sweden, 1996, translation into Swedish from "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study on Techne's History," published in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, Issue 12, 1951, pp. 496–527 and Issue 13, 1952, pp. 17–46.

²³ Yvonne Hirdman, *Det tänkande hjärtat. Boken om Alva Myrdal [The Thinking Heart: A Book about Alva Myrdal]*, Ordfront, Stockholm, Sweden, 2006, p. 9.

Glantzberg's social network instead consisted of a surprising number of women from the legal profession, many of whom were engaged in the women's suffrage movement. In a 1921 photograph (Figure 13), Eva Andén, the first female lawyer in Sweden, and colleagues from her law office, go to vote in the country's first parliamentary election that allowed women to vote. Andén (centre) is wearing a dark suit, which was the preferred clothing for professional women and which was most likely made at The Birgitta School.²⁴



Figure 13:
*The First Female Lawyer in Sweden, Eva Andén (Centre, Wearing a Dark Suit),
and her Colleagues, Walking towards the First Parliamentary Election
that Allowed Women to Vote, September 1921,
The University of Gothenburg Library, Gothenburg, Sweden.*

²⁴ Eva Andén was a Glantzberg Birgitta School customer from 1921, Birgitta School Bankruptcy Papers, National Archives, Stockholm, Sweden.

Thus, the first decades of the twentieth century were a period when a considerable number of women, particularly from the upper classes, chose their own alternative to the traditional women's role of marriage, raising a family, and looking after the household. A remarkable number of the women linked to Glantzberg and her Birgitta School did exactly that. They remained unmarried, pursued an education, and lived quite independent lives. Many worked to achieve a more democratic society.²⁵ By earning their own living, they could afford to buy clothes from fashionable studios and most likely dealt primarily with those of good repute which the upper classes patronised. And, their educations tended to give them an upper-class habitus, regardless of their political perspectives. These differing social connections and networks of the two Birgitta Schools thus partly overlapped, which demonstrates that the dressmaking and fashion studio world was an arena for negotiating femininity by providing spaces for the emergence of these two differing alternatives. Different femininities accordingly were fostered at the schools in parallel processes of feminisation and constitute significant examples of how femininity was "made" and negotiated in Swedish society.

Orthodoxy vis-à-vis Heterodoxy

A further understanding of the differences between the Birgitta Schools can be obtained with the help of Bourdieu's concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.²⁶ The basic concept is the notion of doxa: what is commonly agreed upon, consciously and unconsciously, as thoughts and habits that seem so natural that they are not even realised by those who belong to that particular subculture. Consequently, a doxa is difficult, if not impossible, for many people to actually comprehend and become aware of their being influenced by it, when there are no conflicts in their social group. The orthodox defend doxa, the heterodox question these beliefs. Doxa can thus be seen as the traditional and conservative values on femininity in the two Birgitta Schools.

²⁵ Many Glantzberg customers were well-educated, famous suffragettes, including lawyers and doctors. Among them were Eva Andén (1886–1970), Matilda Staël von Holstein (1876–1953) Sweden's second female lawyer, Ruth Stiernstedt (1879–1954), its fifth lawyer and a politician, and Andrea Andreen (1888–1972), a doctor and politician.

²⁶ Britt-Marie Thurén, "En läsning av Bourdieus viktigaste tankar och begrepp," ["A Reading of Bourdieu's Most Important Thoughts and Concepts"] p. 9, <http://docplayer.se/29968551-En-lasning-av-bourdieu-s-viktigaste-tankar-och-begrepp-britt-marie-thuren.html>, Accessed 1 May 2018.

Emy Fick's conservative, (and for many people in that era) normal values with complementary and essentialist views, had long predominated in Swedish society with the belief that women were by nature subordinate to men and should remain so, and thus Fick and The Saint Birgitta School upheld an orthodoxy. However, she appeared to have been aware that her views were challenged and questioned amidst the contemporary struggles for democracy, but she defended the traditional, conventional way of life.

Glantzberg's work, on the other hand, shows several examples of how The Birgitta School fostered open-minded, radical, independent, and educated women, who tended to act against the conventional norms and values of Swedish society.²⁷ As such, Glantzberg and The Birgitta School were heterodox by challenging and questioning contemporary views about what women were, what they did, and of what they were capable. Nonetheless, both Birgitta Schools expressed modernity—although in different ways, and together illustrate the “whirlpool” of modernity—in which different experiences and attitudes to modern life existed side by side. Through their different approaches, Emy Fick and Elisabeth Glantzberg thus placed themselves and their respective Birgitta Schools in different positions within modernity.

In the words of Marshall Berman, the two schools were an example of a “unity of disunity.”²⁸ Emy Fick's Saint Birgitta School fostered the “normative” woman as diligent, modest, and subordinate. At the same time, Elisabeth Glantzberg's Birgitta School clientele were emancipated and emancipating suffragettes who were working for social justice. Consequently, the work of the two Birgitta Schools together manifest the ongoing negotiation of femininities at the time, as well as the prevalent ambivalence between tradition and renewal.

²⁷ Hirdman, op cit., p. 9.

²⁸ Marshall Berman, *Allt som är fast förflyktigas. Modernism och modernitet [All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity]*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, Sweden, 1995, p. 13.

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Paintings Undressed: A Sartorial Investigation into the Art of Antoine Watteau, 1700–1720

Axel Moulinier

Abstract

Through drawings, paintings, and engravings, Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) provides his own perspective on clothes in Paris, during 1700–1720. His representations question the notion of visual culture. By confronting Watteau's approach to his contemporaries, this research considers recreating an illustration of fashion history during this period, which has not been extensively studied. This study brings together a corpus of archives (including the Archives Nationales in Paris) which expose insight into second-hand shops, theatre costumes, merchants, and the fashion sphere—and their link with Watteau.

Introduction

Our intuitions of affinity between the forms of pictures and forms of thought can be quite pressing....If one is not simply going to try to suppress such intuitions, then the question is: can one move from a vague sense of affinity towards something critically useful and historically sustainable?¹

¹ Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 1985, p. 75.

Carlo Ginzburg's article, "Le peintre et le bouffon: le portrait de Gonella de Jean Fouquet"² concludes by stating that connoisseurship and art history should work hand in hand, thus endorsing Aby Warburg's stress on iconology and disagreeing with Roberto Longhi's emphasis on connoisseurship. Fashion historians have recently drawn similar conclusions, that technical and historical approaches to dress should be combined, yet very few studies take this combined approach in fashion history. Early fashion studies by art historians focused on what they called "costume." This weighty legacy has been difficult to escape, but now "sartorial uses" is a more appropriate approach.³ In France, Jules Quicherat (1814–1882), Auguste Racinet (1825–1893), and Paul Lacroix (1806–1884) all addressed clothing, and during the twentieth century, fashion as a scholarly historical subject emerged. Maurice Leloir's (1853–1940) *Dictionnaire du costume et de ses accessoires*⁴ was an early attempt to systematise the analysis of clothing, and François Boucher (1885–1966) later on published his compilation, *Histoire du costume en occident*.⁵

More recently, several works have changed the scope of fashion history. While interpretive essays like Roland Barthes' (1915–1980) *Système de la mode*⁶ have appeared, British scholars have also become prominent in the field. Historical costume designer Janet Arnold (1932–1998), whose background was more technical than scholarly, produced the first study that blended analysis with material culture. Her *Patterns of Fashion*⁷ included archival references, a rich graphic iconography, and clothing patterns from artefacts worldwide, which she considered to be equally valid evidence. More recently, Aileen Ribeiro, Professor Emerita at The Courtauld

² Carlo Ginzburg, "Le peintre et le bouffon: le Portrait de Gonella de Jean Fouquet," ["The Painter and the Fool: The Portrait of Gonella by Jean Fouquet"], *Revue de l'Art*, Issue 111, 1996, pp. 25–39.

³ Denis Bruna, Curator of Pre-1800 Fashion and Textiles, Le Musée de la Mode et du Textile of the Le Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, France.

⁴ Maurice Leloir, *Dictionnaire du costume et de ses accessoires, des armes et des étoffes, des origines à nos jours*, [*Dictionary of the Costume and Its Accessories, Weapons and Fabrics, from the Origins to the Present Day*], Gründ, Paris, France, 1951.

⁵ François Boucher, *Histoire du costume en Occident: des origines à nos jours*, [*A History of Costume in the West, etc.*], Fourth Edition, Originally Published in 1966, Republished by Flammarion, Paris, France, 2008.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Système de la mode*, [*The Fashion System*], Seuil, Paris, France, 1967.

⁷ Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion, Volume 1: Englishwomen's Dresses and Their Construction, circa 1660–1860*, Wace, London, England, 1964; *Patterns of Fashion, Volume 3: The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Women, 1560–1620*, Macmillan, London, England, 1985; *Patterns of Fashion, Volume 4: The Cut and Construction of Linen Shirts, Smocks, Neckwear, Headwear, and Accessories for Men and Women, circa 1540–1660*, Macmillan, London, England, 2008.

Institute of Art, London, initiated a new analytical approach with *Ingres in Fashion*,⁸ which examines the treatment of clothing in Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres' (1780–1867) prolific career from his letters, drawings, paintings, and the fashion press.

These studies have inspired a new approach to the clothing in the art of Antoine Watteau (1684–1721). Almost all previous publications have emphasised Watteau as a glorious, preeminent French painter, but ignored his use of clothing. This article presents the first in-depth attempt to apply fashion history methodologies to his art. The *Fêtes galantes*, with its fantasy costumes, made Watteau famous and influenced a wide range of European arts. The *Fêtes galantes* production continued for two generations, embodied by Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695–1736), Nicolas Lancret (1690–1743), François Boucher (1703–1770), and Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806). Yvonne Deslandres' (1923–1986) article, "Watteau peintre du costume de son temps"⁹ was the first analysis of Watteau's use of clothing in his art. This present article, though, asks: can dress provide new insights into art history?

From his death until the present, Watteau's life and career have fascinated connoisseurs, and art historians have often advanced differing interpretations of his œuvre. A major work is *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle*,¹⁰ which notes that according to the 1699 Census of Valenciennes (where Watteau was born), his family lived at 48th Place Saint-Jean. Neighbours included secondhand clothes dealers and his two paternal uncles were textile weavers.¹¹ Thus, from childhood Watteau was exposed to the milieu of clothing and textiles, which appears to have been significant for his work. His earliest drawings show an interest in clothing, textiles, and body posture, an absorption which is linked to the theatre. Watteau was apprenticed, circa 1708–1710, to artist and stage designer Claude Gillot (1673–1722) and was already developing a personal maniera for clothing and style. His drawing, *A Woman Kneeling, Wearing a Fontanges Headdress* (Figure 1) shows his early interest in the structure and depiction of clothing. The mass of fabric at the base of her back and the minimal use of sharp, brisk lines which depict the profile are representative of this and reveal the depth of his interest.

⁸ Aileen Ribeiro, *Ingres in Fashion: Representations of Dress and Appearance in Ingres's Images of Women*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 1999.

⁹ Yvonne Deslandres, "Watteau peintre du costume de son temps," ["Watteau, Painter of Costume of His Time"] in François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): le peintre, son temps et sa légende, [Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): The Painter, His Lifetime, and His Legend]*, Champion-Slatkine, Paris, France, 1987, p. 250.

¹⁰ Émile Dacier, Albert Vuaflart, and Jacques Hérold, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle, [Jean de Jullienne and Watteau's Engravers in the Eighteenth Century]*, Rousseau, Paris, France, 1922.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 4–5.



Figure 1:
*A Woman
Kneeling,
Wearing a
Fontanges
Headdress,*
Antoine Watteau,
circa 1708,
Red Chalk on
Paper,
3500 x 2350mm,
Sotheby's,
London, England,
4 July 2012,
Lot 00063.

Watteau's contemporaries noted this approach. Antoine de la Roque (1672-1744), publisher and editor of the newspaper *Le Mercure de France* from June 1721, was both a friend and Watteau collector, and published a short homage to Watteau after his death in 1721:

The genius of this brilliant artist pushed him to compose small elegant subjects, [including] countryside weddings, balls, masquerades, feasts, seascapes, etc. The variety of draperies, headdresses and clothing are the most delightful elements of his

paintings. One can see a pleasant mixture of seriousness and grotesqueness in his dalliances with French fashion, ancient and modern, especially in the precious gracefulness of the faces, but mainly in the women and children, which can not be seen anywhere else ... the fabrics of his draperies are more simple than rich, but are soft, with beautiful pleats and vivid, truthful colors.¹²

This implies several important points on Watteau's work and de la Roque stresses its variety and highlights his interest in women's and children's clothing. His comments were later echoed by the Comte de Caylus' (1692-1765) opinion about Watteau's use of clothing. As an amateur in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Caylus' 1748 lecture "Vie d'Antoine Watteau" on Watteau's life declared:

He used both gallant and comical clothes to dress those who posed for him regardless of their gender. He painted them in natural postures, and preferred the simplest to the more complex.¹³

While Caylus provides less information on Watteau's link to clothes than does de la Roque, their views are similar. For Watteau's depictions of gender, Caylus explains that he dressed both men and women in the other gender's clothing. This cross-gender dressing appears at the end of the conservative reign of Louis XIV, when the court took advantage of the king's decline to subvert Versailles' strict *étiquette*; artists produced images that reflected this. De la Roque and Caylus reflect contemporary views of Watteau's use of clothing; the former highlights his interest in the draperies of ancient and contemporary French fashions and hairstyles, while Caylus addresses

¹² Antoine de La Roque, "Les Beaux-Arts," *Mercur de France*, August 1721, pp. 81-83, "Le génie de cet habile artiste le portait à composer de petits sujets galants, noces champêtres, bals, mascarades, fêtes, marines, etc. La variété des draperies, des ornements de têtes et des habillements font surtout grand plaisir dans ses compositions. On y voit un agréable mélange du sérieux, du grotesque, et des caprices de la mode française, ancienne et moderne, surtout le précieux talent de la grâce dans les airs de têtes, principalement dans les femmes et les enfants, qui se fait sentir partout. [...] les étoffes de ses draperies sont plus simples que riches, mais elles sont moelleuses, avec de beaux plis et des couleurs vives et vraies." Author's translation.

¹³ Charles Henry, *La Vie de Antoine Watteau par le Comte de Caylus, publiée pour la première fois d'après l'autographe*, [Life of Antoine Watteau by the Comte de Caylus, Published for the First Time from the Manuscript], E. Dentu, Paris, France, 1887, pp. 39-40.

"Il avait des habits / galants quelques-uns de comiques, dont il revêtait les personnes de l'un et de l'autre sexe, selon qu'il en trouvait qui voulait bien se tenir, et qu'il prenait dans les attitudes que la nature lui présentait, en préférant volontiers les plus simples aux autres." Author's translation.

his cross-gendered clothing, which can be further analysed through Watteau's link to theatrical tailoring.

Guillaume Glorieux¹⁴ noted the likelihood of Watteau's familiarity with theatrical costumes, since many drawings depict entertainment costumes—including Commedia dell'arte plays—and also appear on different canvases. For example, Watteau often depicted a green doublet with tails, such as appears in the Morgan Library and Museum drawing (Figure 2) depicting a man's silhouetted back. To the left of his body a fold appears in the velvet, and black chalk accents and white highlights depict the materiality of the clothing. The sketchiness of the leg and hand in this canvas further highlights Watteau's emphasis on clothing over the body, and he used such garments more than once.



Figure 2:

Study of a Young Man Seen from the Back and Another Study of His Right Arm, Antoine Watteau, circa 1717, Three Chalks on Beige Paper, 2080 x 2270mm, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York, United States, 2000.56.

¹⁴ Guillaume Glorieux, "Michel-Joseph Ducreux (1665-1715), marchand de masques de théâtre et d'habits de carnaval au temps de Watteau," ["Michel-Joseph Ducreux (1665-1715), Merchant of Theatre and Carnival Masks and Costumes in Watteau's Time"], *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français de l'année 2006*, 2007, pp. 119-129.

The same garments can be seen in several paintings, including *Les Charmes de la Vie, Voulez-vous Triompher des Belles?*¹⁵ and in such drawings as the *Studies of a Woman Playing the Guitar* in the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Figure 3), where she wears this same doublet. But is this the exact same garment worn by the previously mentioned man and woman? If so, then Caylus' claim that Watteau used clothing as cross-gender depictions is accurate, but this also poses questions: was this doublet borrowed from a costume tailor, or did he have his models pose in a tailor's workshop? Or perhaps, as Caylus suggested, Watteau had his own costume collection? Since Watteau never settled in a house of his own, and always lived at friends' places, it appears unlikely that Watteau owned a theatre costume collection due to his repeated moving. Therefore, Glorieux's argument that Watteau might have known Michel-Joseph Ducreux, a theatrical costume and mask merchant on the Pont Notre-Dame, appears convincing. The tailor Edouard-Louis Candanoine also rented a room in the Pont Notre-Dame house where Ducreux worked and associated with him,¹⁵ so it appears that Watteau and Candanoine might have met each other at some point, which the use of the same theatre costumes in different drawings supports.



Figure 3:
*Studies of a
Woman Playing
the Guitar or
Holding a Score*,
Antoine
Watteau, circa
1717-1718,
Red, Black, and
Graphite on
Cream Paper,
2250 x 2940mm,
Département
des Arts
Graphiques,
Musée du
Louvre,
Paris, France,
RF 774, Recto.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 121.

Watteau's *Fêtes galantes* illustrate four of his sartorial considerations, as follows.

1. Watteau subverts the social taxonomy of class, which reflects the early eighteenth century theories of Scottish economist John Law de Lauriston (1671–1729) who promoted an economic system that allowed the French bourgeoisie to become even richer than the nobility, thus blurring the traditional elite social distinctions. *Fêtes galantes* can be interpreted as the epitome of this, and similar themes also appeared in the plays¹⁶ of Pierre de Marivaux (1688–1763) where people wear clothes of other social classes, thus subverting the social hierarchy.
2. Atemporality and Historicism: Watteau's compositions never depict specific moments of the day (except for a very few nocturnal works) or the year (other than his seasons series). Clothes also are significant because their varied chronological origins create the special atmosphere. A sixteenth century ruff, a seventeenth century collar, and a medieval beret are depicted together on a single canvas to create a mysterious and fantastic ambiance.
3. Material Culture: Watteau could be inspired by literally anything around him, including engravings, books, clothes, animals, and people, as his enormous catalogue raisonné of drawings shows.
4. Inventiveness: It has been argued that Watteau was not inventing anything new but simply reworking old themes, like endlessly reshuffling a deck of cards.¹⁷ This seems incorrect. He drew inspiration from other artists but also invented new compositions and garments, and reinvigorated painting as a genre with his *Fête galante*.

These sartorial themes appear in various works, such as Watteau's *La Conversation* (Figure 4) which depicts a woman standing, wearing an outfit that seems unique in his work; the bodice has ruffles that hang from the waistline, skirt, and sleeves. While the canvas is damaged, a Jean Michel Liotard (1702–1796) engraving of it provides additional information, showing her wearing a shawl and gloves, and the skirt—probably worn over several petticoats and a hip pad—is brocaded silk satin adorned with patterns that echo contemporary lace designs, and with a white fichu over her chest. Such fichu were worn in that period yet also in an earlier era, as the Princess

¹⁶ See Amy Wyngaard, "Switching Codes: Class, Clothing, and Cultural Change in the Works of Marivaux and Watteau," *Eighteenth-Century Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Volume 33, Issue 4, Summer 2000, pp. 523–541.

¹⁷ Hélène Adhémar, *Watteau sa vie, son œuvre, [Watteau: His Life and Work]*, Tisné, Paris, France, 1950, p. 31.

Palatine (1652–1722) reveals in a 12 December 1694 letter to her aunt, the Duchess of Hanover (1630–1714):

I am sending you a fichu that is now fashionable which we wear around the neck. It was embroidered in Tripoli, which makes it rare...it cannot be worn with the *grand habit*, but can be with a mantua and negligee, laced up in front with both ends put underneath the lacing on the right and left.¹⁸



Figure 4:
Detail,
La Conversation,
Antoine Watteau,
circa 1712–1715,
Oil on Canvas,
5020 x 6100mm,
Toledo Museum of
Art, Toledo,
United States,
1971.152.

¹⁸ Élisabeth-Charlotte de Bavière, duchesse d'Orléans, *Correspondance de Madame duchesse d'Orléans, [Correspondence of Madame the Duchess of Orléans]*, É. Bouillon, Paris, France, 1890, p. 106, "Il a été brodé à Tripoli, c'est donc quelque chose de rare...on ne le porte pas en grand habit, mais en manteau et robe de chambre et quand on est lacée par devant on passe les deux bouts du fichu sous le lacet, à droite et à gauche." Author's translation.

However, this look was not entirely Watteau's invention since he took most features from the engraving of Bernard Picart (1673–1733), *Dame de Qualité en habit d'Este*, from the 1706 series, *Six modes françaises* (Figure 5). The only variation Watteau incorporated was to update the ornaments and fabric, and replace the Fontanges headdress with a more fashionable one. This coiffure is surrounded by myth, but is claimed to have originated from Mademoiselle Marie Angélique de Scorraillé de Roussille (1661–1681), the Duchess de Fontanges, the then-favourite of Louis XIV. While hunting in 1681, her hair became disheveled. To keep it out of the way, she tied it with a ribbon on top of her head. According to Maurice Leloir, this originated the Fontanges coiffure.¹⁹ Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696) in a 15 May 1691 letter wrote, "The Fontanges has been mostly vanquished,"²⁰ but nevertheless, Picart engravings of 1703 depict lofty Fontange coiffures and Saint-Simon's *Mémoires* note its disappearance once again in 1713 due to the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury's visit to Versailles, as illustrated in the following passage.

[The Duchess] considered these women's headdresses to be ridiculous, and so were they. They were made of a structure of arched wires, ribbons, and many different ornaments, and could be as tall as two feet high, making the head appear to be at the center of their bodies The style was already more than ten years old ... What a monarch could not have achieved, the taste and exemplum of a crazy old foreign woman had accomplished with the most surprising rapidity.²¹

But the Fontanges still endured, yet took different forms, including caps with a superstructure. Saint-Simon tells another anecdote from 1719 about a Fontanges cap during an evening of gambling at the Princesse de Conti's home:

Madame de Charlus was next to the Archbishop of Reims, Le Tellier. She took an egg which she had opened, and leaning over to get some salt, did not notice that her headdress came directly over a burning candle. The Archbishop saw her catch fire and threw the headdress on the floor.²²

¹⁹ Leloir, op cit., p. 156.

²⁰ Marquise Marie de Rabutin Chantal de Sévigné, *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné: de sa famille et de ses amis*, [Letters from Madame de Sévigné: From her Family and Friends], Hachette, Paris, France, 1862, p. 1691.

²¹ Louis de Rouvroy duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la Régence, 1691–1723*, [Authentic Memoirs of the Duke of Saint-Simon on the Century of Louis XIV and the Regency, 1691–1723], Volume 20, Hachette, Paris, France, 1857, pp. 316–317.

²² Ibid., pp. 132–133.



Figures 5:
*Dame de qualité en
 habit d'été* in *Six
 modes françaises (...)*,
 Bernard Picart, 1706,
 Gaspard Duchange,
 Paris, France,
 111 x 710mm,
 Bibliothèque
 nationale de France,
 Paris, France,
 EST-368(376).

The Fontanges also had many names, including the *Bourgognes*, *jardinières*, *commodes*, and *palissades*, making it difficult to identify due to vague dress terminology and the terms used by Saint-Simon, especially making it problematic to use for dating paintings. Thus, the dress in *La Conversation* would date between 1706 (the date of Picart's engraving) and December 1713 at the earliest, if Saint-Simon's "elevated headdresses" statement is accurate. But his 1719 date is erroneous because Watteau was then poised to leave for London and his style in that era also

excludes 1719, which caused Pierre Rosenberg to date it between 1712 and 1715.²³ A combined fashion and art history analysis makes this date tempting, yet in Watteau studies one must avoid this type of analysis, so the traditional art history conclusion of 1712–1715 seems prudent.

Another example concerns children's clothing. Children are noteworthy in the art of this era. Watteau's *Fêtes galantes* include many children, and in 1699 Louis XIV commissioned architect Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708) to paint the Ménagerie interior at Versailles with an array of children, "Il faut de l'enfance répandue partout."²⁴ Several Watteau compositions include children, and they are depicted as being equivalent in importance to adults, as in *La Danse* (Figure 6). Pierre Rosenberg asserts that this canvas was painted between September 1719 and August 1720 during Watteau's visit to London, and *La Danse* is thought to have been inspired by a Le Nain Brothers drawing which was then in London.²⁵



Figure 6:
*Iris c'est de
bonne heure*, also
known as, *La
Danse*
[*The Dance*],
Antoine Watteau,
circa 1718–1721,
Oil on Canvas,
9700 x 1160mm,
Staatliche
Museen,
Berlin, Germany,
Mü.3644.

²³ Ettore Camesasca and Pierre Rosenberg, *Tout l'œuvre peint de Watteau*, [All the Painted Works by Watteau], Flammarion, Paris, France, 1982, Catalogue #105.

²⁴ Alexandre Maral, "Sculpture," in Lucien Bély, *Dictionnaire Louis XIV*, [Louis XIV Dictionary], Robert Laffont, Paris, France, 2015.

²⁵ Pierre Rosenberg and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), Exhibition Catalogue*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, United States, 17 June 1984–23 September 1984; Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, France, 23 October 1984–28 January 1985; Charlottenburg Palace, West Berlin, West Germany, 22 February 1985–26 May 1985; Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, France, 1984, pp. 444–447.

In *La Danse*, the girl wears a dress in two parts with a long coat that appears to have a train worn over hoop petticoats, and an apron trimmed with yellow lace which from the folds seems to indicate that it is taffeta. The sleeves have engageantes lace, and she also wears white gloves. The dress fabric was analysed by Peter Thornton (1925–2007), then-curator at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, who concluded that 1718 was its earliest date. He described the fabric:

By a coincidence Watteau himself provides us with a good example of the international character of silk-design in the eighteenth century. Plate 52B shows a detail from a well-known painting by the master, and Plate 52A shows an English silk-design from the year 1718. It will be seen that the little girl in the painting wears a silk adorned with a pattern very like that of the design — scallop-edged stripes with small sprays of semi-naturalistic flowers. Stripes, incidentally were apparently quite common during the second decade or so of the eighteenth century.²⁶

The 1984 Exhibition Catalogue is mistaken in stating that the canvas depicts printed silk; printed cotton had existed since 1640–1650²⁷ but printed silk only appears later in the eighteenth century. But as Thornton noted, this painting's fabric is silk and Deslandres agrees, describing it as "patterned brocaded satin,"²⁸ which is shown by its weaving, shimmer, draping, layout, and setting. But Thornton also notes that the international character of early eighteenth century textiles is relevant, since such patterns "can be found either way on the Continent or in Great Britain,"²⁹ so it might have been designed in England and woven in France, or vice versa (Figure 7 and Figure 8). But if woven in London, the fabric could have been later sold and tailored in France. Yet as with the Fontanges hairstyle, such attempts at dating may be misleading since the patterns and fabrics were marketed in the established French luxury trade, and identification, dating, and chronology for this period are normally imprecise.

²⁶ Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks*, Faber and Faber, London, England, 1965, p. 107.

²⁷ Musée de l'impression sur étoffes de Mulhouse, *Histoire singulière de l'impression textile, [Unusual History of Printed Textiles]*, Edisud, Mulhouse, France, 2001, p. 4.

²⁸ Deslandres, op cit., p. 250.

²⁹ Thornton, op cit., p. 107.



Figure 7:
Textile Pattern,
Joseph Dandridge, 19 July 1718,
Pen, Ink, and Watercolour on Paper,
4570 x 2670mm,
The Victoria and Albert Museum,
London, England, E.4465-1909.



Figure 8:
Textile Pattern,
Joseph Dandridge, 22 May 1718,
Pen, Ink, and Watercolour on Paper,
4860 x 2800mm,
The Victoria and Albert Museum,
London, England, E.4466-1909.

Yvonne Deslandres has identified the *La Danse* dress shape as a robe à l'anglaise,³⁰ which only became fashionable in France under Louis XVI (1774-1791),³¹ but it appears to be closer to the robe à la française. The coat, stiff bodice over a whalebone stay, which was not worn with the robe à l'anglaise, the skirt folds, the rounded, deep

³⁰ Deslandres, op cit., pp. 247-248.

³¹ Boucher, op cit., p. 295.

décolletage, the three-quarter length tight sleeves, and the pagoda-shaped engageantes all indicate a robe à la française. This garment also shows an interesting turning point in Watteau's work; between the 1718 fabric date and Watteau's 1721 death, the robe à la française was already being worn, as François Boucher mentions (1715–1720),³² and Deslandres dates it circa 1740.³³ Moreover, Ribeiro argues the same about English fashion, “At about this date [1712], the mantua lost its negligent appearance, and the train became more elaborately fitted at the back.”³⁴

There were thus similarities in the dress' evolution in both countries and the robe à la française must have emerged in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Yet the shape of the décolletage supports a later date; Anne-Cécile Moheng notes the importance of the rounded, deep breast line, especially during the second half of the century.³⁵ Additionally, the hair style seems too early for 1715–1720, since it appears in the 1760–1770 Duchesse de Polignac portrait by Madame Vigée-Lebrun, so the *La Danse* dress is difficult to precisely date. Nevertheless, scientific analysis of French paintings at Charlottenburg Palace, West Berlin, conducted by Professor Christoph Martin Vogtherr and his team concluded that this painting:

...is generally dated from Watteau's English trip of 1719–1720, since Peter Thornton was able to link the fabric of the young girl's dress with an English pattern of 1718–1719. This was questioned by Aileen Ribeiro who considered the similarity to be inadequate evidence. According to her information (April 2008 letter) the fabric is European and can be dated around 1716–1723, but additionally the patterns might have been created in France, which would make it post-1716. The style of the painting, especially the children on the left, and the preparatory drawings which have been convincingly dated as circa 1718 or later by Morgan Grasselli, both suggest a later date but not necessarily during Watteau's England period. Thus a possible date might be 1718–1721.³⁶

³² Ibid., p. 264.

³³ Deslandres, op cit., p. 251.

³⁴ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 2002, p. 35.

³⁵ Anne Cécile Moheng, “Paniers, corps à baleines et silhouette féminine au XVIIIe siècle,” [“Hoop Petticoat, Whalebone Stars, and Female Silhouette in the Eighteenth Century”], Master's Dissertation, École du Louvre, Paris, France, 2011, p. 11.

³⁶ Christoph Martin Vogtherr, ed., *Französische Gemälde, I: Watteau, Pater, Lancret, Lajoüe*, [French Paintings I: Watteau, Pater, Lancret, Lajoüe], Akademie Verlag, coll. Bestandskataloge der Kunstsammlungen, [Inventory Catalogues of Art Collections], Berlin, Germany, 2011, p. 715, “Das

The ambiguous sartorial history of *La Danse* raises several questions: could it have been painted by a skilled imitator before the 1726³⁷ publication of the Recueil Jullienne engraving, and subsequently passed for a Watteau? Two other versions are also known; Philip Mercier³⁸ drew inspiration either from *La Danse* or the engraving of it by Charles Cochin (1688–1754), circa July 1726–1729.³⁹ While it may seem presumptuous to question this authorship, one must consider the painting's newness around 1720. But Watteau's work also raises another question: could he have inspired subsequent fashions?

A breathtaking realisation about Watteau's œuvre is the diffuse historicism of his compositions. Even though this is anachronistic for the eighteenth century, Watteau applied it exactly as it was in the late nineteenth century by blending different historical styles. When La Roque wrote, "One can see a pleasant mixture of seriousness, grotesque, and dalliances of French fashion, ancient and new,"⁴⁰ this was probably how he perceived Watteau's mix of different eras. For example, one can discover the clothing origins for some females in *Fêtes galantes*. Critics are often perplexed when attempting to describe the clothing in the two *L'Avanturière* versions and the pendant *L'Enchanteur*. Pendants exist in two Watteau works, one in Bordick Castle on Arran Island, Scotland (Figure 9) and the other in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Troyes (Figure 10). According to the 1984 Exhibition Catalogue, the latter is dressed as a horsewoman.

Gemälde wird gewöhnlich in die Zeit von Watteaus englischen Aufenthalt 1719/1720 datiert, da Peter Thornton den Kleiderstoff des stehenden Mädchens mit einem englischen Muster von 1718/1719 verbinden konnte. Diese Identifizierung wurde jedoch durch Aileen Ribeiro relativiert, die diese Ähnlichkeit für weit weniger spezifisch hält. Nach ihrer Auskunft (brieflich, April 2008) handelt es sich um ein in europäischen Stoffen der Zeit von etwa 1716/1723 vorzufindendes Muster, die Seide könnte ebenso gut in Frankreich entstanden sein. Der dargestellte Stoff hilft somit nur für eine Datierung nach 1716. Der stilistische Befund des Gemäldes (vor allem bei den Kindern links) und der Vorzeichnungen, die von Morgan Grasselli überzeugend einer um 1718 oder später entstandenen Gruppe zugeordnet werden, spricht allerdings für eine späte Datierung, wenn auch nicht notwendig in die Zeit von Watteaus Aufenthalt in England. Hier wird deshalb eine Datierung 1718/1721 vertreten. Wegen der ungewöhnlichen Funktion, dem Figurenmaßstab und der Motive des Gemäldes ist eine genauere zeitliche Einordnung derzeit nicht möglich." Author's translation.

³⁷ Rosenberg and Grasselli, op cit., p. 447.

³⁸ On Philip Mercier, see Martin Eidelberg, "Philippe Mercier, Watteau's English Follower" in Watteau Abecedario, <http://208.106.158.90/Mercier.htm>, Accessed 24 October 2013.

³⁹ Rosenberg and Grasselli, op cit., p. 283.

⁴⁰ de La Roque, op cit., pp. 81–83.

Her “tabard trimmed with fur and a big bow at the waist [as well as] her feathered cockade are surprising.”⁴¹ Her posture—far from the usual sophistication of Watteau’s female figures—is that of a man leaning on a cane, thus making a cross-gendered depiction. Additionally, *L’Avanturière* wears a medieval-like doublet trimmed with fur. Under this sleeveless garment, she wears a jacket that echos Watteau’s espagnolets figures.⁴² Most of these male figures wear the doublet, small ruffs, and lace sleeves, which also appear on most of the male figures in Watteau’s *Fêtes galantes*.



Figure 9:
L’Avanturière,
Antoine Watteau, circa 1700–1720,
Oil on Copper, 1770 x 2600mm,
Brodict Castle, Arran Island, Scotland,
No Accession Number.



Figure 10:
L’Avanturière,
Antoine Watteau, circa 1700–1720,
Oil on Copper, 1880 x 2550mm,
Musée de beaux-arts, Troyes, France,
inv.835.16.

L’Avanturière’s hat is strangely tilted on her head and its feather cockade is unusual. Her skirt features trim at the bottom and is most likely worn over a large round hip pad, or possibly a girdle. Altogether, this figure is particularly historicist in its mixed and seemingly confused approach, and as such embodied Watteau’s latest style. Drawing inspiration from Medieval dress, male Renaissance clothing, and mostly

⁴¹ Rosenberg and Grasselli, op cit., p. 283.

⁴² The espagnolet is a concept created by Axel Moulinier that departs from the vogue of the espagnolette. The latter describes the fad for Spanish fashion during the early eighteenth century as mentioned by such contemporary critics as the Chaulieu Abbot; See Guillaume Amfrye de Chaulieu, *Œuvres diverses de Monsieur l’abbé de Chaulieu*, [Various Works of Monsieur l’abbé de Chaulieu], Volume 1, Jean Nours, London, England, 1740, p. 217. Axel Moulinier rendered the French word into masculine to describe male figures wearing sixteenth century outfits in Watteau’s *Fêtes galantes*.

female contemporary fashion, different layers are depicted to create this peculiar mix of clothing, which seems to have been pure invention since no direct inspiration for it has been found.

Rosenberg believes that this second work is definitely a Watteau,⁴³ but Professor Martin Eidelberg made a full analysis of the clothing of *L'Avanturière* in Brodick Castle and refutes this attribution.⁴⁴

The costumes in the Scottish version have been modified as well. In place of the Troyes adventuress' distinctive hat with its pert cockade (a type of accessory that Watteau favored in his early career, as in *les Jaloux*), the painter of the Brodick Castle painting has chosen a type of straw hat that Watteau used in his later career (only occasionally for women, as in the pilgrim alighting into the boat in the *Berlin Embarquement*). Even less typical of Watteau, the adventuress has been given a white silk skirt that glistens with undue brilliance, and her shoulders have been cloaked with a small pink cape whose color is almost without parallel in Watteau's oeuvre for a principal figure (an exception would be one of the pilgrims boarding the boat in the *Ile de Cythère*). Most damning of all, her vest has been adorned with a design of dots and large flowers. Except for the dress worn by the girl in *Iris, c'est de bonne heure*, Watteau consistently eschewed all patterned fabrics other than those with simple stripes.⁴⁵

As Eidelberg noted, the figure in the Brodick Castle version of *L'Avanturière* wears a long whalebone stay, elongated with sophisticated scaffold tails. If this argument seems plausible, one must remember that Watteau used drawings from different periods in his career to create his compositions. For a particular dress and hat to be in the same composition could simply indicate that it is a later work that the artist had taken from an older sketch and—why not—used a new technique to represent the peculiar glistening of the silk satin, which can be that shiny.

⁴³ Pierre Rosenberg, "Répétitions et répliques dans l'œuvre de Watteau," in François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, eds., *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, [*Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): The Painter, His Lifetime, and His Legend*], Champion-Slatkine, Paris, France, 1987, p. 105.

⁴⁴ Martin Eidelberg, "L'Avanturière, Copy 1," A Watteau Abecedario, <http://watteau-abecedario.org/avanturierecopies.htm>, Accessed 15 August 2018.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Two conclusions can therefore be drawn; the complexity of this outfit came late in Watteau's career, because as Eidelberg explained, this work represents a synthesis of the different periods of Watteau's career. But in terms of the style of the clothes, bodies, and faces of the Brodick Castle version, it can be argued that this is simply a later work done by Watteau himself. Could these be two separate series, one as the early Musée des Beaux-Arts de Troyes version and the other as the latter Brodick Castle version? New research supported by a material analysis of these four works, which have not been seen together since 1984, is necessary to advance our understanding of the dilemma of Watteau's subtle use of a synthesis of dress from different fashion periods, as well as to reveal a deeper understanding of the meanings of his artistic career.

Louis-François Du Bois de Saint-Gelais, when commenting on Watteau's works in 1727, declared, "He took such care with the clothing in his paintings that they can be looked at as the history of his contemporary fashions."⁴⁶ But now, almost 300 years later, this contemporary assessment can be called into question: was Watteau really a "peintre du costume de son temps"?

⁴⁶ Louis-François Dubois de Saint-Gelais, *Descriptions des tableaux du Palais Royal, [Descriptions of the Paintings in the Palais Royal]*, D'Houry, Paris, France, 1727, p. 75, "Il s'est attaché aux habillement vrais, en sorte que ses Tableaux peuvent être regardés comme l'Histoire des Modes de son temps." Author's translation.

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Acknowledgements

This article derives from a paper delivered on 13 April 2018 at The New Research in Dress History Conference, convened by The Association of Dress Historians, in London, England, and is based on the author's 2016 Master's dissertation at the École du Louvre, Paris, under the direction of Olivier Bonfait (Professor of Early Modern Art, Université de Bourgogne, Dijon, France) and Christoph Martin Vogtherr (General Director, Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation, Berlin-Brandenburg, Germany).

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“It Is Not Impossible to Look Nice Sitting about on the Beach:” The Influence of Magazines in the Making and Wearing of Hand-Knitted Bathing Suits by Young Working Women in England during the 1930s

Emmy Sale

Abstract

This article analyses how the content of magazines influenced young working women’s agency in the making and wearing of hand-knitted bathing suits in England during the 1930s. This article utilises the advertisements, images, and knitting patterns that were published in magazines read by young women—and compares these to the reality of making and wearing shown through extant garments and photographs. It regards cost to be the core factor of why bathing suits were made and not purchased by working women. This article also explores how the magazine communicated images of bodily perfection, subversion of the bathing suit’s utility, promotion of the wool industry, and designs for specific beach activities.

Introduction

During the 1930s, the outdoor movement emerged and revolutionised attitudes towards suntans, sunbathing, and beachwear. The suntan, once an indication of outdoor manual labour, became a “symbol of modern times,” and young women

sought the “outdoor girl look.”¹ Furthermore, acknowledgment of the health and beauty benefits of the sun changed what people did at the seaside and what was worn. In particular, bathing suits transformed. No longer were “fair forms...swathed from neck to ankle in a hideous voluminous garment” but a “brightly coloured swimsuit... small, [with a]...fascinating design and permitting freedom of movement”² was embraced. The designs of the bathing suits were a way for women to expose more flesh in public but also achieve an even suntan for the covetable “outdoor girl look.”³ Although ready-made swimsuits were purchased, there was a mass enthusiasm for hand-knitted versions. Within this context, this article will consider the influence that magazines read by young women had on the making and wearing of hand-knitted bathing suits in England during the 1930s.

The thinking of George Orwell and Fiona Hackney informs the primary use of a range of magazines read by young women. Orwell in 1939 argued, “The contents of...[newsagents] is the best available indication of what the mass of the English people really feels and thinks. Certainly nothing half so revealing exists in documentary form.”⁴ Further, Hackney argued that young working women were more likely to purchase a magazine that supplied a knitting pattern and fiction rather than a single pattern that would often cost the same amount.⁵ Therefore, the advertisements, knitting patterns, and images within magazines accessible to young women will be compared to the reality of making and wearing bathing suits shown through extant garments and photographs. This article will consider cost as a core factor to why young working women knitted bathing suits. However, it will contemplate the influential role of the magazines in the making and wearing of bathing suits. In particular, glamorous photographs, advertisements for products health and beauty products, and knitting patterns in magazines will be analysed.

¹ Fred Gray, “1930s Architecture and the Cult of the Sun,” in Lara Fiegel and Alexandra Harris, eds., *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the Seaside*, Peter Lang, Oxford, England, 2009, p. 161.

² “Water-Ladies: Swim and Sun Fashion Review Conducted by Milady,” *Swimming and Bathing Pool Review*, Volume 3, Issue 1, May 1936, p. 11.

³ Gray, op cit.

⁴ George Orwell, “Boys Weeklies, written in 1939,” in Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, eds., *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, Volume 1: An Age Like This 1920-1940*, Secker and Warburd, London, England, 1968, p. 461.

⁵ Fiona Hackney, “Making Modern Women, Stitch by Stitch: Dressmaking and Women’s Magazines in Britain, 1919-1939,” in Barbara Burman, ed., *The Culture of Sewing: Gender, Consumption and Home Dressmaking*, Berg, Oxford, England, 1999, p. 77.

Cost as a Core Factor for Young Working Women's Making of Bathing Suits

During the interwar period, 1918–1939, swimming was an inexpensive and accessible activity with 191 new swimming pools opening across England and Wales, alongside the developing seaside resorts.⁶ Catherine Horwood asserted that “...the beach and the outdoor pool can be coupled with the dance hall as being the forefront of young girls’ social lives in the interwar years.”⁷ Swimming had ostensibly little cost for young women but it was beachwear that carried a financial burden. For young working women, department store prices were out of reach and basic ready-to-wear items, such as stockings, were paid for through clothing clubs that allowed items to be purchased with weekly instalments.⁸ Each week a proportion of their wages were given to their parents, known as “tipping up,” and what remained was their “spends.”⁹ This was a small freedom used to purchase items such as magazines, cinema tickets, and clothes whilst still living in the family home.

Olive Masterson, born in 1920 recalled, “I was paid fifteen shillings a week, working from 8am to 1pm and 2pm to 6pm, and Saturday mornings 8am till 12 midday. My mother had five shillings, and I had about nine shillings after my stamp was paid.”¹⁰ In 1936 Jantzen bathing suits cost between 15 shillings for the cheapest model to 29 shillings and three pence for the most expensive and therefore out of reach for Olive Masterson, who had 15 shillings spends each week.¹¹ In comparison, a hand-knitted bathing suit cost approximately one shilling eight pence, merely the cost of the wool.¹² Therefore, it was cheaper to knit a bathing suit than to buy one.

⁶ John K. Walton, “Tourism and Holidays in Britain between the Wars: Approaches and Opportunities,” in Robert Snape and Helen Pussard, eds., *Recording Leisure Lives: Histories, Archives and Memories of Leisure in 20th Century Britain*, Leisure Studies Association, Eastbourne, England, 2009, p. 9.

⁷ Catherine Horwood, “‘Girls Who Arouse Dangerous Passions’: Women and Bathing, 1900–1939,” *Women’s History Review*, Volume 9, Issue 4, Wallingford, England, 2000, p. 667.

⁸ Sarah Norris, “Mass Observation at the Dance Hall: A Democracy of Fashion?” in Robert Snape and Helen Pussard, eds., *Recording Leisure Lives: Histories, Archives and Memories of Leisure in 20th Century Britain*, Leisure Studies Association, Eastbourne, England, 2009, p. 88.

⁹ Claire Langhamer, *Women’s Leisure in England 1920–1960*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2000, p. 50.

¹⁰ Olive Masterson, *The Circle of Life*, Queenspark Books, Brighton, England, 1986, pp. 37–38.

¹¹ *Jantzen Catalogue Leaflet for Bathing Suits*, 1936, Worthing Museum and Art Gallery, Worthing, England, 1997/334.

¹² “Knit Your Own Bathing Suit: Demonstrating in Dundee Store,” *Dundee Courier*, 27 April 1931, p. 8.

Furthermore, young working women spent the majority of their week at work, for example, Olive Masterson was only allowed Saturday afternoons and Sundays away from her job. This meant that a bathing suit was unnecessary to their everyday wardrobe, due to the little time that they had away from their working life. The weather and their access to a swimming pool or beach would also play a factor in how essential a bathing suit would be for a young woman's wardrobe. This article regards the economic factor to be central to what guided young women to make and wear hand-knitted bathing suits during the 1930s.

The Influence of Magazines on the Designs of Hand-Knitted Bathing Suits

Knitting patterns were a central feature of interwar magazines and were considered essential to the profitable "feminine market."¹³ Cheryl Buckley contends that, "...armed with a...pattern, young single women in particular could assert a self-image and independence that was at odds with the older generation for whom dress marked out particular ideals of class respectability and appropriate feminine appearance."¹⁴ The patterns supplied by magazines were therefore essential to young working women's ability to experience fashionable bathing suits for beach leisure during the 1930s. This will lead discussion of how the magazine influenced the making of hand-knitted bathing suit designs.

The decisions to hand-knit bathing suits were more complex than simply being an alternative to the expensive machine-made suits available. For example, *Women and Beauty* in 1931 addressed the difference between machine-knitted and hand-knitted bathing suits, "If ready-made suits are too expensive, or, if you wish to add some originality to your outside, the best plan is to buy some Copley's "Sunmaid" wool, which is ideal for bathing costumes...."¹⁵ They were a way for women to produce garments that had designs they had chosen to make with the colours and designs they wished to wear. Hand-knitted bathing suits were one-off productions with designs unique to each suit. Surviving garments (Figure 1) show the choices and decisions made by the maker, with the design, wool colours, and the maker's knitting tension all unique to the garment.¹⁶

¹³ Hackney, op cit., p. 76.

¹⁴ Cheryl Buckley and Hazel Clark, *Fashion and Everyday Life: London and New York*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2017, p. 102.

¹⁵ "Suggestions for Readers from Our Advertisers: Original Beachwear," *Women and Beauty*, July 1931, p. 4.

¹⁶ Cheryl Buckley, "On the Margins: Theorising the History and Significance of Making and Designing Clothes at Home," in Barbara Burman, ed., *The Culture of Sewing: Gender, Consumption and Home Dressmaking*, Berg, Oxford, England, 1999, p. 66.



Figure 1:
*Hand-Knitted
Bathing Suit*,
circa 1930s,
Worthing
Museum and Art
Gallery,
Worthing,
England,
1981-380.

In comparison, Jantzen's machine-knitted suits, which were manufactured in a small number of designs and colours each year (Figure 2), were not unique to the wearer or maker unlike the homemade suits. However, it is probable that young women were using the professionally designed patterns found in magazines. Knitwear designer and pioneer of knitting patterns with diagrams, Marjory Tillotson, argued that good young knitters during the 1930s were rare due to knitting being neglected in the school curriculum. Tillotson wrote, "Knitters [were] dependent on printed instructions; knitters without imagination—slaves, instead of masters of their craft."¹⁷

¹⁷ Marjory Tillotson, *The School Knitting Book: Textbook for Teachers in Junior and Senior Schools*, The New Era Publishing Co., Ltd., London, England, 1931, p. 1.



Figure 2:
Jantzen Catalogue Leaflet for Bathing Suits,
 1936, Worthing Museum and Art Gallery, Worthing, England, 1997/334.

For example, Figure 3 shows a two-tone green hand-knitted suit featuring a fashionable geometric design influenced by the stylistic origins of the Art Deco movement and seen worn by bathing belles in 1930 (Figure 4).¹⁸

¹⁸ Michael Harvey, *Patons: A Story of Handknitting*, Springwood Books, Ascot, England, 1985, p. 132.



Figure 3:
Hand-Knitted Bathing Suit,
circa 1930s, Devonshire Collection of
Period Costume, Totnes Fashion and
Textiles Museum, Totnes, England.



Figure 4:
*"Just Stocking Stitch!" Women and
Beauty*, May 1933, p. 52,
British Library, London, England.

In comparison to the knitting pattern for a very similar geometric design (Figure 5), it highlights that young women were reliant on the patterns and advice in magazines to help them create fashionable hand-knitted bathing suit designs in this period.



Figure 5:
Detail,
*Screenshot 32 from
"Mermaid Modes From
Paris From Eve's Review
Issue 480,"*
14 August 1930,
British Pathe,
Film ID 922.10.

The Use of Bathing Suits in Health and Beauty Product Advertisements

The 1930s embraced the health and beauty benefits that the sun and fresh air of the seaside provided. The magazines reflected the new interests of its readership and enhanced its appeal to young women. For example, *Women and Beauty* changed their magazine aims from “Beauty, fashion, knitting, and fiction”¹⁹ to “Beauty, Health, Fiction, and Fashion”²⁰ in September 1934. Content such as the health and beauty advertisements within the magazines communicated ideals of bodily perfection such as the “fitter body” and the tanned body. Such advertisements would also incorporate bathing suits within their imagery and, therefore, played a part in influencing the way young women contemplated wearing their bathing suits for leisure.

Advertisements found in magazines often used bathing suits in images promoting health and beauty products.²¹ Slimming remedies and hair removal creams were prominent in the articles and advertisements of the magazines.²² In 1935 a *Mabs* article read, “Arms Must be Slender; Waists Must be Slim; Legs Must Not be Thick—For Summer Fashion.” It infers to the reader that in order to wear summer clothes, such as bathing suits, their body must conform to what the magazine says.²³ Advertisements in *Woman and Beauty* were explicit in trying to sell slimming medicines with the use of women in bathing suits within the imagery. For example, an advertisement for “Laceys Reducing Chewing Gum” (Figure 6) claimed that chewing gum made you “happy in your bathing suit.” Further evidence for how magazines stressed bodily perfection through advertisements includes: Veet’s advertisement for hair removal (Figure 7) that read “Pretty girls made unattractive—what woman can look dainty in a bathing costume if disfigured by growths of superfluous hair?” and Wex Grape Saline (Figure 8) that warned, “Listen! Girls! He Likes to See a Smooth, Flawless Back. Not a Pimple Horror.”

Such examples infer or directly tell the reader that their body must look a certain way in order to be acceptable for the beach and for wearing a bathing suit. They suggest that having a slim, hairless, and pimple-free body would make them happy, dainty, feminine, and be pleasing to the gaze of men.²⁴ For young working women, the bodily ideals promoted by magazines may have been impossible to emulate due to the costs

¹⁹ Front cover, *Women and Beauty*, June 1931.

²⁰ Front cover, *Women and Beauty*, September 1934.

²¹ Catherine Horwood, *Keeping Up Appearances: Fashion and Classes between the Wars*, Sutton Publishing Limited, Stroud, England, 2005, p. 77.

²² David Fowler, *The First Teenagers: The Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain*, The Woburn Press, London, England, 1995, p. 103.

²³ “Arms must be slender; Waists must be slim; Legs must not be thick—for summer fashions,” *Mabs Fashions*, June 1935, p. 31.

²⁴ Penny Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing Up in England, 1920–1950*, Taylor & Francis, London, England, 1995, p. 151.

of such products. However, they could have created anxiety about wearing bathing suits, if they did not look how the women in the advertisements did.



Figure 6:
"Chew Lacey's and Be Happy in Your Bathing Suit,"
Women and Beauty,
 August 1933, p. 75,
 The British Library,
 London, England.



Figure 7:
"Pretty Girls Made Unattractive,"
Home Chat,
 13 June 1931,
 p. 629,
 The British Library,
 London, England.



Figure 8:
"Listen! Girls!..."
Picture Show,
 9 June 1934,
 p. 24,
 The British Library,
 London, England.

Subversion of the Bathing Suit's Utility

As well as in the health and beauty advertisements, bathing suits were used in magazine images for subverting the utilitarian purpose of bathing suits for sport and leisure. Women wearing bathing suits were frequently used for the front cover of summer issues (Figure 9). In these images, many of the women are seen to be wearing heeled shoes with their bathing suits. Ellen Wright argues that the wearing of heeled shoes by bathing belles transformed the bathing suits worn into symbols of glamour rather than the practical garments they were meant to be.²⁵ Thus, the utilitarian aspect

²⁵ Ellen Wright, "Spectacular Bodies: The Swimsuit, Sexuality and Hollywood," *Sport in History*, Volume 35, Issue 4, Abingdon, England, 2015, pp. 457–458.

of bathing suits was obscured by the magazine and was, therefore, an influence on how young women would visualise them as worn.



Figure 9:
Front Cover, Women and Beauty, August 1932,
The British Library, London, England.

The subversion of the practical garment with glamour, can be explored in terms of young women through Figure 10 which shows a young woman in 1931, wearing a bathing suit and white heeled shoes whilst sitting on a garden fence and smoking a cigarette. Despite the domestic setting of the photograph, the bathing suit and heeled shoes worn by the young woman permeates an aura of glamour into the photograph. Comparable to images within the magazines that gave bathing suits an allure of glamour, this image shows how young women could attempt to emulate them in their everyday lives.²⁶



Figure 10:
*Photograph of a
Young Woman, 1931,*
The Private Collection
of Sue West,
Warminster, England.

²⁶ Sarah Kennedy, *Vintage Swimwear: A History of Twentieth-Century Fashions*, Carlton Books, London, England, 2010, p. 38.

Cheryl Roberts argues that engagement with images and clothing styles of Hollywood stars brought escapism to women's lives, such as young working women, who were often dominated by their work and employment circumstances.²⁷ British women could adopt clothes that were considered glamorous for Hollywood stars in order to "take some of the 'magic' of the celebrity into their own lives."²⁸ Jackie Stacey argues that "Hollywood stars were considered exciting in contrast to images of femininity offered by women in everyday life in Britain."²⁹ The agreement of Roberts and Stacey allows the photograph to be seen as the representation of the subject's conscious decision to demonstrate glamour influenced by magazine images. Furthermore, considering that these young women were potentially going to the liminal space of the beach to meet and socialise with young men, the instilling of such glamour into their appearances would perhaps help them believe they had the "'magic' of the celebrity."³⁰ Therefore, the bathing suits worn by young women, in this liminal space, gave them the impression of being glamorous like the images in the magazines they purchased.

Rob Shields argues that the beach can be regarded as a liminal space, "a socially defined zone appropriate for specific behaviours and patterns of interaction outside of the norms of everyday behaviour, dress and activity."³¹ As a liminal space, the beach was a public place in which young women could impress by wearing less clothing and perform glamorous leisure activities such as sunbathing, that they saw film stars doing in magazines. However, these young women were restricted by their economic circumstances. Although the beach was free to visit, the bathing suits and products advertised were costly non-essential items in young working women's wardrobes. Young women would have had to have been savvy with their spends in order to be fashionable and take part in the social and leisure aspects of the beach. Therefore, the social behaviours of young women may have been influenced by the liminality of the beach. However, their dress and appearance may have been restricted by the cost of bathing suits and the health and beauty products advocated by magazines.

²⁷ Cheryl Roberts, "A Price for Fashion: A Young Working-Class Woman's Wardrobe in 1930s London," *Apparence(s): Histoire et culture du paraître, [Appearance(s): History and Culture of Appearance]*, 2017, <https://journals.openedition.org/apparences/1359>, Accessed 18 February 2018.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Jackie Stacey, *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*, Routledge, London, England, 1994, p. 204.

³⁰ Roberts, op cit.

³¹ Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, Routledge, London, 1991, p. 75.

Magazine Promotion of Wool and Knitting Patterns for Making Bathing Suits to Avoid the Reality of Knitting Suits

The images in magazines made bathing suits look attractive, stylish, and glamorous, but in reality they were often not so appealing. Lucy Adlington notes that hand-knitted bathing suits were “Sand-traps when dry, they quickly became frontless and backless when wet, sagging down to the knees and beyond.”³³ However, the magazines were key to the popularity for knitting bathing suits. They promoted the wool industry through advertisements for special wools, knitting patterns, and tips to avoid the common problems with woolen swimsuits. Wool manufacturers developed special wools for knitting bathing suits and made claims that these would not run, sag, fade, or shrink when wet. Magazines often promoted these wools as part of the knitting patterns as well as including design tips that would reduce such issues in order to promote the hand-knitting of bathing suits.³⁴ It was widely advised to readers that a good-quality wool should be purchased in order to “avoid” the inevitable problems. One article claimed:

...the proof of the pudding is in the eating and the proof of the wool was in the wearing, and I shall never forget her chagrin and disappointment when on finishing her swim the suit was twice as long and large as the pattern intended it should be; so please do remember that it is false economy to purchase cheap wool.³⁵

A bathing suit made for the purpose of swimming should not have shrunk or stretched when in use as that would have limited its practicality and modesty. Articles advised that a wool with a firm twist and of good quality was the best to use for a swimsuit to be successful when hand-knitted.³⁶ A number of wools were developed by wool manufacturers in order to exploit this market for making bathing suits. “Ladyship Holiday Wool” offered a range of over 70 colours and promoted them as “...all specially dyed to give the maximum resistance to sun and sea.”³⁷ Copley’s “Sunmaid” wool, also endorsed its product as “...ideal for bathing costumes, being unshrinkable and fast to the sun and seawater and knit one in colours and styles to

³³ Lucy Adlington, *Stitches in Time: The Story of the Clothes We Wear*, Random House Books, London, England, 2015, p. 329.

³⁴ Hannah Andrassy, “Spinning a golden thread: The introduction of elastic into swimwear,” *Things*, Volume 5, London, England, 1996, p. 65.

³⁵ “Water-Ladies: Swim and Sun Fashion review conducted by Milady,” op cit., pp. 11-12.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ “A snip for the dip, advertisement,” *Mabs Fashions*, May 1936, p. 31.

suit yourself,”³⁸ but it was only produced in 12 colours. The surviving garments examined in this article had no oral histories connected to them that could have revealed if they used one of these branded wools or cheaper alternatives. Therefore, it is difficult to know how popular such wools were, but the advertisements show how the wool industry exploited the boom in woollen swimwear before the introduction of elastic thread.³⁹

Hand-knitted bathing suits were notorious for a range of issues. Due to being made with wool they looked and felt thick, making them not as streamlined as the jersey knit machine-made suit. Furthermore, hand-knitted bathing suits were particularly notorious for becoming waterlogged and sagging when wet.⁴⁰ Magazines provided tips about how to make their bathing suits more successful and to avoid the problems expected from knitted garments. In terms of making, they were often made with negative ease which helped them to be more tight-fitting due to being made a size smaller. An article advised that “ribbing at the sides ensures close fit without tightness, and the waist ribbing helps the costume from sagging.”⁴¹

Another piece of advice was, “...to sew a length of tape or strong ribbon to all the seams of your hand-knitted swim suit; this will avoid any chance of sagging and losing shape.”⁴² In the few garments examined, this technique was not evident, so the actual prevalence of this technique is unknown. However, an article from *Women and Beauty* shows how aware the magazines were that hand-knitted costumes were prone to sagging after being waterlogged and then becoming heavy and uncomfortable to wear:

It is not impossible to look nice sitting about on the beach—but the woman who can go into the sea, have a good swim, and yet come out looking as nice as when they went in, is either a living wonder, or one who has learnt about these accessories.⁴³

The article aimed to advise the reader honestly on how to look good at the beach and avoid the embarrassment that an ill-fitting suit and cheap wool could create. Therefore, although the problems of hand-knitted bathing suits were well known, designers and manufacturers aimed to improve bathing suits through a range of

³⁸ “Suggestions for readers from our advertisers: original beachwear,” op cit., p. 4.

³⁹ Kennedy, op cit., p. 18.

⁴⁰ Richard Rutt, *A History of Hand Knitting*, Batsford, London, England, 1987, p. 143.

⁴¹ “Knit your own: a practical swim-suit and practical shorts for men,” *Swimming and Bathing Pool Review*, Volume 3, Issue 2, June 1936, p. 37.

⁴² “Water-Ladies: Swim and Sun Fashion review conducted by Milady,” op cit., pp. 11–12.

⁴³ “Look Perfect In or Out of the Water,” *Women and Beauty*, June 1935, pp. 68–84.

solutions. These were through carefully chosen stitches or designs, such as ribbing around the abdomen to reduce sagging, and the marketing of non-shrink and non-stretch wools.

The Making of Bathing Suits for Specific Leisure: Sunbathing, Swimming, or Both

To further consider the influence of magazines, the connection between the making, wearing, and leisure of bathing suits questions whether they were made and worn specifically for sunbathing, swimming, or both. Suits with halter necks and low backs evolved in order to take advantage of the health and beauty benefits of the sun when basking on the beach. Some suits had adaptable features to stop suits sagging when wet and were therefore suitable for swimming.⁴⁴ Magazine knitting patterns, surviving garments, and photographs will be used to consider how the design of a hand-knitted bathing suit differed depending on intended use.

For swimming in the sea, hand-knitted bathing suits were prone to becoming waterlogged and sagging as a result. Knitting patterns promoted designs that took into account these issues and would advertise their functionality in and out of the water. The designs of “The Call of the Sea! Swim Suit with Skirt” (Figure 11), and “Water-wise...and Smart” (Figure 12), used a bone ring to tie straps around the neck for sunbathing or threaded through and tied round the waist to form a belt to keep the front from sagging when swimming.

This strategic tying is exemplified in a surviving bathing suit that has very long straps (Figure 13). The straps allowed the bathing suit to be adaptable for sunbathing or swimming depending on the leisure activity performed at the beach. However, the knitting patterns show bathing suits to be worn tight on the body and therefore perfectly knitted for the wearer. By consulting photographs, it is clear that the reality of the making was not always the same as the magazine images. The suits were often not tightly fitted to the body, like the knitting patterns recommended. This means that the suits would have been prone to sagging, despite the straps being tied around the waist and therefore suggesting that they were more likely to have been worn on the beach for sunbathing rather than in the sea, to avoid immodesty.

⁴⁴ Andrassy, op cit., p. 78.



Figure 11:
"The Call of the Sea!" *Woman's Own*,
 18 June 1938, p. 49,
 The British Library, London, England.



Figure 12:
"Water-wise...and smart,"
Women and Beauty, May 1937, p. 31,
 The British Library, London, England.

In comparison, other knitting patterns advertised bathing suits as "sun-suits." They were designs that featured low backs or were backless with halter neck straps, which allowed the wearer's back to be free of obstructions when tanning. For example, "Streamline Suit for Sunning" (Figure 14) has an almost completely open back with straps that would allow the wearer to still feel secure in the garment whilst running around and throwing beach balls, as the image suggests. A two-piece suit (Figure 15) has a design that is clearly aimed at the woman wanting to bathe in the sun rather than swim in the sea. The photograph with the knitting pattern shows a pose by the wearer, who exhibits an aura of glamour (Figure 16).



Figure 13:
*Hand-
knitted
Bathing Suit*,
circa 1930s,
The Private
Collection of
Emmy Sale,
Brighton,
England.



Figure 14:
"A 'Streamline' Suit for Sunning,"
Mabs Fashions, May 1935,
 p. 33, The British Library,
 London, England.



Figure 15:
"Sculptured in White:
Sun-Top and Shorts for Lazy Days,"
Women and Beauty, August 1936,
 pp. 22-23, The British Library,
 London, England.

Where magazines explicitly promoted beauty and glamour through images of bathing suits, it is likely that many young women would have chosen to wear their bathing suits for sunbathing rather than swimming. Young women were aware of issues of knitted bathing suits and how potentially embarrassing and immodest they were (Figure 17). The magazines that featured bathing suit patterns also included advice columns and fiction that might have further underscored the importance of a young woman's decisions about how she should use her spends for clothing purchases. The articles gave clothing advice such as, "You may only be a working girl...but you can look just as smart and slick as your independent sisters on a tenth of their dress allowance with

careful thought and planning.”⁴⁵ This exemplifies how the magazines advised their readership how it could achieve a fashionable wardrobe through making clothes or deciding what garments were really needed.⁴⁶ In addition to the advice columns, periodicals such as *Peg’s Paper* provided fictional escapism that developed with the growth of cinema.



Figure 16:
Young Woman on the Beach,
circa 1930s, Photograph Postcard,
The Private Collection of Emmy Sale,
Brighton, England.



Figure 17:
Woman in Sea, circa 1930s,
The Private Collection of
Sarah-Mary Geissler, Brighton, England.

For example, a story called “Beach Pyjama Betty” (Figure 18) portrayed a young working woman who was “ordinary” until she purchased a pair of beach pyjamas for the beach. She found that wearing her new beach pyjamas enabled her to make new friends and get attention from young men. Betty believed that it was her new beach clothes that allowed her life to change from ordinary—to having a holiday romance

⁴⁵ “You May Be Only a Working Girl,” *Picture Show*, 13 June 1936, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Buckley and Clark, op cit., p. 109.

of which she had dreamt.⁴⁷ Therefore, it was not just the practical advice given by magazines, but also the fictional stories they included that might have captured the minds of young women about how the right choice of clothing could provide glamour and romance. With lives restricted by the routine of work from a young age, the magazine captured the imagination and desire to make those stories reality through the leisure young women were able to enjoy.⁴⁸ This made the sun-suit arguably more popular amongst young women as they could have their “Beach Pyjama Betty” moment, might simply be achieved with the right choice of garment for the beach.

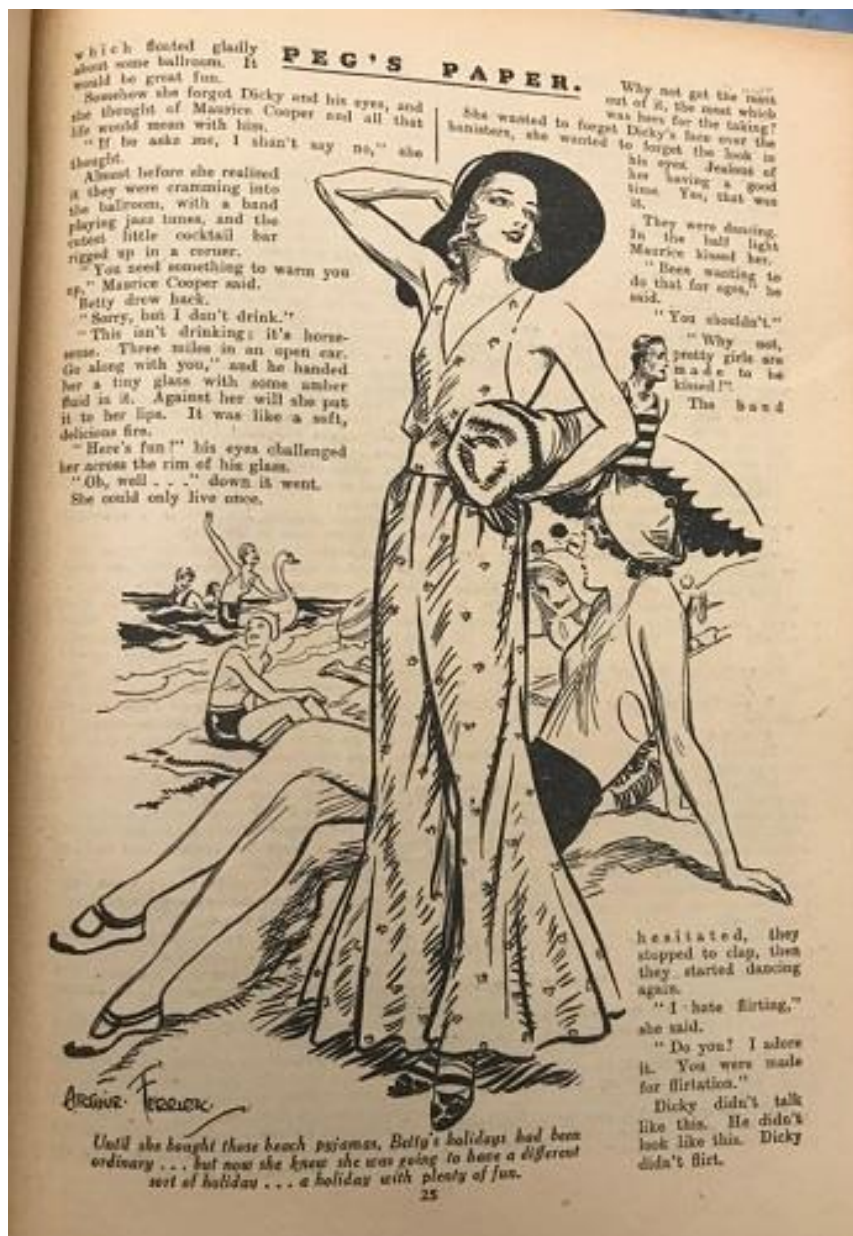


Figure 18:
"Beach Pyjama Betty,"
Peg's Paper,
 18 July 1933,
 pp. 23–26,
 The British Library,
 London, England.

⁴⁷ "Beach Pyjama Betty," *Peg's Paper*, 18 July 1936, pp. 23–26, 38.

⁴⁸ Winifred Holtby, *Women and a Changing Civilisation*, Cassandra Editions, Chicago, United States, 1978, p. 121.

Conclusion

This article has used the content and images from magazines read by young working women during the 1930s to uncover the influence of magazines on making and wearing hand-knitted bathing suits. This article has highlighted that although cost was a core factor as to why working women would have knitted a bathing suit, magazines also played a part in the agency of knitting and wearing a bathing suit. Magazines provided knitting patterns for fashionable designs that could be made at home, in any colour and design the wearer wanted. The images and advertisements within the magazines imbued the bathing suit with connotations of glamour and bodily perfection, and as a result encouraged young women to contemplate the type of design they made. Some designs were suitable for sunbathing, such as those designs with a low back and halter neck style, whilst other designs attempted to be more functional for swimming. Overall, this article has shown that the magazines presented complex choices for the wearing and making of bathing suits, by young women who were limited by their “spends.”

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Charlotte Nicklas at The University of Brighton for her useful advice for the writing of this article and for being a wonderful dissertation tutor in support of this research.

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Support and Uplift: How Technology Defined the Bra during the Twentieth Century

Lorraine Hamilton Smith

Abstract

The history of the bra is often discussed from a purely visual perspective, yet brassiere design relies heavily on developments in pattern cutting and fibre technology in order to produce a comfortable and supportive garment. Using a primarily object-based material culture approach and three archival collections in the United Kingdom (UK) as primary sources, this article charts the technological evolution behind critical aspects of contemporary bra design. This research reveals that, despite a large number of key developments taking place during the mid twentieth century, many new features marketed since the 1970s appear to have merely been improvements to the styles and features that were already available.

Introduction

The bra is a unique and important garment, not only providing support for the breasts but also transforming the body in order to provide an effective foundation for the clothing that covers it. Contemporary bras, particularly those with underwiring, are extremely complicated in construction and have to be developed by specialist garment technologists before being stitched by expert lingerie machinists, as bras are often made from 20 to 30 individual components. In addition, as stated by Phyllis G. Tortora in her book, *Dress, Fashion and Technology*, “The manufacturing processes

for the production of textiles used in fashionable dress are a major aspect of technology.”¹

This article explores the advances in textile technology and pattern cutting that have led to the highly engineered twenty-first century undergarment that is worn by many and recognisable to all. The research explores the technological developments which underpinned changes in bra design and manufacture during the twentieth century, focusing primarily on garments manufactured and/or sold in the UK between the 1930s and 1990s. Despite the availability of brassiere-like garments since the beginning of the twentieth century, the 1930s was selected as the starting point of this article because it was a decade when designers and manufacturers began to define this relatively new garment. Additionally, it was during the 1930s that the word, brassiere, was first shortened to bra.²

Recurring themes in existing texts covering the history and production of brassieres—including increased interest in comfort and fit, the fragmentation of consumer markets, and the desire to find technological solutions to existing issues in garment design and care—indicate that brassiere design and the development of manufactured fibres are vastly intertwined and have had an influence on women’s lives that is far greater than that of most other individual garments or clothing technologies. This highlights a need for a more comprehensive and balanced history of the bra, as remarked upon by Farrell-Beck and Gau in the introduction to *Uplift: The Bra in America*,³ and to which this article contributes.

Methodology

Using a primarily object-based material culture approach—with a process similar to that which is detailed in Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim’s 2015 book, *The Dress Detective*, along with some textual analysis of books, magazines, trade press, and promotional material—three archival collections were utilised in this study. The EMAP Archive⁴ at London College of Fashion (LCF) was researched for copies of

¹ Phyllis G Tortora, *Dress, Fashion, and Technology: From Prehistory to the Present*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2015, p. 2.

² Jane Farrell-Beck and Colleen Gau, *Uplift: The Bra in America*, The University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, United States, 2002, p. 72.

³ Ibid, p. xi.

⁴ This collection, held at London College of Fashion (part of University of the Arts London), contains key trade journals published by EMAP Publishing Limited for the fashion, clothing and retail industries dating from the 1880s. Journals include the *Drapers Record*, *Menswear* and several footwear trade titles.

the UK trade journal *Drapers Record* (formerly *The Drapers' Record*). The M&S Company Archive⁵ at The University of Leeds was searched for extant garments and copies of the Marks & Spencer staff newsletter, *St Michael News*. The Symington Collection,⁶ part of Leicestershire Museums Collections, was also searched to view garments and the original catalogue produced by the Keeper of the Collection during the 1970s.

During the course of this study, the author also began building a personal collection of bras in order to fill gaps in existing collections and uncover further evidence of particular features and themes.⁷ The research has been further enhanced by using the digital archives of The Victoria and Albert Museum and The Metropolitan Museum of Art. As curator Jill Morena has stated, images of garment interiors “...have the potential to directly amplify and enhance our ability to see and understand an object”⁸ and so valuable additional analysis could be carried out using collections that were otherwise unavailable.

Findings, Part 1: Fibre and Fabric Developments

The first semi-synthetic fibres, developed during the late nineteenth century from cellulose, were extremely important to manufacturers of women's underwear and hosiery during the 1920s and 1930s. Originally known as artificial silk or “art silk,” viscose rayon⁹ was used in the production of underwear extensively during the 1920s, and bra wearers¹⁰ would have been well aware of this new fibre because the chemical

⁵ The M&S Company Archive at The University of Leeds holds the corporate archival collections of Marks & Spencer, a key United Kingdom retailer. The collection houses over 71,000 items dating from 1884 to the present day and includes written, photographic and digital records of the Company's development and artefacts which represent key aspects of its activities.

⁶ The Symington Collection was created by R. & W.H. Symington Co., which began making corsets the 1850s. It includes garments and supporting advertising material that provide insights into the development of corsetry, foundation garments, and swimwear from the late nineteenth century through to the beginning of the 1990s. It was donated to the Leicestershire County Council's Museums Service in 1980.

⁷ The objects have since been donated to the London College of Fashion Archives. Two were featured in the exhibition at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, titled, *Undressed: A Brief History of Underwear*, which ran from 16 April 2016 to 12 March 2017.

⁸ Jill Morena “The Digital Garment: Perspectives on the Image and the Museum Fashion Collection Database,” *Fashion, Style, and Popular Culture*, Volume 2, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 98–99.

⁹ J. Gordon Cook, *Handbook of Textile Fibres: Man-Made Fibres*, Fifth Edition, Merrow Publishing, Durham, England, 1984, pp. 8–9.

¹⁰ The phrase, bra wearers, is used because not all women wear a bra, and not all people who wear bras identify as women.

companies advertised it to consumers as well as manufacturers of fabric and clothing. Chemical companies encouraged the belief that rayon was not an inferior replica of silk but a desirable fabric in its own right. British firm Courtaulds and American conglomerate E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Company (DuPont) had large advertising budgets and, as a result, "...the fashion designer had little visible role in the story of semi-synthetics. It was a three-part drama between the research chemist, the fibre/textile manufacturer, and the consumer."¹¹

The Rise and Fall of Synthetics

Nylon was launched by DuPont in 1938.¹² Nylon was initially used by hosiery and brassiere manufacturers in the United States. By 1940, "Products such as 'All-Nylon Lingerie' made by the Holeproof Hosiery Co., were selling out as fast as manufacturers could get the yarn, despite the fact that prices for 100 percent nylon tricot lingerie were the same as for top quality pure-silk garments."¹³ In *Uplift*, Farrell-Beck and Gau claim that the initial success of nylon was due to DuPont's clever marketing from the start as an up-market, high-fashion fibre. However, the benefits were not simply a marketing ploy. "Nylon outshone all competitors in tenacity and strength...nylon stood up well to long use. It was lightweight, washed and dried easily and quickly, and in some weaves did not require ironing."¹⁴ Nylon bras made from marquisette, taffeta, and powernet were also on sale in the United States in 1941 and 1942, before being withdrawn to conserve fibre supplies for the Second World War.

Polyester, another new synthetic fibre, was patented by the Calico Printers Association in Accrington, UK, in 1941.¹⁵ The rights were then sold to DuPont (branded as Dacron) and ICI¹⁶ (branded as Terylene) in 1946. After British wartime clothing restrictions were lifted in 1952, the production of Terylene clothing really expanded. Despite being relatively rare in underwear production, some evidence of polyester can be found. A Sears, Roebuck and Co.'s JR Bazaar bra (Figure 1) carries a label indicating that the cup padding is made from Dacron.

¹¹ Susannah Handley, *Nylon: The Manmade Fashion Revolution*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London, England, 1999, p. 28.

¹² J.E. McIntyre, ed., *Synthetic Fibres: Nylon, Polyester, Acrylic, Polyolefin*, Woodhead Publishing, Cambridge, England, 2005, pp. 8-9.

¹³ Handley, op cit., p. 44.

¹⁴ Farrell-Beck and Gau, op cit., p. 101.

¹⁵ McIntyre, op cit., pp. 11-12.

¹⁶ Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI), a British chemical company, operated from 1926 to 2008 and was for much of its history the largest manufacturer in Britain.



Figure 1:
JR Bazaar Bra by Sears, Roebuck and Co., circa 1968–1974,
London College of Fashion Archives, UAL, London, England, 095-23.

The label and packaging of an Avro longline bra made by R. & W.H. Symington & Co. states that it incorporates Terylene (Figure 2). The brand name Bri-Nylon was introduced by British Nylon Spinners in 1958, accompanied by what textiles researcher Susanna Handley calls “an epidemic of advertising,”¹⁷ that generated consumer awareness and fashion appeal. However, by the 1960s there were so many brand names for synthetic fibres that it was easy for consumers to become confused. Although the labelling of garments’ fibre content became compulsory in the United States in 1960,¹⁸ full clarification for UK consumers did not come until after Britain entered the European Economic Community in 1973.¹⁹ Standardisation of fibre trade

¹⁷ Handley, op cit., p. 72.

¹⁸ Tortora, op cit., p. 146.

¹⁹ European Union, “A Growing Community”, http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/1970-1979/index_en.htm, Accessed 27 September 2014.

names and compulsory fibre content labels were introduced on 12 January 1976.²⁰ The widespread adoption of nylon for women's undergarments and subsequent innovations in printing and dyeing techniques ended the dominance of the colour "tea-rose pink."



Figure 2:
Detail, *Avro Longline Bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co.*, circa 1948–1954,
London College of Fashion Archives, UAL, London, England, 095–20.

In the V&A collections, a late 1950s lilac and floral printed nylon bra and matching suspender belt made by Corsets Charmereine²¹ is an example of the use of these new colourful fabrics in fashionable undergarments. "The sixties introduced...silhouettes, cuts, textures and colours that had never been seen before, all of which depended on the inherent chemical nature of synthetic fabrics."²² This was where synthetics stopped being used as merely replacements for natural fibres and were celebrated for their own merits.

²⁰ "Fibre Content Law Shock: 'Old Labels Must Go' Ruling," *The Drapers' Record*, 10 January 1976, p. 3.

²¹ Displayed in The Victoria and Albert Museum's exhibition, *Undressed: A Brief History of Underwear*, which ran from 16 April 2016 to 12 March 2017, Reference T.144:1&2-2000.

²² Handley, *op cit.*, p. 75.

The 1960s also saw the rise of the “teen” market in the United States and in Britain, with young consumers embracing inexpensive synthetic fashions. The JR Bazaar bra by Sears, Roebuck and Co. (Figure 1) is an example of simply constructed, lightly padded bras that were produced for this market, and illustrates that era’s increased use of brightly coloured, printed synthetic fabrics. This garment from the Sears Junior Bazaar label is made from 100% nylon with 100% Dacron (polyester) fibre fill cups. The International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU) logo on the label indicates its approximate date of manufacture and this example was produced during 1963–1974.²³

By the late 1970s, Handley claims that polyester and nylon were considered unfashionable and were “...banished to the anonymity of the blend. Increasingly, the sensitive word ‘nylon’ disappeared from garment labels and was replaced by its chemically correct alias ‘polyamide.’ But many consumers had no idea that nylon and polyamide were the same fibre.”²⁴ However, no evidence of this has been found in the 1970s bras that were studied.

From Stretch Fibres to Moulded Fabrics

Textile fibres with the property of stretch are extremely important in the lingerie industry. The first of these, Lastex, was introduced in 1929 by the Dunlop Rubber Co. and could be woven or knitted into one- or two-way stretch fabrics, providing a porous and lightweight alternative to rubber. Lastex is an elastic yarn consisting of a core of latex wound with cotton, rayon, or silk threads and was a popular fibre for use in brassiere manufacture during the 1930s because it retained its shape through much washing and use, meaning that women whose measurements fell in-between the standard sizes were now accommodated.²⁵ An example of this is a 1934 bra in the Symington Collection made entirely from Lastex net with elastic edging (Figure 3). The elastic straps have no adjusters with only a single pair of hooks and eyes at the centre back, but its overall elasticity must have been a revelation to women who were accustomed to non-stretch cotton or rayon.

²³ Vintage Fashion Guild, “Label Resource: ILGWU,” 15 July 2010, <http://vintagefashionguild.org/label-resource/ilgwu/>, Accessed 23 September 2014.

²⁴ Handley, op cit., p. 125.

²⁵ Jill Fields, *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie and Sexuality*, The University of California Press, Berkeley, United States, 2007, p. 97.



Figure 3:
Lastex Net Bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co., 1934,
Leicestershire Museums Collections, Leicester, England, F239.

DuPont announced its new stretch fibre, Lycra, in 1959, and by the 1960s the majority of bras were made from a combination of nylon and Lycra (Figure 4). The only bras in the Symington Collection that contain Lycra are in the sub-section of garments made by Kayser South (a division of Courtaulds) during the mid 1950s to early 1960s, none of which display exact dates. Those that specifically mention Lycra on the label must have dated from after 1959, but more accurate dates would require further research. The three garments viewed which mentioned Lycra in the description (Figure 4) and/or on the label were listed in the catalogue as manufactured in or for the American or French markets,²⁶ but there is no information as to whether these are the only markets in which the bras were sold. The aerobics and fitness boom of the 1980s saw the relaunch of Lycra, ensuring its place in the brassieres of that decade as it could be successfully blended with most other fibres for added comfort.²⁷

²⁶ Christopher Page, Symington Collection Catalogue, R. & W.H. Symington & Company, Market Harborough, England, circa 1970s, pp. 172-179.

²⁷ Handley, op cit., pp. 145-150.



Figure 4:
UK Magazine Advertisement for Berlei Underwear with Lycra, 1970, The Underpinnings Museum, London, England, LS-2018-001.

New manufacturing processes also helped to change and improve what was offered to consumers. During the 1950s, moulded cups were introduced which retained their shape even when removed from the body, and quickly found their own market. “New technology meant that bra cups, which had previously been made from several small and complicated pattern pieces, could now be moulded and lined in a process called pre-forming.”²⁸

²⁸ Philip Warren and Sarah Nicol, *Foundations of Fashion: The Symington Corsetry Collection 1860-1990*, Leicestershire County Council, Leicester, England, 2013, p. 66.

The packaging of a 1950s St Michael bra from Marks & Spencer states that it is pre-formed (Figure 5) with an underwired style of two-piece cup construction in stiff white nylon net and a lace overlay. Pre-forming gave a very structured and rigid appearance, a trend which continued until the mid 1960s when a softer more “natural” look became fashionable.

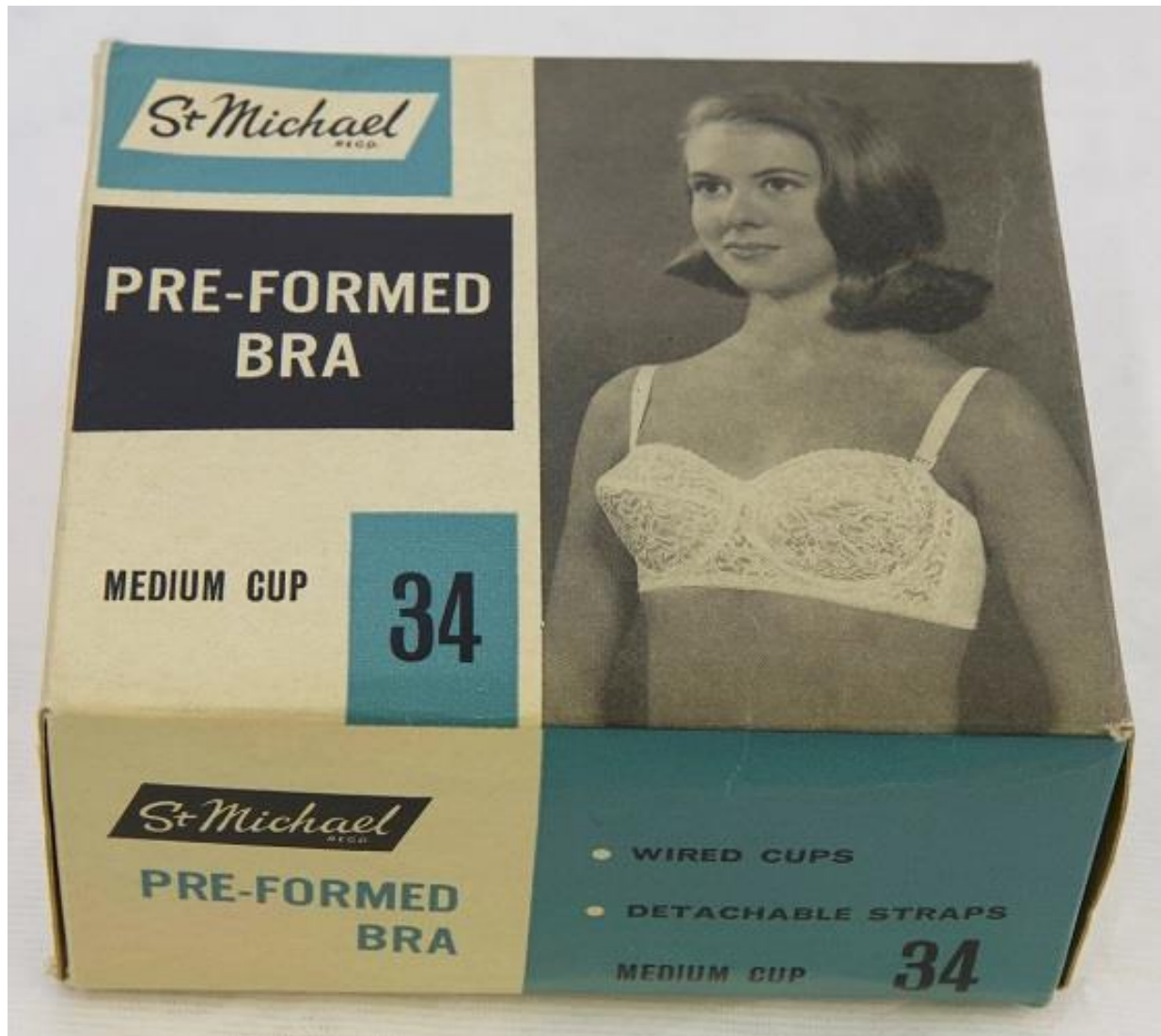


Figure 5:
Packaging for St Michael Pre-Formed Bra from Marks & Spencer,
circa 1950s, London College of Fashion Archives, UAL,
London, England, 095-10.

Despite the increasing popularity of a bra-less “natural” look during the 1970s, moulding techniques continued to be developed into the late 1970s and early 1980s. When used in conjunction with light, knitted fabrics, supportive seam-free cups could be produced that were made from a single piece of fabric. This appears in two late 1970s bras from the Symington Collection; a moulded bra from 1977 (reference

K227) and a 1979 Liberty bra (Figure 6). Both have moulded seam-free cups and are made of only two pieces of knitted synthetic fabric—a single piece of fabric forms both the cup and wing on each side of the body.



Figure 6:
Moulded Liberty bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co.,
1979, Leicestershire Museums Collections, England, K229.

Findings, Part 2: Support, Uplift, Comfort, and Fit

As uplifted breasts became a feature of the fashionable silhouette for women during the 1930s, more attention was paid to the specific elements of brassiere design that would achieve this look. The two parts of a bra which take the strain when supporting and lifting the breasts are the band and the shoulder straps. In addition, “diaphragm bands on brassieres both secured brassiere placement and enhanced the definition of the bustline by restraining the flesh below the breasts,”²⁹ so efforts were made by designers to ensure that these were both secure and comfortable. A bra that illustrates innovative diaphragm band design is the Liberty “Grace” bra from circa 1953 (Figure 7), which incorporates a feature called Nulift. It is mostly made from a non-stretch nylon fabric and has two elastic panels—one at the back and two at the front—in

²⁹ Fields, op cit., p. 95.

addition to wide ribbon straps with two enamelled rings for adjustment. The Nulift panel is only attached to the main body of the garment in three places, rather than along every seam, and thus allows for improved movement. This panel helps to support and shape the breasts in a flexible way while still providing a defined underbust area. However, the fact that this was the only bra in the collection that includes this feature indicates that it was perhaps not entirely successful.



Figure 7:
Liberty "Grace" Bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co.,
circa 1953, Leicestershire Museums Collections, England, H204.

Shoulder straps were gradually improved by the introduction of elastic; also improved were ways for the wearer to adjust the length of the shoulder straps. Elastic straps were adopted by Symington in 1934; the Lastex net bra mentioned above is noted by Page in the Collection catalogue as having "probably the first stretch straps."³⁰ However, perhaps because early elastic fibres had too much stretch, which resulted in

³⁰ Page, op cit., p. 152.

inadequate support, other options proved more popular. From 1934, some Symington bras (including F234, F216, and F236) featured a short section of elastic used to attach ribbon or fabric straps to the cup or back. The first adjustable straps appeared in 1937 (F204), but the adjustable stretch straps that twenty-first century consumers are familiar with did not feature in the Collection until 1966 (J234 and J235).

Cup Construction and Stitching Techniques

Another method that improved support and uplift was the introduction of separate cups, with an increasingly complicated construction becoming common as manufacturers searched for the ultimate solution. One of the first commercial bras to be developed with separate cups was the Kestos (Figure 8).



Figure 8:
*UK Magazine Advertisement
for Kestos, circa 1930s,
The Underpinnings Museum,
London, England, UM-2017-017.*

According to Farrell-Beck and Gau's extensive research, London-based Rosamond L. Kennedy (later known as Rosamond Klin) was awarded US Patent #1,681,119 on 14 August 1928 for her bra design consisting of "overlapping triangular cups, with shallow darts and slender ties that wrapped around the back to button at the sides."³¹ This was initially sold in Britain before appearing in American magazines in 1930. A lightweight bra of extremely simple construction, it proved to be popular and remained in British production until the early 1950s.³²

The Kestos "High Line" bra in the LCF Archives Collection (Figure 9) has a similar style to the original 1930s Kestos but is made from nylon and, therefore, probably dates from the early 1950s. It has a four-piece construction, darts for additional shaping, and the woven nylon fabric is overlaid with nylon lace. The non-stretch shoulder straps are adjustable, and the straps that wrap around the wearer and fasten onto plastic buttons at the front are elastic. This design also influenced other manufacturers, as is shown by the eight "Kestos style" bras from the 1930s and 1940s that are listed in the Symington Collection catalogue.³³



Figure 9:
Kestos
"High Line"
Bra, circa
1950s,
London
College of
Fashion
Archives,
UAL,
London,
England,
095-21.

³¹ Farrell-Beck and Gau, op cit., p. 78.

³² Rosemary Hawthorne, *Bras: A Private View*, Souvenir Press, London, England, 1992, p. 44.

³³ Page, op cit., p. 150.

Manufacturers experimented with different combinations of pattern pieces in order to create supportive cups, but soon realised the limitations of their materials. Once the fashionable breast silhouette became more pointed during the 1940s, further innovations in cup construction were needed to achieve this effect. A variety of different stitching techniques to reinforce the cups and provide uplift were developed, starting in 1935 with the spiral stitching of Hollywood Maxwell's "Whirlpool" brassiere in the United States. Maiden Form introduced their Chansonette in 1938 that "worked on a similar principle but created a circle out of spokelike sections...Circle-stitched cups ultimately became so popular that special sewing machines with multiple needles were constructed to mass produce them."³⁴

In the Symington Collection, stitching on the cups to provide uplift is evidenced in the 1941 Helene of Hollywood bra (GG208). A non-Utility bra made during the Utility era, the catalogue states that it heralded post-war changes in bras. Spiral stitching is also evident in the Debrette bra (Figure 10) which is made from non-stretch nylon with a powernet centre front panel, and dates from the circa 1950s.



Figure 10:
Detail, *Debrette Spiral Stitched Bra*, circa 1950s,
London College of Fashion Archives, UAL, London, England, 095-15.

³⁴ Fields, op cit., p. 98.

This Debrette bra with spiral stitching features a three-piece cup construction with sheer lace on the top panel and, in addition to the spiral stitching, the bottom panels have two stitched-in foam pads. These have degraded considerably—either through exposure to sweat, harsh laundering, or simply due to the ravages of time—and appear to now be reduced to powder.

Padding, Underwiring, and Experimentation

Padding was not just used to create uplift, it was also used to make the breasts appear larger. Although this practice began centuries earlier, options available during the 1950s were more extensive and technical, including padding stitched into a bra and made of foam rubber, felt, or eiderdown.³⁵ Removable pads slipped into pockets in the cups were also an option, along with separate “bust forms” or “falsies” that could be placed inside any brassiere. This trend was not limited to the United States, as “in 1952, a UK Lingerie Convention discovered that three out of five women attending were reduced to wearing padded bras or falsies. The marketplace was flooded with new technology to rectify this.”³⁶

One of the many types of bra developed to increase bust size was patented by La Resista Corset Co. in the United States, and the secret of its *Très Secrète* bra was inflatable pads (Figure 11). The rights to produce *Très Secrète* bras in the UK were granted to Symington in 1952, with the Supportu Supplewear Co. appointed as sole distributors. A page was devoted to their story in the Symington Collection catalogue, and an example of this feature can be seen in the 1952 *Très Secrète* non-wired bra, below, made from sheer nylon devoré fabric with opaque rayon spots.

The cups are lined with a cotton casing to hold the inflatable pads, which remain inside this example (Figure 12). The catalogue—written during the 1970s by the Keeper of the Symington Collection Christopher Page—states that they could be inflated by inserting a plastic tube into the opening at the top of the pad and then blowing in air to attain the desired size.

³⁵ Farrell-Beck and Gau, op cit., p. 121.

³⁶ Gillian Proctor, “Structure, Constraint, and Sexual Provocation” in IFFTI 9th Annual Conference, *Extreme Fashion: Pushing the Boundaries of Design, Business, and Technology*, 2007, http://www.iffiti.com/downloads/past_conferences/Ryerson,%202007/2.3-Proctor.pdf, Accessed 27 September 2014.

By withdrawing the plastic tube quickly and pressing the neck valve between the thumb and forefinger for 10 seconds a complete seal was formed...A correct observance of the sealing procedure was guaranteed to be effective and during the preparation of the museum collection, cups were discovered that had remained correctly inflated for almost twenty years.³⁷

Page notes that they were extremely popular with women who had undergone a mastectomy as one pad could be discarded completely and the other fully inflated, thus restoring balance. These bras continued to be sold in the UK until 1964.



Figure 11:
Très Secrète Non-Wired Bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co., 1952,
Leicestershire Museums
Collections, Leicester, England,
H249.



Figure 12:
Back and Partial Interior of Très Secrète Non-Wired Bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co., 1952,
Leicestershire Museums
Collections, Leicester, England,
H249.

³⁷ Page, op cit., p. 170.

Another example of a bra with removable pads is the Wonderbra (Figure 13). Initially developed in Canada during the 1930s, Canadian lingerie manufacturer Canadelle first registered Wonderbra as a Trademark in the United States in 1955³⁸ and their well-known Dream Lift 1300 push-up plunge bra was introduced in 1963.³⁹ This popular style entered the Guinness Book of Records in 1996, having sold more than 1.6 million units worldwide.

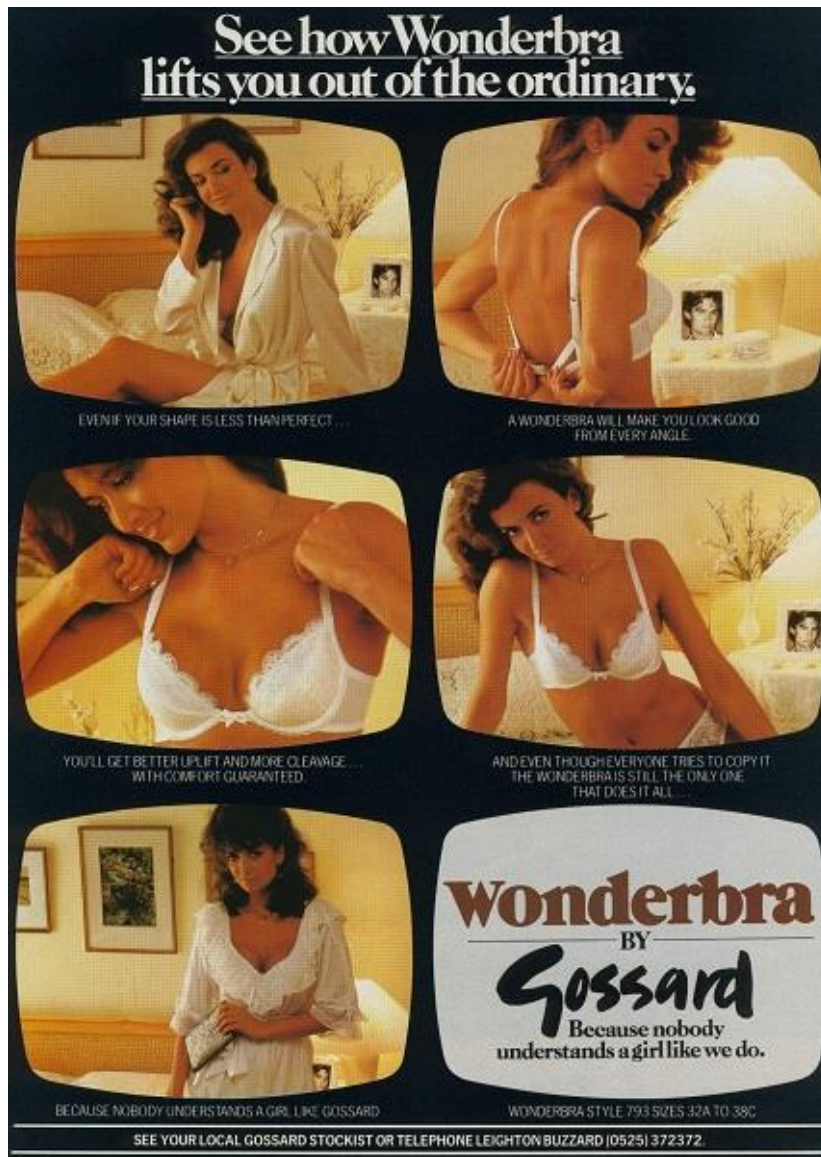


Figure 13:
*UK Magazine
Advertisement for
Wonderbra by Gossard,
circa 1980s,
The Underpinnings
Museum,
London, England,
LS-2018-003.*

³⁸ United States Patent and Trademark Office, "Wonderbra, US Registration Number 612231," 2016, http://tsdr.uspto.gov/#caseNumber=612231&caseType=US_REGISTRATION_NO&searchType=statusSearch, Accessed 23 August 2014.

³⁹ "Wonderbra," Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wonderbra>, Accessed 24 August 2014.

In addition to padding, another important feature of the Wonderbra 1300 is underwiring. Metal supports have been used in women's undergarments since 1829⁴⁰ but, during the twentieth century, bra designers and manufacturers created increasingly more ingenious ways to use metal. This began before the Second World War, when the trend for "uplift and separation ushered in greater use of wired sections for support and shaping."⁴¹ The first commercially produced styles of underwired and overwired strapless bras were sold in the United States in 1934,⁴² but wiring only became common after the Second World War due to the limited availability of the metal during the war.

Early underwired bras were potentially uncomfortable as during the course of wear, the metal could eventually poke through the fabric. It became common for the interior of the bra to be padded or covered with velvet at the point at which the wires touched the skin, in order to improve comfort and reduce the likelihood of emerging wires. An example of this is evidenced in the late 1956 Liberty underwired bra (Figure 14), made from machine embroidered semi-sheer nylon. Inside the bra, the underwire casing is covered with a soft velour fabric on the ends to improve comfort.

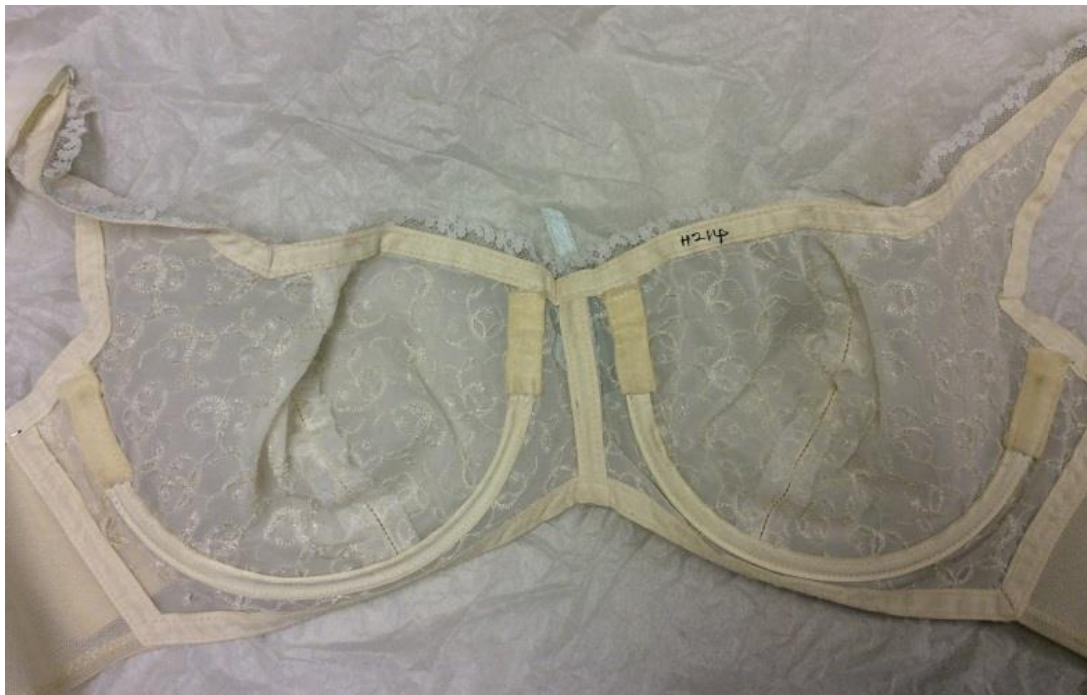


Figure 14:
Interior, *Liberty Underwired Bra* by R. & W.H. Symington & Co., 1956,
Leicestershire Museums Collections, Leicester, England, H214.

⁴⁰ Valerie Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 2001, p. 43.

⁴¹ Fields, op cit., p. 98.

⁴² Farrell-Beck and Gau, op cit., p. 101.

Many innovative ways to offer support have been trialled and patented by manufacturers, of which the 1936 bandeau brassiere manufactured by Symington in the UK (Figure 15) with its patented “Cup-Form” uplift is an interesting example. It is made from satin rayon with two small darts for shaping and a ribbon drawstring down the centre front between the breasts. Inside there are two pockets, supported at the top by an inverted V of elastic, and the small leaflet attached to the bra explains how these are used. It claims that, “Cup-Form is fashion’s way of supporting drooping busts, minimising over-developed busts and emphasising the underdeveloped figure. ...Fit the busts into the comfortable pockets, then draw the adjustable ribbon until you obtain the desired degree of accentuation.”⁴³



Figure 15:
Interior, “Cup-Form” Bra by R. & W.H. Symington & Co., 1936,
Leicestershire Museums Collections, Leicester, England, F223.

⁴³ R. & W.H. Symington & Co., 1936, Leicestershire Museums Collections, Leicester, England, F223.

The circa 1944 Sho-Form of Hollywood “nu-adjust” bra (Figure 16) features another patented uplift feature. The “nu-adjust” sling underneath each cup allows the wearer to increase the uplift by adjusting a strap on the outside of the bra, much like adjusting a shoulder strap. This type of innovation continued in later decades and each attempt appears to be trademarked or patented. According to text on the packaging of a 1979 Playtex Cross Your Heart bra,⁴⁴ the foam “Beauty Lift”® undercup panels will provide the wearer with “superb support and shaping.” However, very few of these innovations have offered a lasting solution. The enduring uplift styles have been those which used a combination of cleverly cut pattern pieces and simple wiring. For smaller busts, padding has remained popular.



Figure 16:
Detail, *Sho-Form of Hollywood “Nu-Adjust” Bra*, circa 1944,
London College of Fashion Archives, UAL, London, England, 095-13.

Focus on Comfort and Fit

The majority of complaints regarding brassieres tend to involve discomfort and poor fit. One of the ways in which both can be improved is to allow some degree of adjustability for the wearer, and the introduction of adjustable straps, elastic, and

⁴⁴ LCF Archives, Reference 095-12.

fastenings all achieved this to some extent (Figure 17). Hooks and eyes became a common fastening for women's undergarments during the 1920s, yet there was often only one row of eyes which meant that no adjustment could be made.

An extremely important development that improved bra fit was the introduction of graded cup sizes (Figure 17). Until that point, there was no way for manufacturers to differentiate between chest size and breast volume which is vital for achieving a perfect fit. There are conflicting reports of which manufacturer first used sizing for the cups as well as the band—and when cup sizes were first adopted. According to Farrell-Beck and Gau, Formfit Co. was the first to announce production in 1932, of three different volume cup sizes, which were available in each band size, labelled “small,” “average,” and “full.” The same authors claim that S.H. Camp and Co. “...pioneered in relating the size and pendulousness of breasts to letters of the alphabet, A through D,”⁴⁵ stating that Warner did not feature cup sizing until 1937. However, others—including Hawthorne, Bressler and Newman, and Fields—claim that Warner was first to develop the A, B, C, and D cup sizes in 1935.



Figure 17:
*Magazine Advertisement for Exquisite Form
 Brassieres Available in A to C Cup Sizes, 1952,*
 The Underpinnings Museum, London, England,
 UM-2017-020.

⁴⁵ Farrell-Beck, and Gau, op cit., p. 73.

In the UK it took a while for lettered cup sizes to be introduced across all brands. The 1950s St Michael pre-formed bra in Figure 5 is labelled as a “medium” cup and a 1952 longline nylon strapless bra in the Symington Collection (GG204) is listed as an “average” cup. The Catalogue notes that the 1951 unbranded princess-line bra (GG201) was “specially designed for A and B cup fittings. This is the first notification of a cup fitting within the catalogue.”⁴⁶ The first Symington Collection bra I studied in detail that had a cup size denoted by a letter was a 1957–1959 style that the manufacturer produced under license for Christian Dior. This size 36A bra (H240) also featured a Velcro closure at the centre back, allowing for greater adjustability and resulting in an improved fit.

Comfort and fit were improved by many of the other innovations mentioned in this article, but the key developments during the 1960s were the increased use of Lycra and the introduction of adjustable stretch straps. The less structured and more natural styles of the 1970s—following the “no-bra” bra designed by Rudi Gernreich for Exquisite Form in 1964⁴⁷—provided a new form of comfort into the 1980s, aided by the increased use of soft knitted tricot fabrics and the development of moulded seam-free cups (Figure 18).

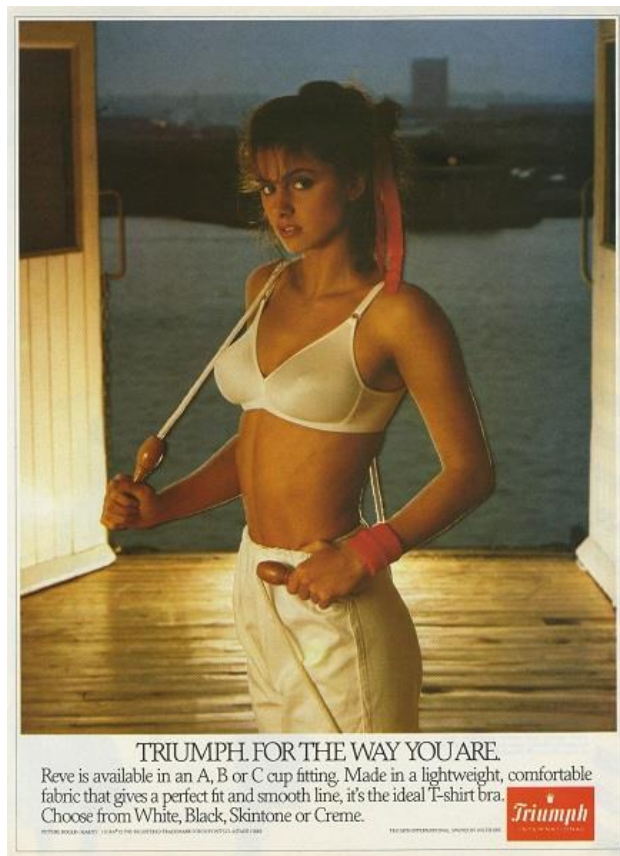


Figure 18:
UK Magazine Advertisement for the Triumph “Reve” Seam-Free T-shirt Bra, circa 1980s, The Underpinnings Museum, London, England, LS-2018-003.

⁴⁶ Page, op cit., p. 163.

⁴⁷ V&A Reference T.35:4-1999.

Another simple but effective innovation of the 1970s that improved wearer comfort was the Jogbra. In 1977 three American friends—Hinda Miller, Lisa Lindahl, and Polly Palmer-Smith—developed the first sports bra after being inspired by the support men got from the athletic supporter (“jock strap”).⁴⁸ By 1979 Miller, Lindahl, and Palmer-Smith had a patent pending—evidenced on the label of the 1979 Jogbra in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art⁴⁹—and were selling to specialist sports shops.

Conclusion

Concentrating on the technology used to inform and improve the work of bra designers and manufacturers during an important period in the development of this complex garment, has proved to be a useful way to focus on the key moments in its history. But outerwear fashions also had a great influence on bra design and a useful avenue of future research would be to explore the links between them. The primarily object-focused approach of this study is vital to understanding the changes to the bra within the time period covered, and it was evident from the garments viewed that although technological advancements have played an extremely important part in the development of the bra since 1930, there have been relatively few new features introduced since the late 1970s.

Most of the pattern-cutting developments in bra cup construction occurred between the 1930s and 1950s, with underwiring and graded cup sizes becoming features of some styles of bra in the UK towards the end of the 1950s. Padding and pre-forming have also been used since the 1950s with colourful printed fabrics and adjustable stretch straps—like those on the majority of twenty-first century bras—available from the 1960s. Advances in moulding technology gave bra wearers seam-free cups during the 1970s, but since then, any new developments were improvements to styles and features that were already available. The only technological advancement that bra designers and manufacturers have yet to perfect is that which ensures all-day comfort.

⁴⁸ Aimee Lewis, “How Sports Bras Helped Transform Women’s Approach to Sport,” 23 April 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/athletics/32382911>, Accessed 18 July 2017.

⁴⁹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Reference 1980.51.

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The Norwegian *Bunad*: Peasant Dress, Embroidered Costume, and National Symbol

Solveig Strand

Abstract

Most of the Norwegian regional national costumes called *bunads* developed in the first decades of the twentieth century, but do not look like the original folk costumes that have been claimed to be their prototypes. Costumes composed of dark wool fabrics with multi-coloured wool embroideries emerged as supposedly authentic *bunads* in the early twentieth century, yet there is hardly any region in Norway where these dresses had been traditionally worn. The modern ideal of the *bunad* remains dominant and these latter-day inventions are preferred by the public over historically accurate, reconstructed costumes. This article investigates how the *bunad* ideal was developed and why it became Norway's dominant, historic sartorial symbol.

Introduction

After centuries of Danish domination, the Norwegian Constitution was adopted in 1814 and Norway again became independent for a short while. But the allied coalition which had defeated Napoleonic France soon forced Norway into a dual monarchy with Sweden; with Norway as a junior partner. Norwegians subsequently developed a new level of interest in everything about their culture that might symbolise Norway's being a separate country with its own ethnic and national heritage. Over the course of the nineteenth century, traditional fairy tales, folk songs, and psalms were collected and the information published. Though an interest in Norwegian peasant dress had already emerged by the eighteenth century, such as when King Fredrik V of Denmark-Norway erected statues of Norwegians wearing folk costume in the garden

of Fredensborg palace outside Copenhagen during the 1760s and 1770s,¹ during the nineteenth century this interest grew even bigger. In several regions of Norway (Figure 1), peasants wore regionally distinct folk costumes that stood apart from high fashion, although the folk costumes were influenced by borrowing motifs from several different fashion eras together with the peasants' interpretations of them, some of which became embedded and endured far beyond their day as high fashion motifs. In this way, very distinctive costumes developed which were defined by geographical region rather than by the limited timespans of the latest high fashion.



Figure 1:
*Provinces and Smaller
Regions of Norway,*
The Norwegian Institute of
Bunad and Folk Costume,
Fagernes, Norway.

¹ See Aagot Noss, *Statuane i Nordmandsdalen [The Statues in Nordmandsdalen]*, Det norske samlaget, Oslo, Norway, 1977.

These folk costumes were the peasants' only style of clothing, which ranged from Sunday best to workwear² and in some places were still being worn during the mid to late nineteenth century. The costumes became a point of interest for local artists and foreign visitors alike and were soon adopted by people other than the traditional wearers. Even though the term, *bunad*, did not yet exist in the 1840s, this era saw the beginnings of this change as the concept of regional national costumes began to emerge.³ Prominent wearers of the new *bunad* were waitresses and other female staff at tourist hotels catering to wealthy foreign guests, as by the late nineteenth century Norway had become a popular tourist destination for upper class visitors from Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Russia, and elsewhere. Guests loved the exotic and beautiful costumes and sometimes bought these outfits for themselves to wear, which helped to spur popularity of the *bunad*. Soon it was worn in most of Norway but now for additional purposes being adopted for everything from theatrical historic costumes to tour guide uniforms.⁴

As the national costume of Norway, today both genders wear the *bunad* for special occasions, but for everyday dress they wear the conventional styles of the time rather than folk costume. The varieties of the *bunad* differ in their appearance and relationship to the old peasant dress; some have a direct link to the old costumes, some are reconstructed revivals and others have been claimed to be based on old traditions when in reality they were designed during the twentieth century. But regardless, the concept of the *bunad* is rooted in the traditional, authentic Norwegian folk costume.⁵

This article addresses only the last category of *bunads*, which were designed to look old and traditional yet cater to modern taste in that most have matching embroidery⁶ sewn on the dark coloured wool. The first *bunad* to be popularly worn was the Hardanger version from the west coast of Norway, which was called the *Nasjonalen* [The National], as a truly national dress that symbolised Norway (Figure 2). The average Norwegian today probably believes that these popular *bunads* are typical of the traditional peasant dress, since the public's knowledge about their historical

² Aagot Noss, "Tilhøvet: Folkedrakt-bunad," [Folk Costume: Bunad] in Bing, Morten and Steen, Hege, eds., *Folk og klede - skikk og bruk, Festskrift til Aagot Noss* [People and Dress: Custom and Tradition, A Tribute to Aagot Noss], Norsk folkemuseum, Oslo, Norway, 1994, p. 121.

³ Anne Kristin Moe, *Broderte bunader, Hundre år med norsk bunadshistorie* [Embroidered Bunads, One Hundred Years of Norwegian Bunad History], Durán Publishing, Flottvik, Sweden, 2014, p. 16.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 16–18.

⁵ Noss, op cit., 1994, pp. 121–123.

⁶ The embroidery on the different parts of the *bunad* is matching, i.e., usually on a bodice, skirt, or apron (though rarely both at the same time), bonnet, purse, and (sometimes) on a shawl.

inaccuracy appears to be limited. Since only female *bunads* were invented following this pattern, male *bunads* will not be addressed in this article.



Figure 2:
Queen Maud of Norway while Princess of Wales, Wearing a Bunad from Hardanger, 1893, The Norwegian Institute of Bunad and Folk Costume, Fagernes, Norway. Maud visited the west coast of Norway with her mother and sisters in 1893 and was photographed in a bunad, the traditional costume of Norway. The photograph was reproduced as postcards and posters when she became Queen of Norway in 1905.

Hulda Garborg and Her Method

The *bunad* became a powerful political symbol. Women were becoming more involved in politics, though women were not enfranchised for national elections until 1913. By the turn of the twentieth century, wearing a *bunad* was a strong sign of a woman's support for Norwegian independence. However, when Norway became independent from Sweden in 1905, the interest changed from national to local, and the Hardanger *bunad* became just another local style. People now wanted local costumes that represented their home provinces, but not all regions of Norway retained a living folk costume tradition. This process, therefore, involved many "invented traditions," analogous to the emergence of the similarly invented Scottish kilt.⁷

One of the architects behind the modern invention of the Norwegian *bunad* was Hulda Garborg (1862–1934), who wanted local *bunads* to be established for each province. Her approach was to find folk costumes that best suited this purpose. She did not care much for the Hardanger *bunad*, worn in the fjords of Hardanger, as it was too foreign in its style, which was partially due to its being made of imported materials. Furthermore, Garborg did not like its being designated as a national costume since there were several regions in Norway that already had their own local costumes.⁸ Garborg wanted a costume made from Norwegian materials that was possible for most women to sew. As a women's rights activist, Garborg was also preoccupied with the view that the *bunad* should be easy to wear and allow for free movement, and that the corset should be abandoned. Since *bunads* were often worn for folk dancing, this last point was of particular importance.

In 1903, Garborg published a 30-page pamphlet, titled, *Norsk klædebunad* [Norwegian Regional Folk Costume], the first work published on the *bunad*. The pamphlet presented some of the finest folk costumes in Norway that were well suited as *bunads*. She mentioned the Hardanger costume, yet not in wholly positive terms, and that of Setesdal, which she liked but thought too heavy for those who were not accustomed to wearing it from childhood. Yet, most importantly, Garborg mentioned the Hallingdal *bunad*, which was clearly to her taste. Garborg loved how its waistline allowed for freedom of movement, and the costume did not require a corset. She was also fond of the way the *bunad* looked, with its colourful embroidery on a heavy black cloth. However, as the width made it heavy, she advised how to make it with a much

⁷ See Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland" in Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1983, pp. 15–41.

⁸ Moe, op cit., p. 32.

lighter fabric and with less width in the skirt to render the *bunad* more wearable. Garborg also preferred the waistline lowered. These adjustments made the costume more in tune with aesthetic ideals of that era,⁹ and Garborg included a pattern for making the *bunad* in her 1903 version of *Norsk klædebunad* (Figure 3).



Figure 3:
*Hulda Garborg Wearing a
Hallingdal Bunad, often
Called the “Hulda Garborg
Bunad,”* Photograph
Published in Hulda Garborg,
Norsk klædebunad
[*Norwegian Regional Folk
Costume*], Revised Edition,
H Aschehoug & Co.,
Kristiania, Norway, 1917.

⁹ Hulda Garborg, *Norsk klædebunad*, [Norwegian Regional Folk Costume], Norigs ungdomslag and Student-maallaget, Oslo, Norway, 1903, pp. 9–15.

Historical authenticity was clearly unimportant to Garborg. She sought to create costumes that catered to the taste of modern women yet gave the impression of being very old and traditional. This way, the wearer would get the best of both worlds: a modern *bunad* in a style that was suited to modern aesthetic ideals yet was based upon Norwegian tradition. Garborg thus altered the Hallingdal *bunad* to form her ideal dress, but she soon found another that suited her taste even more. In 1907 she met the artist Frida Rusti who was wearing a costume from the region of Sunnmøre made of black wool and consisting of a bodice and skirt with matching embroidery on the bodice and apron.¹⁰

Yet contrary to previous assumptions that *bunads* with matching embroidery were the invention of the twentieth century created to match a contemporary aesthetic ideal, more recent research suggests that folk costumes with matching embroidery had been worn in Sunnmøre, on the northwest coast of Norway, during the mid nineteenth century, and embroidered aprons were as old as the eighteenth century. Embroidery was also applied to bodices, purses, and shawls from the mid nineteenth century, but it is not known if these different pieces were worn together or separately. It seems that from the 1860s the bodices matched the aprons.¹¹

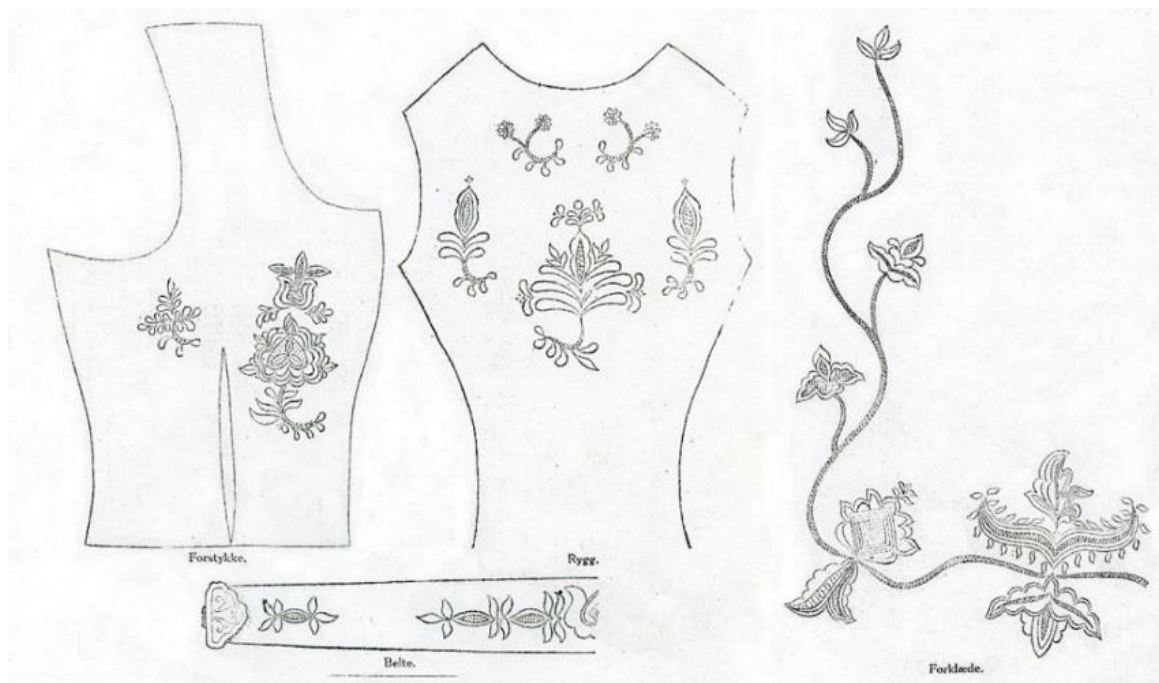


Figure 4:
Pattern for the First Version of the Sunnmøre Bunad,
For bygd og by [For Countryside and City], 1914,
 The Norwegian Institute of Bunad and Folk Costume, Fagernes, Norway.

¹⁰ Moe, op cit., p. 60.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 62–64.

When interest in the *bunad* and its local variations reached new heights after Norwegian independence, women from this region took to wearing *bunads* that were like the folk costume. Apparently in the original, the bodice and skirt were made separately, but when adopted into the modern *bunad*, they were sewn together. Garborg included a pattern for the Sunnmøre *bunad* in her column “Heimen” [The Home] in the family journal, *For bygd og by* [For Countryside and City] in 1914 (Figure 4).¹² One objective was for every woman to be able to make her own *bunad* from such easily accessible fabrics as wool and linen. The Sunnmøre *bunad* became a success and women all over the country, regardless of where they came from, soon began to sew their own *bunads*.



Figure 5:
Authentic Valdres Folk Costumes,
Left to Right: Matron, Groom, Bride, Two Bridesmaids, and Matron,
Johannes Flintoe, circa 1819-1825,
The Norwegian Institute of Bunad and Folk Costume, Fagernes, Norway.

¹² Ibid., p. 84.

The Sunnmøre *bunad* turned out to be so popular that Garborg used it as the basis for designing *bunads* for other regions in Norway. The first was for the region of Valdres and is often called the “old Valdres *bunad*.” She had visited Valdres in 1913 and afterwards local enthusiasts tasked her with creating a *bunad* for the region that was in tune with the modern taste.¹³ She disliked the traditional dress from the region, with its high, tight waistline and wide, heavy skirt, often made of expensive imported materials (Figure 5). Since Garborg believed that reviving this impractical style was out of the question, she decided to design a *bunad* for the region that was based upon the Sunnmøre model.

During her 1913 visit, Garborg was shown several embroidered bonnets from the region and found an eighteenth century bonnet (Figure 6) from southern Valdres which she used in designing a new *bunad* (Figure 7). The eighteenth century bonnet was made of brown velvet which had probably faded from black, and multi-coloured silk tread embroidered in an eighteenth century stylised floral pattern.



Figure 6:

Eighteenth Century Valdres Woman's Bonnet, Bagn Bygdesamling Museum, Bagn, Norway, Photographed by The Norwegian Institute of Bunad and Folk Costume, Fagernes, Norway, NBF1971-0000-25.

¹³ Ibid., p. 86.



Figure 7:
*The Valdres
Bunad Today,
in Black Wool
with Matching
Embroidery,
without an
Apron,*
circa 2010,
Photographed
by Laila Durán,
Private
Collection,
Norway.

Garborg had help from the artist Aksel Waldemar Johannessen (1880–1922), who adapted the eighteenth century bonnet pattern so that it could be applied to the bodice, apron, bonnet, and purse. The *bunad* itself was made of wool fabric and the embroidery executed in wool yarn with colours based upon those on the eighteenth century bonnet.¹⁴ A revised edition of *Norsk Klædebund* was published in 1917 and

¹⁴ Ibid.

included *bunads* from Sunnmøre, Gubrandsdalen, Øst-Telemark, and her new Valdres design.¹⁵ The overall tendency in this revised edition was to decorate the different parts of the costumes with matching embroidery; while not all had it, those that did received more emphasis and attention. The old Valdres *bunad* set the trend for most subsequent designs, but inspiration for the embroidery came from diverse sources; in the old folk costumes the embroidery was usually limited to bonnets and purses. But, in some regions it was entirely absent so other sources were sought for inspiration, which included embroidered pillows, blankets, or even *rosemaling* [decorative arts painting], and local flora.

In several parts of Norway there is no evidence that the peasants ever wore locally specific folk costumes, but rather adopted modified versions of international fashions, which were worn by both the lower classes in the cities and the peasants. This influence appears most often in regions with the easiest access to the outside world, and as these were often the wealthier coastal areas engaged for foreign trade, they also tended to have a prominent upper class alert to news from abroad. Embroidered survivals of dress in such areas were rare and the original costumes actually worn by the peasants definitely did not look anything like the Sunnmøre *bunad* that became the ideal. But local people wanted *bunads* that resembled the now well-established national symbol that included embroidery. This was very much in keeping with concurrent developments on the international fashion stage under the influence of Art Nouveau. The Norwegian equivalent to this trend was the so-called “dragon style” that took inspiration from the animal ornamentation used during the Viking age, so these colours and floral embroideries drew inspiration from this ancient Norwegian artistic heritage.¹⁶

Soon Garborg and her associates were not the only ones to design *bunads* that displayed her idealised designs, as people throughout Norway began designing their own *bunads*, with the result that several from very different parts of the country displayed looks that resembled each other. The new national symbol had found its look and despite being inauthentic as the traditional peasant dress, the *bunad* had become well established and would be difficult to change.

¹⁵ See Hulda Garborg, *Norsk klædebunad [Norwegian Regional Folk Costume]*, Revised Edition, H Aschehoug & Co., Kristiania, Norway, 1917.

¹⁶ Moe, op cit., p. 40.

New Actors, Different Ideals

In the 1920s a new school of thought took the stage with Klara Semb (1884–1970) as its leading figure (Figure 8). She did not like how the *bunad* had taken on an aesthetic life of its own in which historically authentic dress was ignored. She criticised several of the styles on the market and started to research what peasants had actually worn in different parts of Norway. This effort to construct authentic *bunads* was not a systematic reconstruction of old folk costumes, but it did represent an increased interest in, and respect for, historical accuracy.¹⁷



Figure 8:
*Klara Semb Wearing
an Øst-Telemark
Bunad, Circa Mid
Twentieth Century,
The Norwegian
Institute of Bunad and
Folk Costume,
Fagernes, Norway.*

¹⁷ Ragnar Nordby, “Klara Semb og bunadene,” [“Klara Semb and the Bunads”] in Sælid, Kristoffer, ed., *Ho tok oss med, Festskrift til Klara Semb på 80-årsdagen 17 oktober 1964* [*She Took Us with Her, A Tribute to Klara Semb on her 80th Birthday, 17 October 1964*], Noregs boklag, Oslo, Norway, 1964, pp. 64–67.

The *bunads* created by this new school, led by Semb, clearly differed from the first ideal, led by Garborg. In the 1920s, the new school advocated the inclusion of different types of fabrics and new shapes, often with considerably less embroidery. Semb's guiding principle was to respect the actual clothes that were once worn by the peasants in their different regions, but this did not mean that she attempted to copy or make exact reconstructions of them. One example of a *bunad* created according to Semb's ideas is from Solør/Odal, a region that already had a *bunad* with embroidery that had been created according to Garborg's principles. This was now rivalled by a new version that was closer to what the peasant women of that region had actually worn. But the *bunads* created after Garborg's ideal did not go out of production and both designs did not just continue to exist side by side for decades, but even more new versions were designed according to the principles of their respective ideals.

During the 1970s yet another new approach emerged, which this time was based upon the ideal of systematic, historically accurate reconstruction. This approach thus emphasised historic accuracy more than ever and copied what the peasants had actually worn as much as possible by using reconstructions of old folk costumes from across Norway. This was a departure from Semb's ideas, since the focus was not only on what the costumes looked like, but also on copying the techniques that were originally used when the *bunads* were made. There was also a new emphasis to utilise only authentically accurate fabrics; the previous approximations that only partly resembled the originals were rejected, with the goal of making these copies as accurate as possible, or at least to use a similar fabric to that which was known to have been used. The first Garborg-style *bunad* with multi-coloured embroidery on dark cloth was from Valdres and the first of these new, reconstructed *bunads* was from the same region.¹⁸

This interest to achieve total historic accuracy in *bunad* reconstructions has continued ever since, and several new styles for both men and women were reconstructed in later years. However, *bunads* are still being made after Garborg's first ideal, and with embroidery that is often inspired by local flora. Norwegians often consider them to be the prettiest *bunads* in the country and they remain the most popular. Just why this is so is not easy to answer, but several different factors might simultaneously be in play. One possible explanation is that the embroidered *bunads* suit Norwegians' contemporary sense of fashion; the basic parts match each other with colours, patterns, and combinations that suit modern Norwegian taste. The designs are attractive and if a family has been using one type of *bunad* for generations, it seems only natural that the next generation would prefer that same choice.

¹⁸ Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, *Norsk bunadleksikon, bind 1 [Encyclopedia of Norwegian Bunads, Vol. 1]*, Cappelen Damm, Oslo, Norway, 2006, p. 320.

An important factor is the ideal of matching embroidery sewn upon dark cloth, which emerged just as Norway was in need of a new national symbol at the time of its 1905 independence. Garborg's revival was not so much about historical accuracy as to fulfil this need, and Norwegian folk dancers also wanted clothing that symbolised the nation yet was also practical and pretty, which for them was more important than historical accuracy. But the costumes also had to look authentic and convincing as symbols of Norway's ancient traditions that went back much further than the *bunad*'s brief 100 years of existence.

The *bunad* is thus primarily a symbol rather than an historical recreation, and its success has mainly been achieved by being embraced as a Norwegian national sartorial emblem. Sherry B. Ortner in her article "On Key Symbols" states that their purpose is to promote the solidarity of cultural groups.¹⁹ When a new and reconstructed *bunad* is introduced into a region where an older one is already well established, the reaction of many people is a strong disapproval because the new *bunad* is seen as usurping the old one and is thus disrespectful to the regions' traditions. This argument has merit, since the *bunad* is not only a formal dress for special occasions, but as a venerable, symbolic national icon it shows that the wearer belongs to a community and the nation. When regional *bunad* styles are no longer as uniform as they once were, this stylistic diversity weakens its function as a national symbol. This is important; since few Norwegians possess significant knowledge about the nation's dress history, their interest is not in historical authenticity but on the *bunads*' national symbolic function.

Case Study: Østfold

The province of Østfold never developed a locally specific folk costume, which could be the reason why an interest in creating a *bunad* to represent the region only emerged in the 1930s. Located in extreme southeast Norway, Østfold had a considerable upper class and is near Sweden, Denmark, and the European continent, so it had easier access to new impulses from abroad than almost all of the rest of Norway.²⁰ The first attempt came in 1930 with a costume for women that was inspired by surviving eighteenth century Østfold garments. These consisted of a jacket and a skirt made in blue or rust-red but included no multi-coloured embroidery on dark wool nor a sleeveless bodice with a white linen shirt, and the public rejected it. They wanted a costume that was more in tune with the *bunad* ideal that by this time was already well

¹⁹ Sherry B. Ortner, "On Key Symbols," *American Anthropologist*, Volume 75, Number 5, October 1973, p. 1342.

²⁰ Sven G. Eliassen, *Herregårder i Østfold [Historic Manors of Østfold]*, Valdisholm forlag, Rakkestad, Norway, 1997, pp. 11–13.

established.²¹ A new *bunad* was introduced in 1936 and this ensemble included embroideries on the bonnet, purse, and shawl, and it became widely accepted and is still in use today (Figure 9).



Figure 9:

The 1936 Østfold Bunad, with a Bodice of Linen and Wool Damask with Wool Skirt and Matching Embroidery on the Shawl, Bonnet, and Purse, circa 2010, Photographed by Linda Vasaasen, Private Collection, Norway.

²¹ Vidar Parmer, "Folkedraktskikk i Østfold" [Folk Costumes in Østfold], Øy, Nils E., ed., *Bygd og by i Norge, Østfold* [Village and City in Norway, Østfold], Gyldendal norsk forlag, Oslo, Norway, 1978, pp. 400–401.

The embroideries were taken from a surviving historic shawl which were also adapted and applied to its other parts, but these were executed in a more modern colour scheme; the flowers are orange and green, but the original shawl displays different shades of purple.²² However, its colouring and the cut are not quite like Garborg's style but lean more towards Semb's ideal, and it was even claimed that she took part in designing the cut of the bodice, which she later denied.²³ This *bunad* was loved by many, but others have criticised it. The desire for one that was more true to Garborg's principles from 1914 induced local enthusiasts to create a new version for the province. The result appeared in 1949 and was made of blue or black cloth with multi-coloured rose embroideries on the bodice, skirt, purse, and bonnet (Figure 10).



Figure 10:
The 1949 Østfold Bunad, or løkenbunaden, with Black or Blue Wool with Matching Wool Embroideries on the Skirt, Bodice, Bonnet, and Purse, circa 2010, Photographed by Linda Vasaasen, Private Collection, Norway.

²² Haugen, op cit., pp. 178–179.

²³ Janette Ulvedalen, *Bunader i Østfold, Fra folkelig mote til bunader [The Bunads of Østfold, from Peasant Fashion to the Bunad]*, Ask forlag, Halden, Norway, 2011, p. 191.

Since Østfold is a relatively untraditional region, the designers created an embroidery pattern copied from a *rosemaling* painted cupboard from a building at the farm of Lille Løken in the municipality of Trøgstad. The late eighteenth century Østfold artist Erich Friedrich Holmgren²⁴ might have painted it since the style is similar to his, but it is typical of regional Østfold *rosemaling*. The inspiration from the cupboard thus gives this *bunad* a local touch, even though the style is clearly similar to many others from all over Norway.²⁵ Bondekvinnelaget [The Farm Women's Organization] which had taken on the responsibility for creating an embroidered *bunad* for Østfold, gave the task of designing it to the artist Halfdan Arneberg (1879–1961), who in addition designed the silver jewellery that goes with it, the pattern of which he also copied from the same cupboard's *rosemaling*.²⁶ This remains the most popular of the Østfold *bunad* designs and is one of the most popular in all of Norway.

Circa 2015, yet another new women's *bunad* for Østfold was introduced which was systematically reconstructed from extant eighteenth century garments (Figure 11). This was a clear break with the earlier ideals and returns to the principals of the first attempt to create an Østfold *bunad* that had been rejected in 1930. This new, reconstructed version is colourful and made of imported materials, such as silk and damask, with a jacket and skirt in different colours and qualities of fabric, but most importantly it features no embroidery.

This *bunad* is still so new on the market that it is not yet possible to draw conclusions about its popularity among consumers, but perhaps many women with roots in Østfold would rather choose one of the older models than this new version. We also know from similar developments in other regions that such reconstructed *bunads* are less popular, and that it often takes several years before people accept such designs. The establishment of the embroidered ideal over a century ago has generated public expectation about what a proper *bunad* should look like. While the designs later shifted from the principle of constructed to reconstructed versions due to the influence of clothing and textile historians, this did not necessarily change the consumers' preferences, and most do not have the same knowledge about, and interest in, historical authenticity as design priorities.

²⁴ Erich Friedrich Holmgren studied art in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1757. He eventually moved to Halden in Østfold, Norway, and obtained a *borgerbrev* [permanent address] in 1770. A *borgerbrev* could be obtained by pledging loyalty to the king and the authorities in the city. A *borgerbrev* provided the holder certain privileges, such as the right to run a business in that city, to pay taxes, and take part in public life.

²⁵ Moe, op cit., p. 171.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 171–173.



Figure 11:
Østfold *Bunad*
Based on
Eighteenth
Century Dress,
Produced by
Bunadtilvirkern
e [Bunad
Tailors], circa
2015,
Oslo, Norway,
Photographed
by Ellen Lund,
Private
Collection,
Norway.

Conclusion

The priorities for designing and presenting new *bunads* have changed over the century and the various schools of thought have had different ways of relating to clothing history and the old folk costumes of Norway. The first style that was launched had matching embroideries on different parts of the costume and showed the local flavour by borrowing that region's sources for the embroidery. When the *bunad* ideal was first established, there was a strong desire and need for emblems to symbolise the

Norwegian national identity, and these styles thus became strongly established in the popular mind. Even though research showed that these designs did not authentically revive the old sartorial traditions, this multi-coloured embroidery on a dark cloth model had become well rooted as a national symbol. This basic style was thus what people expected a *bunad* to look like, and it is no easy task to change the public's opinion about it. This is also in spite of the fact that the historically accurate *bunads* are not in competition with the older models, but merely add variety to the market by providing historically authentic choices.

The embroidered *bunads* reflected the fashion developments at the time, including Art Nouveau and its Norwegian equivalent of the so-called dragon style. Since these *bunads* were in tune with modern taste, they became popular just like any other fashion. They were, and still are, easy for the contemporary woman to embrace. The look is attractive, with matching colours and shapes that look good on most people, and their embroidered patterns appeal to most contemporary consumers' taste. These factors together with its symbolic effect have generated a success that remains to the present day. But it is difficult to know for certain why the reconstructed, historically accurate *bunads* are not enjoying the same popularity as Garborg's versions. There could be several different reasons, such as the modern aesthetic taste and family tradition; however, the symbolic effect of being widely accepted as the national costume is a major factor. People expect the *bunad* to look a certain way and this appears unlikely to change in the near future, since the *bunad* is not just any garment but symbolises the Norwegian nation.

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Feminists in High Heels: The Role of Femininity in Second-Wave Feminists' Dress in Finland, 1973-1990

Arja Turunen

Abstract

Recent studies have shown that the politics of self-presentation was a contentious issue among feminists. This article, which is based primarily on oral histories, addresses how Finnish second-wave feminists viewed the meanings of dress and appearance for their identity. The focus is on those who believed that feminist ideology liberated them to embrace their femininity and argues that Finnish feminist views about dress liberated women from the orthodox Marxist, pro-Russian Soviet political ideology of the Taistoist movement that was popular among young people in the 1970s, yet also from traditional, conservative female education at home and in school.

Introduction

The “new women’s movement,” also known as the second-wave feminist movement, emerged in the United States in the 1960s to fight against the oppression of women, with an agenda that included the targeting of traditional fashion and the use of cosmetics. Feminists saw both fashion and cosmetics as trivialities that functioned ideologically to foster a false femininity of controlling women, and to keep them

trapped in subservience to men.¹ But since the 1990s, third-wave feminists have argued for a more inclusive and expansive vision of beauty and feminist style and pointed out that the rejection of fashion by second-wave feminists produced a strict feminist dress code that tended towards uniformity. Instead of liberating women from feminine norms and the tyranny of fashion, they created their own dress dictates of “blue jeans, sensible shoes, and an unmasked face.”²

In recent years, more detailed studies of the history of the feminist movement have reconstructed both a second-wave feminism and its relationship to a third wave. These show that the politics of self-presentation was a contentious issue among second-wave feminists, as there were divergent ideas about the roots of women’s oppression and the way feminist ideas should be practised. The political role of fashion, dress, and standards of feminine beauty had been highlighted by the radical feminist movement from early on, with a mass demonstration in Atlantic City, New Jersey, United States in 1968 to protest against the Miss America Beauty Pageant. Radical feminists threw such garments of female “oppression” and “torture” as high heels, bras, and girdles, into a “freedom trash can.”³

However, the liberal American feminists who formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) favoured a feminine style and appearance for tactical reasons, arguing that an alignment with that era’s cultural norms was a way to fit into institutions to foster change from within. From this point of view that era’s “unisex style” in which both genders dressed similarly, sent the wrong message and was thus counterproductive. This conflict was complicated by additional disagreements within

¹ See Caroline Evans and Minna Thornton, *Women & Fashion: A New Look*, Quartet, London, England, 1989, p. 1; Astrid Henry, “Fashioning a Feminist Style, Or, How I Learned to Dress from Reading Feminist Theory,” in Shira Tarrant and Marjorie Jolles, eds., *Fashion Talks: Undressing the Power of Style*, State University of New York Press, Ithica, United States, 2012, p. 17; Jo Reger, “DIY fashion and Going Bust: Wearing Feminist Politics in the Twenty-First Century,” in Tarrant and Jolles, op cit., p. 211; Betty Hillman Luther, *Dressing for the Culture Wars: Style and the Politics of Self-Presentation in the 1960s and 1970s*, The University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, United States, 2015, pp. 61–89.

² Henry, op cit., p. 21; Reger, op cit., p. 212; Marjorie Jolles, “Stylish Contraction. Mix-and-Match as the Fashion of Feminist Ambivalence,” in Tarrant and Jolles, op cit., pp. 229–230.

³ Reger, op cit., p. 211; Evans and Thornton, op cit., pp. 3–5. The image of early feminists as bra-burners is based on this event. But bras were only one item thrown into the rubbish bin, which was not—contrary to the consistent myth—set on fire. See Linda M. Scott, *Fresh Lipstick: Redressing Fashion and Feminism*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, United States, 2015, p. 290; Deborah Siegel, *Sisterhood Interrupted: From Radical Women to Girls Gone Wild*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, United States, 2007, p. 49.

the second-wave feminist movement over issues of age, class, and race,⁴ yet despite the divisions, all feminists were stereotyped as radicals who disavowed fashion.

This article addresses Finnish second-wave feminists' views on dress and appearance⁵ and is based on 24 oral interviews about style, its relationship to feminine beauty standards, and the ideological significance and meaning of dress, fashion, and appearance. The interviews show that there was no uniform style among Finnish second-wave feminists and that some dressed in stereotypical casual or unisex styles. This article focuses on those who felt that feminist ideology liberated them to embrace their femininity. Thus, how did feminist views on dress encourage this and why did they find femininity liberating? The aim is to first reconstruct the stereotypical image of Finnish second-wave feminists, and then to examine the cultural discourses and settings that formed the context in which Finnish feminists discussed and practised the politics of appearance in the 1970s and 1980s.

The idea of second-wave feminists as being masculine, short-haired women who preferred a casual look is pervasive in Finland. Finnish third-wave feminist Anna Kontula, for example, has criticised the second-wave feminism of her mother's generation in her book *Tästä äiti varoitti* [*This Is What Your Mother Warned You About*], for its negative attitude towards traditional feminine beauty ideals.⁶ She mentions lipstick as an example and the cover features an image of a lipstick that feminist mothers had warned their daughters about. When I asked one interviewee about the role of dress and appearance in her feminist identity, she mentioned this book and especially its cover, "I was irritated by this book, *Tästä äiti varoitti*, by a younger-generation feminist...because its claims don't apply to my feminist group at all...I didn't stop wearing lipstick when I became a feminist."⁷

The interviewees' relationship to dress and feminine beauty are interpreted in the context of anthropological and sociological dress studies, which examine many clothing and adornment practices and meanings. Individual decisions on clothing and appearance are framed by a wide range of social factors, among which fashion is

⁴ Reger, op cit., p. 212; Luther, op cit., pp. 83–88.

⁵ This article derives from my postdoctoral research, titled, *How the Political Became Personal: Feminism in Practice in Finland*, funded by The Academy of Finland (Decision #288470).

⁶ Anna Kontula, *Tästä äiti varoitti*, [*This Is What Your Mother Warned You About*], Into, Helsinki, Finland, 2009, pp. 53–59.

⁷ Kati, [Finnish: "Ärsyynnyin kun tuli tässä ... tuota niin yhden nuoremman polven feministin kirja, *Tästä äiti varoitti* ... Esimerkiksi mä en tunnista sitä siitä meidän ryhmästä ollenkaan ... En lakannut käyttämästä huulipunaa, kun minusta tuli feministi."]

important but not exclusive. Others include class, gender, ethnicity, age, and occupation, to name a few. Such works also point out that different situations impose varied ways of dressing according to particular dress codes and rules, or simply through cultural conventions that most people usually follow.⁸ The interviews show that concepts of cultural conventions and norms for dress unrelated to the fashion industry were crucial for the interviewees' descriptions and explanations of the meaning of feminism in light of their personal choices.

Oral History Interviews as Research Material

The interviewees were born between the late 1930s and the mid 1950s and joined local feminist groups in the 1970s or early 1980s.⁹ In Finnish research, the corresponding term for oral history is *muistitieto*, or "remembered information," which refers to information which is not based on written documents but solely on the memory of the informant. The focus concerns concepts of "memory" and "information" which go beyond the concept of "oral history," since oral history material may also include the informant's answering questions by writing.¹⁰ One informant preferred to answer questions in writing because she thought that it was a better option for sorting out her thoughts, and I also sent additional questions to her and the other informants by email.

As there is little research material available on feminist practices and ideals of dress in Finland, I have used an oral history approach and asked feminists themselves to provide information about the matter. In this article, I analyse the material as narratives that reveal information both about collectively shared ideas and conventions of dress and their subjective views, memories, and interpretations of dress and appearance in light of their feminist identity.¹¹ In order to make these interviews

⁸ Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles," in Ruth Barnes, Joanne B. Eicher, eds., *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*, Berg, Oxford, England, 1992, pp. 8-28; Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 2000, pp. 3-52.

⁹ While American feminist groups were usually concerned about raising consciousness, in Finland feminist groups were also known as radical therapy groups, especially during the 1980s.

¹⁰ Outi Fingerroos and Riina Haanpää, "Fundamental Issues in Finland Oral History Studies," *Oral History*, Volume 40, Issue 2, 2012, pp. 81-92; Kirsi-Maria Hytönen, "Hardworking Women: Nostalgia and Women's Memories of Paid Work in Finland in the 1940s," *Oral History*, Issue 87, Autumn, 2013, pp. 87-99.

¹¹ Ibid.; Alexandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different?" in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge, London, England, 2002, pp. 67-70.

anonymous, I have given the interviewees pseudonyms and removed all references to actual places and names.

This study also discusses *Lentävä feministi ja muita muistoja 70-luvulta* [*The Flying Feminist and Other Memories from the 1970s*] by feminist journalist Pia Ingström,¹² as well as Finnish second-wave feminist Eeva Peltonen's articles that reminisce about her feminist past.¹³ Ingström, born in 1958, called herself a "sworn feminist"¹⁴ in the 1970s and wrote her book to document the history of the Finnish feminist movement in that era, including practices of dress. She interviewed members of the feminist groups that were established in Helsinki and on the west coast by Swedish-speaking women in the early and mid 1970s. But the present interviewees are mainly Finnish speakers who became active feminists at the end of the 1970s or early 1980s.

Feminist Style as Protest and Uniform

The feminist movement is typically divided into the first, second, and third wave. The first was established in the second half of the nineteenth century and focused on suffrage, gaining the right to own and inherit property, and access to higher education and employment. The second was established in the United States in the 1960s and broadened the feminist discourse to include sexuality, reproductive rights, family, and the problem of sexism in society and culture.¹⁵ The movement had spread to western Europe by the beginning of the 1970s, and radical feminism was established in Finland during the period 1973–1977. The movement became visible as a social phenomenon by the late 1970s, as feminists turned increasingly outwards by arranging

¹² Pia Ingström, *Lentävä feministi ja muita muistoja 70-luvulta* [*The Flying Feminist and Other Memories from the 1970s*], Schildts, Helsinki, Finland, 2007. This was also published in Swedish, titled, *Den flygande feministen och andra minnen från 70-talet*.

¹³ Eeva Peltonen, "Nais- ja miesmuistoja 1970-luvulta. Sukupuoli entisten taistolaisopiskelijoiden elämäkertahaastatteluissa," [Female and Male Memories from the 1970s: Gender in the Life Story Interviews of Former Taistoist Students], in Matti Hyvärinen, Eeva Peltonen, Anni Vilkkio, eds., *Liikkuvat erot*, [*Differences on the Move*], Vastapaino, Tampere, Finland, 1998, pp. 187–237; Eeva Peltonen, "Ihan pienesti liikkeessä. Tätimäistä posttaistolaisuutta," [Just a Small Part of the Movement: Auntie's Post-Taistoism] in Tommi Hoikkala, Sofia Laine, and Jyrki Laine, eds., *Mitä on tehtävä? Nuorison kapinan teoriaa ja käytäntöä*, [*What Must Be Done? Theories and Practices in Youth Revolt*], Loki-kirjat, Helsinki, Finland, 2005, pp. 103–134.

¹⁴ Ingström, op cit., p. 9.

¹⁵ See Marlene LeGates, *In Their Time: A History of Feminism in Western Society*, Routledge, New York, United States, 2012, pp. 197–364.

seminars and festivals, and publishing periodicals.¹⁶ The third wave was established in the early 1990s and redefined feminism by embracing individualism and sexual and gender diversity. Third-wave feminism implicitly critiques the second wave, which was viewed as only addressing the problems encountered by white, heterosexual middle-class women.¹⁷

In early second-wave radical feminist thinking, masculine dress symbolised male privilege and feminists claimed that all established feminine clothing and the ways in which the feminine look was generated stood in the way of women's liberation.¹⁸ Radical feminists criticised fashion and the beauty culture for producing a false conception of women that emphasised their being naturally different from men, and rejected traditional feminine beauty standards to create their own definitions for women's appearances.¹⁹ The ideal, radical feminist appearance was based on the notion of presenting an unadorned self without any artificial aids such as makeup, or corsets and push-up bras that distort the "natural" body. The feminist "anti-fashion" instead consisted of a simple, natural look with loose shirts and dungarees or jeans, and was intended as an attack on the dominating power of fashion to instead forge a more authentic self.²⁰ A visible sign of women's emancipation was that they were "allowed" to enter restaurants and pubs without a male escort (Figure 1).

The third wave of the feminist movement criticised the second wave by pointing out that with the inclusion of male clothing and the unisex dress styles that this so-called "natural look" was, in fact, simply based on a masculine model of appearance. This model, therefore, did not represent a truly androgynous or unisex style. It also symbolised a rejection of femininity on two levels: it was both masculine and thus the opposite of femininity, as was its "gender free" alternative look.²¹ Betty Hillman Luther has pointed out that for some feminists, the masculine and unisex styles were only adopted during a brief phase of their lives.²² By the early 1970s many feminists began to adopt retro chic, based on feminine styles in old Hollywood films, and thus allowed women the pleasure of dressing in fine clothes yet also distancing themselves from the current establishment fashions.²³

¹⁶ Solveig Bergman, *The Politics of Feminism: Autonomous Feminist Movements in Finland and West Germany from the 1960s to the 1980s*, Åbo Akademis Förlag, Åbo, Finland, 2002, pp. 134–165.

¹⁷ See Henry, op cit.; Siegel, op cit.

¹⁸ Evans and Thornton, op cit., p. 12; Henry, op cit., pp. 18–19.

¹⁹ Luther, op cit., pp. 67–71.

²⁰ Evans and Thornton, op cit., p. 7; Henry, op cit., p. 20.

²¹ Evans and Thornton, op cit., p. 12; Henry, op cit., pp. 18–19.

²² Luther, op cit., pp. 74–83.

²³ Evans and Thornton, op cit., p. 8.



Figure 1:

Women's Unisex Dress Style, circa 1970s, Photographed by Raimo Myllyoja, Helsinki City Museum Photograph Archives, Helsinki, Finland.

By the mid 1970s, feminist leaders came to advocate the concept of “choice feminism,” which included the option to re-embrace traditional feminine clothing. Luther has suggested that this transformed the way feminism was practised. Instead of mandating a certain lifestyle and appearance, it was argued that “choice” was the movement’s basic goal. In this view, “liberation” thus did not come from specific clothes that a woman was supposed to wear, but from the knowledge that the choice was hers to make. The language of choice thus offered feminists the option to incorporate more diverse styles into the politics of self-presentation.²⁴

²⁴ Luther, op cit., pp. 81–83.

In *Lentävä feministi [The Flying Feminist]*, Ingström describes the dress style of her feminist friends in the 1970s as being varied and flexible, including jeans, duffel coats, and Palestinian scarves (associated with protest) as well as colourful fabrics, long dresses, and the South Asian styles that were popular in feminine “hippie style” dress, with comfortable “Earth” shoes and high heels. Vintage clothing was also favoured and there was a “do it yourself” style inspired by traditional folk dress. These modes differentiated the wearer from the dominant fashion, and the masculine dungarees or unisex style consisting of jeans and a T-shirt were just one version of these feminist styles.²⁵ By the end of the 1970s and into early 1980, feminist style also came to be expressed by the long hippie style skirts and the colour, lilac, which had become fashionable in the 1970s.²⁶

Yet, several interviewees mentioned that when they had consciously expressed feminism in their dress, that it was to contradict the stereotype of a feminist as a masculine woman, “People didn’t expect feminists to dress like that, and to wear makeup. And *especially* to wear high-heel shoes. I did it on purpose.”²⁷ The interviewees also used the discourse of choice to describe their dress and many of both my and Ingström’s interviewees who preferred traditional feminine styles, emphasised that they were liberated to do so by feminism. Ingström describes feminist style as playful and experimental, as women asserted themselves by questioning the old clichés.²⁸ My interviewees had two-fold explanations for why the new perspective of choice was so important: they found them as liberating from the rigid ideology of the left-wing political movement of Taistoism, yet also from the traditional conservatism of female education at home and at school. The Taistoist movement, also called the Marxist-Leninist movement, which was established at the end of the 1960s consisted of Marxist groups in the Communist Party and in the Finnish People’s Democratic League. The movement adopted official Soviet ideology in detail.²⁹

²⁵ Ingström, op cit., pp. 151–152.

²⁶ See Valerie, Steele, *Fifty Years of Fashion: New Look to Now*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, pp. 79–90.

²⁷ Leena, [Finnish: “Odotettiin että feministit nyt ei sillee pukeutuis. Eikä meikkaa tai jotain. Eikä pitäis korkokenkiä nyt varsinkaan (korostaen). Mä ihan tahallani.”]

²⁸ Ingström, op cit., pp. 114–115, 153.

²⁹ Jukka Relander, “From Flowers to Steel: Development of the Leninist Mind in Finland 1968–1972,” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 33: 4, 2008, pp. 464–467.

Feminist Ideas of Dress as a Liberation from the Taistoist Movement

The process of becoming a feminist is often represented as a transformative experience that changes a woman's identity,³⁰ which is stereotypically made visible through dress and appearances. In the early second-wave radical feminist thinking, this transformation entailed women adopting trousers instead of skirts and wearing other masculine clothing. But the interviewee Sinikka did the opposite; for her, becoming a feminist meant deciding to choose a skirt over trousers:

It was at the end of the 1970s when I put on a skirt for the first time. It was actually a friend of mine who lured me into it. I respected her a lot, and she was also part of the same political circle. But she had started to break with them, too. And so she encouraged me to do so. I do remember what it was like to wear a dress, I mean a skirt, for the first time for a long time.³¹

For her, the process of becoming a feminist also meant leaving left-wing Taistoism behind, and her change of dress was an important way of both displaying and experiencing this. In the United States, the radical feminist movement grew out of the civil rights and student movements of the 1960s and formed as a reaction by women against the New Left for marginalising and downplaying all questions of gender. The New Left was then a sexist organisation; political activism was an exclusively male privilege with women being relegated to clerical work and serving coffee. Some also later claimed that some men in the New Left treated women as sexual objects and that women were expected to look pretty and act in a feminine way.³²

In Finland, the most popular New Left movement in the 1970s was the Marxist Taistoist movement, which was established at the end of the 1960s. Despite being small in numbers, the movement was very powerful among young people, but especially university students (Figure 2). The relationship between feminism and

³⁰ Jane Mansbridge, "What Is the Feminist Movement?" in Ferree, Myra, Marx Ferree, Martin, and Yancey, Patricia, eds., *Feminist Organizations: Harvest of the new Women's Movement*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, United States, 1995, p. 29; Sara Evans, *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End*, Free Press, New York, United States, 2003, p. 21.

³¹ Sinikka, [Finnish: "70-luvun lopussa niin mä ensimmäisen kerran pistin hameen päälleni. Joo, että mun yksi tuttavani oikeastaan houkutteli mut siihen. Semmoinen ihminen, jota m kovasti arvostin ja joka oli kanssa näissä poliittisissa kuvioissa mukana. Mutta joka oli kans ruvennut ottaa irti. Niin hänen niin kuin rohkaisemana sitten. Kyllä mä muistan minkäläistä se oli laittaa ensimmäisen kerran mekko päälle pitkästä aikaa. Tai siis hame."]

³² See Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*, Ballantine Books, New York, United States, 2002, pp. 85–87; Luther, op cit., p. 66.

Taistoism is an important part of the history of second-wave feminism in Finland. It has been claimed that in the late 1970s feminism was established in Finland due in part to the strong role of the Taistoist movement in that decade. Taistoism attracted many politically active young women, but its Communist orthodoxy marginalised the question of gender. Later, Taistoist women, who were dissatisfied with its negative attitudes toward their attempts to raise “the women’s question” left the Taistoist movement to join the feminist movement.³³



Figure 2:
The Unisex Dress Style of the Student Movement, circa 1970s,
Photographer Unknown, The People's Archives, Helsinki, Finland.

³³ See Peltonen, op cit., 1998; Matti Hyvärinen, *Viimeiset taistot*, [*The Last Struggles*], Vastapaino, Tampere, Finland, 1994, pp. 144–145; Kimmo Rentola, “Kevään 1968 isänmaan toivot,” [“The Hopes of the Fatherland in Spring 1968”], in Sakari Saaritsa, Kari Teräs, eds., *Työväen verkostot*, [*Networks of Working-Class People*], Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura [The Association of the Study of Working-Class People’s History and Tradition], Helsinki, Finland, 2003, p. 103.

Taistoism was also criticised for sexism from its being mostly led by men. Former female members, such as Peltonen, have recalled that traditional feminine beauty was criticised and women were supposed to behave and dress in a way that would not emphasise their gender.³⁴ Former Taistoist Maarit described the then dress style of Taistoist women as attempts to be “children of nature:”

In the 1970s, we didn't think about appearance or clothing and tried our best to be these children of nature... [we wore] nothing feminine or fancy, that was the principle at the time. High-heel shoes, for example, were a horror to us, and skirts were also too much.³⁵

This “natural” unisex or masculine style was supposed to show that enlightened women did not pay attention to their appearance, which was stereotypically associated with feminism. Ingström has pointed out that it was socialism that dressed young people in uniforms in order to enable them to become a part of the collective and to be disciplined. In the 1970s, in order to visibly identify the political affiliation of their members, the Youth Leagues of the Finnish Communist Party purchased uniform-like shirts for their members; members of the Taistoist movement had blue shirts; the rest had similar red shirts. The only thing that was actually beautiful, as Ingström points out, was the colourful scarf that originated from a Russian folk costume.³⁶

Sinikka had changed her dress style when she became a feminist. She told me that while in the Taistoist movement she had consciously avoided feminine dress, “I was in my twenties when I realised that I wouldn't be taken seriously if I didn't dress as neutrally as possible.”³⁷ She also believed that makeup was a form of oppression. Peltonen has discussed the sexist thinking in Taistoism by noting that within the movement, women were divided into two groups: the typically feminine and the non-feminine. The latter aimed to show by appearance and behaviour that “gender does not matter” and their non-feminine dress and appearance, which essentially displayed a uniform-like masculine style, was necessary to be accepted. The goal was for those

³⁴ Peltonen, op cit., 1998, pp. 223–231; Peltonen, op cit., 2005, pp. 117–123.

³⁵ Maarit, [Finnish: “Mehän oltiin 70-luvulla semmosia, että sillon ei ajateltu ulkoasua eikä pukeutumista vaan oltiin niinku mahollisimman tämmösiä luonnonlapsia ja... ei mitään naisellista eikä hienoa, sillonkin oli jo tää periaate. Että ne oli ihan kammotus jotkut korkokengät ja hamekin oli jo liikaa.”]

³⁶ Ingström, op cit., p. 143.

³⁷ Sinikka, [Finnish: “semmoisena niin kuin kakskymppisenä, että mä tajusin sen, että mua ei oteta nyt vakavasti, jos mä en niin kuin mahdollisimman neutraalisti.”]

who had previously embraced a traditional feminine appearance and behaviour to be able to avoid sexist treatment by men.³⁸

Both Sinikka and Peltonen realised only after they joined the feminist movement that choosing a non-feminine appearance and behaviour, which was supposed to represent a protest against traditional standards, actually reinforced the established gender hierarchy instead of subverting it. According to Peltonen, the former Taistoist women encouraged each other to experiment with various colours, accessories, makeup, hairstyles, lace and “whatever each one of them had previously overlooked/or underrated.”³⁹ Sinikka noted that the change was not easy; it took years to learn to appreciate traditional femininity and the idea that a woman can be feminine—yet also a feminist and a professional in her field.

Feminism as a Sartorial Liberation from Conservative Femininity

Other feminist interviewees, who felt that feminism encouraged them to embrace this ideology, explained that it also represented a liberation from the traditional conservative standards and ideals of feminine beauty taught at home and in school. Hannele, for example, reported that as a young girl she believed it was very important that girls be beautiful. When she had to decide about where to study after high school, she chose the same university as the previous class’ most beautiful and fashionable female graduates. Feminine beauty was also important to her because her father had forbidden her to dress beautifully:

I was very dissatisfied with my looks because my father didn’t let me have curls. He didn’t want us [daughters] to become proud. He was very serious about it and was openly hostile towards our wanting... [to be beautiful]. We could have been so...but my hair was cut in such an ugly way.⁴⁰

When discussing dress, the interviewees also often referred to their schools’ dress codes that emphasised a non-sexual femininity for girls. School uniforms were not adopted in Finnish schools but the dress norms were strict, and in the 1950s girls were

³⁸ Peltonen, op cit., 1998, pp. 229–232; Peltonen, op cit., 2005, pp. 118–123.

³⁹ Ibid., 1998, pp. 231–232.

⁴⁰ Hannele, [Finnish: “mä olin tytymätön ulkonäkööni, koska isä ei antanut laittaa kiharoita. Isä ei halunnut, että meistä tulee ylpeitä. Hän oli oikein tosissaan siitä, että hän osoitti vihamielisyytensä sitä kohtaan, että me halutaan...Me oltais voitu olla ihan kauniit tytöt, mutta mun tukkani leikattiin niin rumasti.”]

expected to wear an apron over their dress and have their hair bobbed or plaited (Figure 3).⁴¹ One even remembered that to discourage the girls from paying attention to their looks, the bottom halves of the school windows were painted white, “...As in a police station...so that you could not use them as mirrors.”⁴²



Figure 3:
Elementary School Children's Dress Style, circa 1946–1954,
Photographed by Kuvaus Oy, Kerava City Museum, Kerava, Finland.

Hannele was critical of her parents' Lutheran teachings and worldview, “It is part of the Lutheran religion, probably part of all other religions, that a woman can't be herself. Especially not feminine. She mustn't be beautiful. She must be nothing.”⁴³ She emphasised that women must have the right to dress well and be elegant if they wanted to, “...Because I had to fight for it.” Betty Hillman Luther and Linda M. Scott's

⁴¹ See also Arja Turunen, “It Wasn't Common for Women to Wear Trousers: Memories of Women's Dress in the 1950s,” *Journal of Finnish Studies*, 19:2, 2016, pp. 22–46.

⁴² Maija, [Finnish: “Ikkunat oli maalattu niinkun poliisilaitoksella, puoleen väliin valkoseks, ettei voi peilata ikkunasta.”]

⁴³ Hannele, [Finnish: “luterilaisuuteen kuuluu, ehkä kaikkiin uskontoihin kuuluu, että nainen ei saa olla oma itsensä. Ei varsinkaan naisellinen. Hän ei saa olla kaunis. Hän ei saa olla yhtään mitään.”]

research on American second-wave feminist attitudes towards fashion conclude that radical feminists' feelings about dress style and cosmetics primarily reflected their own life experiences. Those from college-educated, upper-class backgrounds were more likely to value feminist critique of fashion and cosmetics since a fashionable appearance was especially highly valued by the well-to-do. For working-class and Black women, wearing fashionable dress and makeup was a question of respectability since societal norms based upon class and race made them feel inferior.⁴⁴ On the other hand, conservative rural Christian women were sometimes raised to condemn fashion and cosmetics. For uneducated, rural poor women who wore handmade clothing and no makeup, the urge to stay away from mass-produced fashion and beauty products was neither new nor liberating.⁴⁵

Finnish ethnologist, Pia Olsson, has studied girls' upbringing in rural Finland and notes that in this traditional ideal, the biggest symbolic threat to a woman was to dishonour her purity and good reputation. Moral behaviour was therefore still an important part of the upbringing of girls in the 1950s.⁴⁶ This was based on the Lutheran teachings which used the threat of sexual shame to enforce its notions of proper behaviour and restricted their lives in many ways. If a girl's conduct was considered inappropriate, she might easily be labelled as sexually immoral, which was one of the most effective ways to stop her from doing something undesirable.⁴⁷ Wearing new fashionable clothing and makeup were then typically linked to frivolity and loose morals,⁴⁸ which was mentioned in the interviews.

Some Finnish women believed that feminism gave them the long-needed permission to use makeup and other beauty products and to wear the beautiful feminine clothing that they had always wanted. Those raised in working-class families between the 1940s and 1960s also pointed out that in their childhood and youth, fashionable clothing and beauty products were unavailable to them due to cost:

⁴⁴ Luther, op cit., pp. 77–78.

⁴⁵ Scott, op cit., pp. 296–297, 304–305.

⁴⁶ Pia Olsson, *Women in Distress: Self-Understanding among 20th-century Finnish Rural Women*, LIT Verlag, Berlin, Germany, 2011, pp. 180–181, 201.

⁴⁷ Olsson, op cit., p. 201.

⁴⁸ Kati Mikkola, "New Clothing Fashions as Expressions of Modernization and Targets of Resistance," *Ethnologia Fennica*, Volume 36, 2009, pp. 42–43.

When we were children, my mother sewed all our clothes because there was no ready-to-wear clothing available. And later my big sister sewed them, too...and as soon as I could, I also started to make my own clothes.⁴⁹

The second-wave feminist critique of fashion stemmed from the larger socialist critique of consumerism and the Capitalist system: fashion was seen as a source of women's oppression because it disempowered them by sapping their energy, time, and money to expend on mere trivialities.⁵⁰ But the interviews are a reminder that in Finnish culture and society, womanhood is not inextricably tied to the consumer culture as it is in America. The ready-to-wear industry was established relatively late in Finland—at the beginning of the twentieth century and did not boom until the 1970s.⁵¹ The mass production of clothing was already strong in the United States by the late nineteenth century.

By the 1960s, American feminists were rejecting the trap of consumerism.⁵² But since most clothing was still made at home in 1960s Finland (Figure 4), there was no similar feeling of such urgency. Leena, who grew up in a poor, working-class family, recalled how important it was for her in childhood to have one new, beautiful dress each year:

Our mother dressed us [daughters] like princesses. She took us to the local dressmaker because there was no ready-to-wear clothing, or it would have been expensive. But anyway, she wanted to make us look nice. And so we had white knee socks and new hair ribbons and patent leather shoes.⁵³

⁴⁹ Inkeri, [Finnish: "äiti ompeli meidän kaikki vaatteet silloin kun oltiin pieniä, kun kaupasta ei saanut siihen aikaan valmisvaatteita. Sitten mun isosisko ompeli. Että aina kaikki ompeli ympärillä ja sitä ommeltiin itekin nukun vaatteita ja omat vaatteet heti kun kyettiin tekemään ja tällee."]

⁵⁰ Henry, op cit., p. 20; Reger, op cit., p. 211.

⁵¹ See Piippa Lappalainen and Mirja Almay, *Kansakunnan vaatettajat*, [The Clothiers of the Nation], WSOY, Helsinki, Finland, 1996.

⁵² See Linda Welters and Patricia A. Cunningham, "The Americanization of Fashion," in Linda Welters and Patricia A. Cunningham, eds., *Twentieth-Century American Fashion*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2005, pp. 1-8.

⁵³ Leena, [Finnish: "äiti puki meidät semmoisiksi prinsessoiksi. Että ompelijalla saatiin käydä. Kun ei silloin ollut valmisvaatteita ja ne olis ollut kalliita. Mut kuiteskin, että se halus laittaa meidät nätisti. Ja oli valkoiset polvisukat ja uudet lettinauhat, ja kiiltonahkakengät."]

Later, Leena learned to make her own clothing, “I just had to start refashioning old clothes into something new...because otherwise I couldn’t afford new clothes.”⁵⁴



Figure 4:
A Mother Sewing at Home, circa 1962, Photographed by Pekka Kyytinen,
The Finnish Heritage Agency, Helsinki, Finland.

⁵⁴ Leena, [Finnish: “Ja mä oon ite ommellu paljon. Mä aloitin joskus 14-vuotiaana, koska johtui myös köyhyydestä. Piti ruveta vaan vanhoista vaatteista jotain tuunaamaan. Löysin jotain ja rupesin vaan tekemään itelle, kun ei ollu varaa muuten saada vaatteita.”]

For working-class women, constructing a feminine appearance was expensive and often a luxury.⁵⁵ My interviewees made the same point as Angela McRobbie, who argues that when radical feminists speak to the female consumer, they forget that she is not always middle class. In reality, for most women, purchasing new clothing did not mean buying it. They bought fabrics, “[s]o the act of consumption was merely the precursor for further domestic labour.”⁵⁶ Leena, among other interviewees, emphasised that her feminism does not include restrictions and especially means the chance to live as she likes and enjoy fashion and be feminine.

Conclusion

Second-wave feminists are typically seen as women who favoured a masculine or unisex style in their dress and appearance. But their politics of dress has been criticised by third-wave feminists, who have pointed out that instead of liberating women from feminine norms, these principles only restricted them to a masculine appearance. This article contributes to the recent studies of second-wave feminists that show that many actually adopted a feminine style as constituting a feminist choice.

This research shows that in the Finnish context, the critique of unisex dress style that is typically seen as presented by the third wave was actually already present in the second wave. As the international radical second-wave feminist movement was established in Finland, feminists favoured the choice discourse when talking about the politics of dress and appearance. In the interviewees’ narratives, feminism was represented as a way to free oneself from the standards of dress and appearance of the Marxist Taistoist movement, which was the most powerful movement of the New Left in Finland. For these women, the second-wave feminist movement meant a liberation from the masculine or unisex uniform favoured in the Taistoist movement. For some, feminism was seen as helping to oppose the conservative standards of girls’ behaviour at school and in home, which emphasised a controlled, representation of femininity.

This research also shows that the fashion industry is only one factor that frames the ideals and norms of women’s appearance, because other systems, cultural conventions and meanings of dress also play important roles in this process. The interviewees’ narratives confirm that both oppression and liberation are results of the local culture and society that produce the gender order. Therefore, the ways that feminist ideas are understood—and how they are practiced in everyday life—must be studied in the local context.

⁵⁵ See also Luther, *op cit.*, p. 75.

⁵⁶ Angela McRobbie, “Bridging the Gap: Feminism, Fashion, and Consumption,” *Feminist Review*, 55, Spring 1997, *Consuming Cultures*, p. 74.

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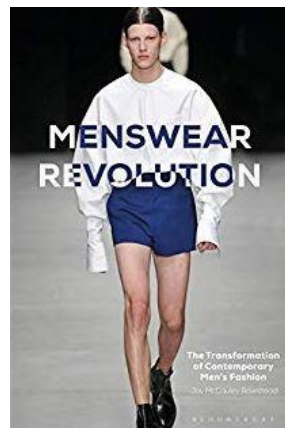
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Arja Turunen, PhD is a post-doctoral scholar in Ethnology at The University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her doctoral thesis addressed how women's trousers were discussed in Finnish women's magazines from 1889 to 1945. Her first post-doctoral research project studied women's personal memories and experiences in regard to adopting trousers. She currently studies the history of the Finnish second-wave feminist movement, focusing on grassroots activism and feminists' life stories.

Book Reviews

Jay McCauley Bowstead, *Menswear Revolution: The Transformation of Contemporary Men's Fashion*, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2018, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 50 Black-and-White Illustrations, 205pp, Softback, £23.99.



It always pleases me greatly to see more books dedicated to men's fashion, both from contemporary and historical perspectives, as this area is still, in many ways, the poor relation when compared to the works on women's fashion. Jay McCauley Bowstead's first book is therefore a very welcome addition to a growing area of study, in that it deals with the significant developments in men's "high fashion" in the past few years but also places this within an historical context and situates his perspective within this field. In this respect, McCauley Bowstead contextualises this most recent "menswear revolution" with the so-called "peacock revolution" of the 1960s (Bloomsbury have also just published a book with that title by Daniel Delis Hill that addresses this period from an American perspective.) and subsequent developments in western men's fashions during the 1970s and 1980s. One of the strengths of McCauley Bowstead's "comparison" and contextualisation is that he addresses not just the clothing and its design but the importance of the body under the clothes and prevailing and changing attitudes and approaches to masculinities in these periods. The first three chapters, "Disciplinary Discourses," "Historical Resonances," and "Body Language," act as a form of "literature review" and provide image analysis of "historical" advertisements and fashion magazine editorials that consider the last four decades of the twentieth

century as significant in men's fashion for particular reasons and situate the period as one in which discussions about the changing roles of men, masculinity, and the dressed male body have come to the fore. Thus it offers a very neat and informative introduction to key texts on these subjects and summarises recent theoretical perspectives and contributions to the field of menswear and cultural studies more broadly.

What is important about these scene setting chapters is that they *do* explicitly relate to the more contemporary "revolutionary" designers and styles, situating the millennial styles that form the focus and placing the post-millennial styles "in conversation" with their predecessors. Following the scene setting first three chapters which not only, that is the focus and original contribution of the book but also, Chapter 4, "Millennial Men," outlines the importance of Hedi Slimane (at Dior and Yves Saint Laurent) and Raf Simons in transforming the style and silhouette of men's high fashion. It considers both their drawing on previous subcultures and the subcultural interpretations of the look they presented, as well as the popularising of the silhouette they created by high street stores such as Top Man and Zara. McCauley Bowstead's interest in the more "gender fluid" elements of contemporary menswear comes through in the fifth chapter, "The Shock of the New." It is not that he doesn't do justice to other contemporary styles, such as "athleisure," "workers of the world," and "new monasticism" but the quality of his descriptive prose is less effusive than in the styles that play with gender and androgyny and designers like Wales Bonner and Juun.J are given more attention than Mazhar and Rubchinsky. This is however a minor criticism, as McCauley Bowstead's articulation of the variety of styles that push and challenge menswear in a contemporary context is valuable as a means of opening up discussion that moves away from the importance of tailoring and "classic" styling that often features in writings on menswear and that takes a less "prejudicial" view of styles that are more gender fluid, androgynous, queer, or "feminine" than certain journalistic approaches that McCauley Bowstead identifies. Whilst the main focus of the book is on western fashion designers, McCauley Bowstead does acknowledge the contribution of "non-western sartorial forms" (p. 166) and designers, such as Ximon Lee, Sean Suen and Mai Gidah. In the Conclusion he nods explicitly to the new waves of interesting menswear that is emerging from Asia and Africa, and perhaps in this we see the hint of a followup book from McCauley Bowstead—I can only hope.

It is in the eloquence of his descriptions of fashion photography, illustrations, and catwalk garments where McCauley Bowstead's background as a designer and his understanding of fabric cut and construction comes to the fore. McCauley Bowstead has an affinity with the garments and the design process but also wearers of particular forms of menswear. In the "Introduction" he makes clear his own engagements and experimentations with clothing and fashion that have influenced his personal style, career, and approach in determining the content of this book. This also influences McCauley Bowstead's methodological approach. Along with the aforementioned

visual and image analysis of fashion imagery, including catwalk photographs, McCauley Bowstead includes textual analysis of fashion show reviews and journalistic accounts and interviews with many of the contemporary designers that he discusses. These interviews importantly offer a much-needed personal perspective on the motivation and design processes of contemporary menswear designers.

McCauley Bowstead's book is an excellent contribution to the growing menswear bookshelf. Articulating his own experiences of searching for and wearing fashions that were at the edge of acceptability, and the blurring of gender conventions in his dress, is an important facet in the success of this book, along with his ability to succinctly summarise historical precedents and theoretical perspectives. The work is sophisticated yet accessible and I, for one, would heartily recommend that this takes its place in key reading texts for students of fashion, design, history and cultural studies and academics' Christmas wishlists.

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Lesley Ellis Miller, *Balenciaga: Shaping Fashion*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2017, Notes, Select Bibliography, Chronology, Glossary, Appendix of Balenciaga's Suppliers, Index, Acknowledgements, Picture Credits, Colour and Black-and-White Illustrations, 192pp, Hardback, £30.00.



Coined “The Master” by his contemporaries, a reserved and laconic perfectionist, Cristóbal Balenciaga (1895–1972) would not let just anyone into his Paris atelier, a place surrounded by a somewhat mystifying air. It is a rare opportunity for the public to open a door to a notorious Spanish couturier’s world. *Balenciaga: Shaping Fashion*, is the accompanying book to the exhibition that took place at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 2017. This book is the revised and expanded edition of the 2007 publication, exploring Balenciaga’s impact on contemporary, pre- and post-war fashion and Parisian couture. Author Lesley Elis Miller successfully combines an extensive variety of sources, ranging from abundant illustrations to behind-the-scenes testimonies from close friends, high-profile clients, renowned fashion editors, and the House’s employees, conducting an intriguing tale that provides valuable insights to the world of couture and twentieth century fashion.

The book offers a unique perspective into the Balenciaga microcosm, as seen through the eyes of his close friend, photographer Cecil Beaton, who functioned as the nexus between the couturier and the V&A, by mentoring the collection and retention of a range of garments, sketches, accessories, and documents by the museum. The structure of the book and chapter arrangement follow that of the exhibition, with facts and information arranged thematically, rather than historically. There are several patterns that remain constant throughout. Each chapter begins with a relevant quote by Beaton, while it concludes with an “In Focus” anecdotal section, each time zooming in on a particular facet of Balenciaga’s practice. Numerous references and quotes from contemporary international fashion magazines, such as *L’Officiel* and *Harper’s Bazaar* are featured, along with a large number of fashion editorial images produced by renowned photographers such as Richard Avedon and Helmut Newton, and a continuous parallelisation with his contemporary rival couturiers, especially

Christian Dior, contextualising and placing Balenciaga's practice into the wider context.

The first half of Chapter 1 initially sets the historical foundation upon which the House of Balenciaga was built, by commenting on the political situation in Europe, particularly Spain and Paris, along with describing the ways in which Parisian couture operated as an institution. The second half of the chapter examines the influence of the designer's Spanish heritage on his practice, which was preserved and celebrated by the re-appropriation of traditional Spanish garments, such as the mantilla, a silk scarf worn over the head by women.

Chapter 2 provides an in-depth, comprehensive analysis of his design process, dissecting his complex architectural meticulousness, uncovering the multiple layers of his garments, use of fabrics and textile innovation. It presents a philosophical and highly conceptual *modus operandi* that fed itself with broad and diverse influences, from non-western traditional dress, to ecclesiastical vestment. The close-up fabric illustrations beautifully highlight the use of high-quality experimental materials enriching the chapter's focal research with visual evidence such as the eye-catching image of an original fabric swatch catalogue from spring 1967.

Chapter 3 presents the nature of the House of Balenciaga as a business, by firstly noting the impact of major historical incidents, such as Second World War and the 1929 Wall Street crash, on Parisian couture. The commercial function of the House is explained by discussing its partnerships, financial information, approximate capital invested in the business, atelier locations, and detailed description of interiors, employee number breakdown, as well as different types of sales, along with thorough delineation of the rationales behind each business move. It is rather rare but yet significant for a fashion history book to acknowledge and investigate the commercial aspect of the industry, aiding the historian to place their research in a wider socio-economic context.

The following chapters further discuss the elements that gave the House of Balenciaga the international significance that is still retained today, by highlighting the importance of its clientele, consisting of international jet-setters, socialites, and actresses. Author Lesley Ellis Miller compellingly describes the criticism that Balenciaga received for his impractical designs of Air France uniforms, bringing to the fore the negative elements demonstrating the House's inability to keep up with social change during the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter 5 follows the Balenciaga legacy up to present time and the recent appointment of Demna Gvasalia as Creative Director of the House.

An extensive glossary, a detailed chronology, and an appendix of Balenciaga's suppliers complete *Balenciaga: Shaping Fashion*, which provides fashion historians

with an invaluable and well-rounded piece of academic text, that can be of use not only to Balenciaga researchers, but anyone interested in the world of pre- and post-war Parisian couture overall.

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A postgraduate student at The Victoria and Albert/Royal College of Art (V&A/RCA), London, History of Design programme, Olga Dritsopoulou is currently focusing on the further development of her undergraduate research, revolving around the analysis of contemporary conceptual fashion in an interdisciplinary manner with regards to philosophy and literature. Having worked for companies such as DKNY in New York and Jonathan Saunders in London, Olga is a stylist and independent scholar aspiring to contribute constructively to the further evolution of fashion as an academic field.

Sarah Magill, *Making Vintage 1940s Clothes for Women*, The Crowood Press, Marlborough, England, 2017, 256 Photographs, 71 Illustrations, Bibliography, List of Suppliers, Acknowledgements, Index, 125pp, Softback, £25.00.



The Second World War was a watershed era in fashion history—hemlines went up, silhouettes slimmed down, and strong shoulders ruled, echoing the new freedom and power felt by women working for the war effort. The lesser-known story is how these styles were borne out of necessity, as a reaction to wartime rationing and austerity measures invoked in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Making Vintage 1940s Clothes for Women functions both as an introduction to the history of these fashions and a unique construction guide for the modern costumer or sewing enthusiast. A visually-driven book, it includes vintage photos and illustrations of wartime styles, as well as gridded sewing patterns for eight classic 1940s looks. The patterns are supported by in-depth photo tutorials featuring period-appropriate sewing construction techniques.

The author, Sarah Magill, a dress historian and lecturer in the field of costume, weaves considerable archival research into the history of these designs. The details “have been determined through the examination of garments from various museum collections, sewing patterns, needlework books, contemporaneous photographs, magazine articles and illustrations” (p. 7). This elevates the scholarship of the book, making it more academically solid than many of the retro sewing manuals released in the past decade.

In the first chapter, the author provides a brief history of how wartime restrictions on fabric and other items had an immediate impact on 1940s fashion. Suddenly designers needed to use less fabric and fewer notions, and consumers needed ration coupons to buy garments, so a “make do and mend” mentality took hold (p. 9). The chapter includes charming vintage photos and illustrations of women in typical streamlined 1940s garments.

Chapter 2 introduces period-appropriate sewing techniques, materials, and equipment for the reader to use when creating authentic 1940s styles. The author explains how to scale the included patterns to full size, then modify them to fit different figures (p. 15) by using a method known as “slash and spread.” The chapter concludes with photographs and descriptions of important hand-sewing techniques necessary for accurate reconstructions of vintage garments, demonstrating herringbone, buttonhole, and slip stitches (p. 20).

The next eight chapters provide sewing patterns on grids, with instructional text and photos, for creating a wardrobe of typical Second World War garments:

- A fitted blouse with waist darts and short puffed sleeves
- A streamlined skirt with narrow pleats
- High-waisted pleated slacks with wide legs
- A shirt frock (shirtwaist dress) embellished with tucks and inverted pleats
- An evening dress with a sweetheart neckline, peplum, and bodice shirring
- A lined bolero with handmade shoulder pads
- French knickers (tap pants) with shell-tucked hems, French seams, lace inserts, and binding
- A tea dress with placket, gathering, and waist ties

Taken together, these garments would make up much of a typical wartime wardrobe for a woman in the United Kingdom or the United States.

Each pattern chapter begins with a description of the garment to be sewn, and puts the design into historical context through text, original photos, and illustrations from the 1940s. This is followed by step-by-step sewing instructions with photographic tutorials, showing important construction techniques for the garment.

The sewing patterns themselves create authentic fashions of the era, and include embellishments such as pleats, tucks, and shirring. The pattern piece shapes, shown in the book in small scale, allow readers to see and conceptualise how the fabric is cut and sewn into the finished garment.

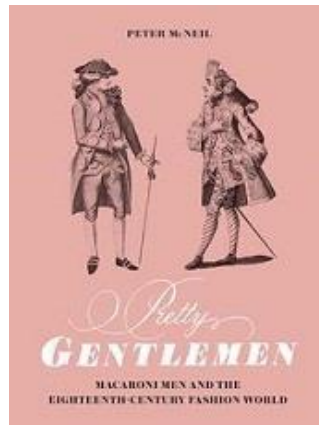
To make the patterns functional, the reader needs to expand them to full size by tracing them onto a 1.5cm grid, which results in a pattern that corresponds to a UK size 12 (US size 8). Then the patterns need to be modified to fit the wearer’s individual size, which could prove challenging for someone who is unfamiliar with basic pattern grading and fitting techniques. However, the thorough photographic tutorials of the vintage sewing methods, particularly for period details such as pintucks and rouleau, make this a useful book for sewing enthusiasts of any level.

Collecting and wearing vintage clothing from the 1940s has been a phenomenon since the 70s, but in recent years, the supply of actual wearable garments has dwindled. In the past decade, retro sewing fans, costumers, and reenactors have solved this problem by making their own wartime garments, but many of the recent retro books and patterns have focused on “pin-up” and “Rosie the Riveter” styles. *Making Vintage 1940s Clothes for Women* provides a much-needed reference, based on solid research, for stitching up a closetful of authentic 1940s outfits using period-appropriate sewing techniques.

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Writer, historian, and seamstress Julie Eilber has presented fashion/sewing history workshops at The Museum of Modern Art and has written award-winning biographical documentaries for The Smithsonian. Using unique practice-led research methods, Julie has reconstructed classic twentieth century designs by Chanel, Charles James, Vionnet, Schiaparelli, and Madame Grès. Julie is currently writing a biography of American designer Claire McCardell, which will include authentic sewing patterns.

Peter McNeil, *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World*, Yale University Press, London, England, 2018, 150 Black-and-White and Colour Illustrations, Acknowledgements, Preface, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 256pp, Hardback, £31.50.



As the first full-length study devoted to the macaroni, the book aims to provide a full understanding of macaronis, their clothing, and their place in society. The author also intends to add to a broader approach for fashion studies which encompasses the visual and material culture of the day.

Chapter 1, Introduction: “The Vulgar Tongue,” introduces the reader to the term macaroni which generally refers to foppish men and was typically in use from around 1760–1780. Although the term is still known to this day, its nuances and connotations of the time are now less obvious. These are discussed in more detail with particular reference to contemporaneous satirical prints.

Chapter 2, Observing the Macaroni, examines what it meant to be a macaroni. A large part of this was evidenced by fashion but the lifestyle also encompassed political and social nuances with a singular combination of male/female and English/European. Images are included of many extant costumes compared and contrasted with those seen in portraits and paintings of the time.

Chapter 3, Fact and Fiction: The Macaroni Caricature, Personality and Portraiture, examines, in more detail, the satirical prints and caricatures depicting macaronis, particularly those of Mary and Matthew Darley. It also refers to the more prominent members of the macaroni fraternity, for example, Charles James Fox, Sir Joseph Banks, Richard Cosway (painter), Reverend William Dodd, David Garrick (actor), and Julius Soubise (former slave).

Chapter 4, French Knavery and Fashion: The Macaroni and Nationhood, focuses on macaroni fashion which had its roots mainly in France but also had Italian influences.

By referring to eighteenth century travel literature and the synchronous debate on the relationship between fashion and luxury, McNeil examines the relationship between fashionability and English nationhood and gender.

Chapter 5, *Pretty Gentleman: Macaroni Dress and Male Sexualities*, addresses the issue of “the sexual charge of macaroni men, with a focus on their dress, manners and places of resort” (p. 151). The femininity of macaroni dress is contrasted with the increased adoption by women of more masculine costume (eg. the redingcote) resulting in a more androgynous appearance for all those of fashion. However, for the most part the “macaroni was more often represented as effete and homosocial” (p. 182).

Chapter 6, *Things of a Peculiar Species: The Macaronis and the English Theatre*, considers the influence of the theatre at the time. “The theatre was a barometer of everyday life; it was not simply a reflective mirror, but a place in which opinions and identities were formed, received and tested” (p. 185). By referring to plays of the period, McNeil asserts that stereotypes created in the theatre both reinforced and inspired caricatures in print thus ensuring that both were easily read and understood by their audiences.

Chapter 7, *Conclusion: Fashion Victims: or, Macaroni Relinquishing Finery*. This final chapter outlines the demise of the macaroni along with the rise of more sombre styles following the French Revolution.

McNeil achieves his aim of providing a thorough study of the macaroni world. By utilising numerous sources from extant dress to theatre, poetry and ceramics via portraits, paintings, prints and caricatures he creates an in-depth understanding of the period. The short biographies of various men who exemplified the macaroni lifestyle enhances the overall picture.

The book is well illustrated but inevitably images are often too far from the text in which they are mentioned so a certain amount of page turning is required to locate the appropriate image. In addition, images are not always large enough to fully show the details that are referred to in the text.

Male fashion of this period is not a well-covered subject and this work goes some way to address that. Although not claiming to be part of the remit, it might have been beneficial to compare the macaroni style more closely to what was considered the norm so that the extremes could be better appreciated. Overall the book is both interesting and enjoyable for an insight into aspects of late eighteenth century society.

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Alison Fairhurst gained her PhD for her research into the materials, construction, and conservation of women's shoes in the eighteenth century. Her doctoral research included the examination of more than 100 pairs of extant shoes from various collections and highlighted the importance of object-based research. She has a BA and MA in the conservation of historic objects and has spent several years working as a textile conservator with The Landi Company. Her interests include anything dress or textile related but particularly those dating from 1500–1800.

Eleri Lynn, *Tudor Fashion*, Yale University Press, New Haven, United States, 2017, 180 Colour Illustrations, Acknowledgements, Notes, Select Bibliography, Index, Picture Credits, 208pp, Hardback, £35.00.



Tudor Fashion, by Eleri Lynn, is a beautifully presented book which, at first glance, seems to be a solid contribution to the field of fashion history. Leafing through, the reader is captivated by the many illustrations and detailed photographs, as well as the clearly labelled chapters and subchapters promising a comprehensive guide to Tudor fashion. However, upon closer inspection, some worrying trends become apparent which impair the work both in terms of its usefulness as a reference book and as a gateway into the world of fashion history.

Lynn begins her work by stating that the book will present new information on the clothing of England's Tudor monarchs and their courts. This is enticing but the level to which this is achieved is minimal. Much of the information presented has been available for a number of years, such as the theory that the Bacton Altar Cloth was originally a royal garment. This idea was first published in *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* in 1988. Although Lynn has done extensive research on this piece, and presenting new information in a broader context of established knowledge is good research practice, the reader struggles to distinguish between these new findings and what has previously been reported.

Of further concern, at some points, Lynn appears to present the work of others as her own, or that of the Historic Royal Palaces. Whether deliberate or not, in writing about the construction of a Tudor lady's bodice (p. 25), Lynn refers to the research of Jane Malcolm-Davies, Ninya Mikhaila, and Caroline Johnson but does not name them in the text. This is despite naming another textile historian, Susan North, in the same paragraph. Lynn also fails to adequately cite these three authors. Instead of referencing their 2008 paper on their bodice reconstruction experiments, the reference given is a 2003 talk by the authors that was subsequently referenced in their 2006 publication, *The Tudor Tailor*. To cite their work in such an obscure way

creates the illusion that the experiment was the work of Lynn and the Historic Royal Palaces.

Other well-known authors are subjected to the same treatment. Janet Arnold, a key contributor to our understanding of sixteenth century clothing, is not named in the text until the penultimate page (p. 170). When she is, it is to support Lynn's research into the origin of the Bacton Altar Cloth and not to acknowledge Arnold's vast contribution to the field of dress history. Similarly, when talking about Anne Boleyn's personality (p. 76), Lynn chooses to cite Tracy Borman, joint Chief Curator at the Historic Royal Palaces, rather than the contemporary source Borman quotes (*The Papers of George Wyatt Esquire*) or the seminal biography by Eric Ives. Instead, the latter is relegated to describing Anne's household livery. This is to the detriment of *Tudor Fashion* as some of the most respected scholars in the field are entirely absent from the work or misrepresented. It would have been prudent to add a section to the book's preface in which the many dress history experts who, through their extensive research have created the foundations for this book, could have been acknowledged. This would have gone a long way in excusing their absence in the following chapters. One can only hope that this indirect dismissal of the experts is unintended by the author and that the purpose was to inform the casual reader rather than provide a thorough introduction to the topic.

This leads to the question of audience. Who is the book for? The inconsistent approach to referencing and the unacknowledged role of experts in the field means that the book cannot be regarded as academic. For the casual reader, the sometimes confusing placement of the accompanying illustrations diminishes the educational value of the book. This may have been caused by editorial demands rather than the author's choice, but text and images rarely align making some pictures misleading. On p. 41 Lynn describes the low-cut shirts of Henry VIII's early reign but accompanies it with a mid reign portrait of Henry in a collared shirt; on p. 33 when discussing strapwork the paragraph is accompanied by an image of blackwork. To the novice textile historian, it would be easy to mistake one for the other. Some images, such as the hunting scene on pp. 112-113, are not even from the Tudor period (and in this case, not even from England) and no explanation as to why they were included is given. Despite its many illustrations of reconstructed costumes, the book offers no insights for readers interested in the reconstruction of historic dress. Instead, the many photographs of modern-day interpretations placed among the paintings, objects, and textiles from the Tudor period create a more confusing visual narrative for the reader. There is no discussion on the interpretation of sources to make the book useful to more general historians.

In several places, Lynn uses sweeping statements that are not followed up with evidence. To paraphrase, she claims that Holbein was the only artist to depict

garments from behind (p. 25), partlets were made to emulate men's shirts (p. 47), and that the exaggeration of the farthingale caused the introduction of pockets into skirts (p. 52). All of these statements may be justifiable but evidence to support them has not been supplied.

Many of the problematic aspects of the book cannot reasonably be attributed to the author alone. The errors raised here should have been addressed at the editorial stage and, as a first-time author, guidance in these matters should have been provided.

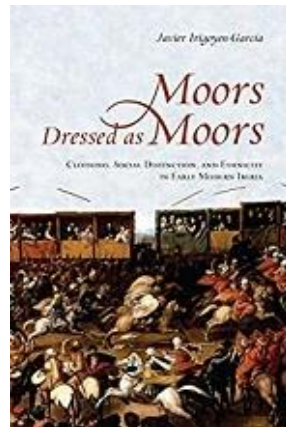
In conclusion, sold at the Historic Royal Palaces sites, *Tudor Fashion's* beautiful appearance will no doubt appeal to many visitors. The problems discussed here only become apparent when read cover to cover. As a contribution to the field, established fashion scholars are unlikely to find additional information, and novice dress historians will be left with many questions. Yet, there will be many who will happily purchase a copy as a souvenir of their visit to one of the Historic Royal Palaces' iconic sites.

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Rosalind Mearns completed her Master's degree in Experimental Archaeology at The University of Exeter in 2017. Working with The National Trust, her dissertation investigated how differing levels of accuracy in the construction of historic costumes can impact public understanding of the past. She has previously worked as a costumed Learning Facilitator for The National Trust of Australia, Victoria.

Javier Irigoyen García, *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 2017, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 19 Black-and-White Illustrations, 324pp, Hardback, £51.99.



Moors Dressed as Moors analyses the circulation and use of Moorish clothing in early modern Iberia using a social and ethnic focus that illuminates the ideological uses of this clothing. This book is based on a great variety of sources, including tailoring books, chronicles, treatises, pictures, engravings, inventories, dowries, letters, wills, and lists of goods required for the costuming of performers in public celebrations and other events. The title is based on an episode during the War of the Alpujarras, when in 1568 the rebel *Morisco* (Moor) Abendafox along with 200 men disguised as Turks tried to stir up a revolt among *Moriscos* of the city of Albaicín. A soldier wrote to the Marquis of Mondejar about this episode, explaining that they were “Moors dressed as Moors.” This source thus reflects the era’s vague conception of Moorish dress, because the expression could have meant the different types of clothing worn by forcibly converted Christian Iberian Moriscos, North Africans, or Turks.

The book is divided into two parts, each of which is composed of four chapters. The first concerns the traditional “game of canes” which first appeared in Moorish literature. This game is defined by García as an equestrian performance that developed from the fourteenth century and continued into the early modern era, and became an important Spanish public entertainment which included Moorish costuming. During the reign of Philip II (1556–1598) as jousting was in decline, the game of canes was increasing in popularity as the new and popular equestrian sport of the social elite. García argues that the example of this game demonstrates how transformations in politics and fashion were intertwined. An edict of 1567 prohibited Moors from wearing silk, and this had implications for participants in the game of canes. The lower nobility’s desire to become elite *hidalgos* was linked to the game, since it included wearing Moorish dress and showing off horsemanship skills that constituted a demonstration of nobility. Thus, their wearing of Moorish dress at the

games was important for their social ambitions. The 1567 edict, as well as the Moorish expulsion in 1609 led to the game's decline.

Contemporary Spanish literature describes two models of Moorishness. One is a Moorish knight admiringly praised by maurophilic texts, and the second is the Moor as a comic figure who improperly wears clothes that are above his status. A good example of this occurs in a book, *Los cautivos de Argel*, by contemporary Lope de Vega, who represented the knight as a comic figure who was complaining because he could never participate in the games. The book's second part is based on the government's regulation of Moorish clothing, its presence in public performances, and how the *Morisco* body was represented in literary texts. The development of sumptuary laws relating to the regulation of Moorish clothing is analysed from a treatise called *Tiratado sobre el vestir, el calzar y el comer* [*Treatise about dressing up, shoes, and eating*] by Hernando de Talavera in 1499 to the last sumptuary laws that were enacted at the end of the sixteenth century. These concerned limitations on the use of silk and the consequences of this for Spanish society. Since 1499 the Moriscos had been ordered to dress like Christians but without transgressing the legal boundaries between them. These early laws focused on the specifics of dress and the most significant decree was in 1567 that prohibited not just Moorish clothing but also their traditional social customs. But the consequences of this went beyond mere aesthetics because the Moriscos saw themselves at risk for losing their identity. There was an economic loss, too, since all of their clothes had to be Castilian. Yet Moorish clothing often appeared in the public spectacles; it was displayed to reflect the local community in different sorts of exhibitions, including the *alardes* (annual military musters), the *zambras* (musical performances in festivals), and the *escaramuzas* (mock battles), all of which show the symbolic importance of Moorish clothing as costumes.

The last topic treated in the book concerns the treatment of *Morisco* bodies in Spanish literary texts. The majority of these are from ballads that depict an archetypal gentleman gallant wearing an idealized Moorish dress. However, after the *Morisco* expulsion these representations decreased, though the book should have clarified why some authors such as seventeenth century playwright Calderon de la Barca still included Morisco sartorial themes in his works. Most previous studies on Moorish clothing address the concept of the *Moro* (Moor) and his cultural manifestations, but in regard to dress they are only based on maurophilic literature and are limited to the use of this clothing in public performances. While some do touch upon the complex meanings and identities connected with Moorish clothing, this is an interesting and useful book for readers who are interested in the understanding of clothes beyond aesthetics. This book describes Moorish dress as an element of the acculturation process with its adoption by Spaniards.

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Laura Pérez Hernández studied History at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and then earned a Master of History of Hispanic Monarchy where she began research into history of dress. This began with an expositive project at the Historical Library of the University about the image of women through the analysis of clothing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Currently, Laura is in her last year of a PhD at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and her research is about Spanish female fashion in the mid eighteenth century, its relationships and influences with both France and England at the time and, also, the representation of these female dress models in art, press publications, and engravings.

Edwina Ehrman, ed., *Fashioned from Nature*, V&A Publishing, London, England, 2018, Endnotes, Bibliography, Glossary, Index, 128 Color Illustrations, 192pp, Softback, £25.00.



Fashioned from Nature is the accompanying catalogue to The Victoria and Albert Museum's exhibition of the same name. The exhibition, which was organised by fashion and textiles curator Edwina Ehrman, is on view from 21 April 2018 through 27 January 2019.

The cover and appearance of *Fashioned from Nature* communicate its layered, and multifaceted, focus. The book's cover image, a detail of a circa 1788–1792 design for a printed cotton by William Kilburn, draws attention to the book's excellent initial coverage of early works. Its use of a softback binding, a somewhat unusual choice for a coffee table book-sized tome, hints at the environmental emphasis of this publication's ultimate chapter. The paper itself, as is noted on the copyright page, is sourced from “responsible sources.”

The book is divided into four chapters by date (1600–1800, 1800–1900, 1900–1990, and 1990–Present). As Ehrman states, clothing before 1600 is excluded due to the lack of surviving relevant pieces (p. 11). The first three chapters include a greater wealth of information than the book's final section. However, this is understandable, considering that the earlier chapters cover subjects that benefit from the wisdom of hindsight, while the last chapter addresses relatively recent inventions and events.

Each chapter, except Chapter 4, concludes with two smaller essays that delve into a single object. While these are welcome additions and shifts in tempo, (The essay on ferns, “Engaging with Nature: The Fern Craze,” (pp. 100–105), is particularly lovely.), their existence and structure are not completely clear from the outset. Additionally, by the end of the book, the lack of a second such section in Chapter 4 is noticeable to the reader. The book, which so expertly covers a sweeping expanse of time and topics, merits a hefty conclusion of its own.

The large quantity of sumptuous images included in this book is a wonderful asset. The frequent use of photographs, which often take up an entire page, also make the book a quicker read than might be expected. In many cases, the book design allows for visually stimulating juxtapositions. A botanical study of a Bull Bay (*Magnolia altissima*, now *grandiflora*) by Georg Dionysius Ehret is placed next to a painted silk English gown constructed between 1780 and 1785 (pp. 24–25). When viewed side by side, the green, cream, and red of each image pops.

The emphasis of Ehrman's research is similarly highlighted thanks to the editor's deft navigation of an inherently two-fold topic. Previous exhibitions and correlating texts, such as National Gallery of Victoria's *Everlasting: The Flower in Fashion and Textiles*, have aimed to illuminate how fashion has historically been intertwined with nature. But Ehrman's catalogue is unique in its persistent and unflinching assertion that this relationship is in fact a two-way street.

First, Ehrman repeatedly reminds the reader that the garment in question not only depicts motifs from the natural, and often floral, world, but that it is also made out of an organic substance. (A cotton and muslin bodice and skirt (p. 83), which is decorated with jewel beetle wing cases arranged in the shapes of flowers and leaves, is a particularly vivid example.) Second, Ehrman insists that this relationship has regularly created a direct and negative impact on the nature from which fashion draws its material building blocks and artistic inspiration.

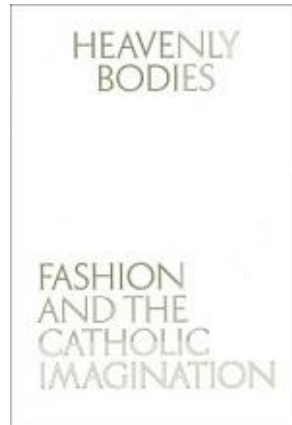
The use of bird feathers and fur are each examined (p. 40 and pp. 82–88), while pollution comes up long before the twenty-first century is addressed (p. 45). However, it is Ehrman's foray into present-day environmental concerns that most distinguishes this text from its predecessors. The rise of fast fashion, and the insatiable consumer demand for novel garments, is given particular attention. Climate change and working conditions are discussed, as are smaller illustrative anecdotes, such as Patagonia's famous 2011 "Don't Buy This Jacket" advertisement (p. 172).

This final chapter does not shine as brightly as its precursors, but is arguably the more necessary scholarly output in the year 2018. What is more, the substance and tone of actress Emma Watson's foreword contrast with the book's subsequent text, which is richer in both style and content. *Fashioned from Nature* is extremely well researched from a variety of sources and beautiful to behold. It would make a welcome, and essential, addition to any fashion historian's bookshelf.

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Andrew Bolton, *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, Distributed by Yale University Press, London, England, 2018, Two Hardback Volumes with Slipcase, Volume I: The Vatican Collection, 89pp., 67 Colour Illustrations, Volume II: Fashioning Worship/Fashioning Devotion, 330 Colour Illustrations, 336pp., £50.



These publications accompany the landmark exhibition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute (10 May 2018–8 October 2018). The theme of the exhibition is the link between fashion and art, with particular reference to fashion's relationship with the imagery of Catholicism. The exhibition is laid out across several venues. At the Museum's main location on Fifth Avenue, the Byzantine Galleries feature fashions inspired by the religious art and architecture of Byzantium, and the Medieval Galleries reference fashions that reflect the clergy and the hierarchical distinctions of the Catholic Church, as well as the cult of the Virgin Mary, set against a background of paintings, sculptures, and altarpieces. The Robert Lehman Wing of the Museum, notable for its exceptional collection of fifteenth century paintings, shows fashions that relate to the cult of angels and saints. The cornerstone of the exhibition, is a collection of papal robes and accessories from the Sacristy of the Sistine Chapel, The Apostolic Palace, Vatican City. The collection spans some fifteen papacies. It is exhibited in the Anna Wintour Costume Center in The Costume Institute. The Museum's branch, The Met Cloisters, a reconstruction of a Medieval monastery dedicated exclusively to the art and architecture of the Middle Ages, picturesquely situated in Fort Tryon Park, hosts fashion designers attracted by the contemplative world of religious orders.

The presentation of an exhibition of this size and scope is recorded in no less than two volumes. They follow the clearly demarcated sections of the exhibition and are as brilliantly produced and visually spectacular as the exhibition, which is particularly helpful for those unable to attend it, because the fashions on display are not tucked away behind glass, but intermingle with the art. Volume I focuses on papal vestments and accessories, such as rings and tiaras, from the Vatican Collection, while Volume

II brings together some 150 clothing ensembles, as well as accessories, from a panoply of celebrated fashion designers.

Many of the fashion designers were raised as Catholics or have or have had a personal relation to Catholicism that has impacted on their creative life. For example, in the Byzantine Galleries, thousand-year-old crosses hang beside near identical copies designed by Coco Chanel, who was educated by nuns. In Byzantium, crosses were an omnipresent sign of the Christian faith. Coco Chanel's crosses were highly sought after; an ancient devotional image is shown in harmony with her particular brand of modernism. Cristóbal Balenciaga was raised as a Catholic and remained devout throughout his life. He often alluded to ecclesiastical vestments in his designs. For instance, in the Medieval Galleries, a red silk faille evening coat has a direct connection with the choir dress of cardinals, depicted in a portrait of a cardinal in his sumptuous red vestments painted by El Greco. Choir dress, which is worn by cardinals and bishops for liturgical celebrations, follows their colour of rank. Joining them in this gallery are statuary vestments for the Virgin Mary, designed by Yves Saint Laurent, who was given a Catholic funeral at the Église Saint-Roch in Paris. Jeanne Lanvin, who was also raised as a Catholic, is represented in the Robert Lehman Wing with her evening dress, titled, *L'Ange*, made of blue silk crepe georgette, embroidered silver and gold *paillettes*. It finds a visual parallel in Fra Angelico's painting, *Saint Dominic and His Companions Fed By Angels*, dated circa 1430-1432. The dress was displayed at the French Pavilion in the New York World's Fair in 1939. At The Met Cloisters, a mannequin-bride dressed in an unadorned wedding gown designed by Balenciaga, stands before an image of Christ on the Cross, recalling nuns who, when they say their vows, take Christ as their only Spouse. Balenciaga evokes the purity and reverence of this sacred ceremony.

Interspersed throughout the two volumes are essays by art and dress historians and religious authorities that provide context and perspective on the synergy between fashion and Catholic iconography. They are underpinned by Andrew Bolton's erudite Introduction, discussing the observations about the nature of Catholicism by Andrew Greeley in his book, *The Catholic Imagination*, and how they are echoed throughout *Heavenly Bodies*. This is an innovative exhibition that breaks new ground. The publications are recommended for established scholars as well as for new students of dress history, especially those embarking on a study of ecclesiastical vestments. The photography is exquisite, capturing the materiality of the clothing and the accessories in great detail.

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Clare Backhouse, *Fashion and Popular Print in Early Modern England: Depicting Dress in Black-Letter Ballads*, I.B. Tauris & Co., London, England, 2017, 63 Black-and-White Illustrations, Acknowledgements, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 261pp, Hardback, £69.00.



This book explores the relationship between ballads and dress in seventeenth century England. The author discusses the physical similarities in their production, consumption, and circulation as well as the political, social, and economic commentary on dress contained within the ballads' texts and images.

In the Introduction, Backhouse takes the time to address the limitations of ballads as a source material, especially in terms of researching dress. She explains that representations of dress in ballads cannot always be connected to extant clothing and must be considered in light of conventions of representation. Importantly, she also addresses the fact that the woodblock prints that so often illustrate ballads were often recycled, with the same images being used for a variety of different texts.

Chapter 1, *Commodities of Print and Dress*, seeks to connect ballads and dress on a physical level. Backhouse discusses the interconnectedness of the materials used in the two mediums, explaining how "...the paper and print trades relied upon recycled clothing, but also how the clothing trades relied upon paper as an element of both inner garment construction and surface textile design..." (p. 10). She then focuses on the similarities of their distribution, placing a significant emphasis on the figure of the peddler as a primary seller of both types of goods.

Chapter 2, *Ballad Comment on Dress*, focuses on the evolving content of ballad texts over the century as they relate to dress. Backhouse begins by clarifying that "...ballad comment on dress can be studied, not as an accurate account of clothing practices but rather...as a trace of the moods, issues and trades associated with fashion at the time" (p. 43). With that understanding, she finds that the commentary reflects concerns about the production and consumption of dress and textiles. These concerns are

invariably tied up in ideas about personal morality, social responsibility, and national identity.

Chapter 3, *Ballad Pictures: Conventions of Clothes and the Body*, discusses the significance of woodcut illustrations in ballads. Backhouse revisits the topic of image recycling that was mentioned in her introduction. She argues that the inclusion of images should be understood as a form of bricolage, "...a series of seized opportunities and improvisations," (p. 87) and utilises Paul Jobling's idea of intratextuality in her analysis. The author also draws direct connections between conventions in fine art to those being utilised in ballad woodcuts to further elucidate their meanings

Chapters 4 and 5 are both titled *Classical Ideals and Satirical Deviations*. Backhouse relies on her connections to fine art from the previous chapter to establish a classical ideal, which she argues is the standard upon which satire is played against. Chapter 4, subtitled *Masculinity, Fashion and the Defense of the Nation*, argues that the juxtaposition of classical images with satirical text signifies that while a moderate amount of fashion was deemed necessary for men, being too fashionable was equated with being weak and feminine. Chapter 5, subtitled *Female Bodies, Feminine Fashions and the Economic Benefits*, argues that a similar contradiction existed for women. While women were considered weak and fundamentally susceptible to the follies of fashion, their continued purchasing was an economic necessity.

In the Epilogue, Backhouse extends her discussion into the early eighteenth century. This allows her to explain when and why black-letter ballads fell out of style as well as their immediate legacy.

With this book, Backhouse makes a significant contribution to the literature on black-letter ballads. Her application of both art and dress history to ballads' woodcut images builds a strong case for their relevance to ballad texts and their overall significance as a source type. In the process, she identifies them as an under-utilised source for the study of dress history.

Both the greatest strengths and greatest weaknesses of this book lie in its many digressions. Backhouse gives so many pockets of back knowledge throughout each chapter that it is hardly necessary to know anything about art, dress, or ballads to benefit from this book. Furthermore, her organisation is impeccable, with summaries at the beginnings and ends of each chapter and frequent subheadings throughout. The result is a book that is easy to read and remarkably thorough.

However, her choices in digressions are sometimes questionable. Occasionally her focus becomes too intense, such as on the figure of the peddler in Chapter 1, that it

leaves the reader questioning whether she is fully aware of the multitude of other ways that paper and textiles goods were bought and sold. She also routinely misses the opportunity to comment on the personal connections and experiences of clothing and print. The way in which people experienced ballads is not discussed in detail, and the reader is left wondering why and how a largely illiterate population consumed ballads at such a rate. The personal experience of wearing, making, and seeing dress is hardly mentioned at all.

This book is a must-have for seventeenth century dress historians. To those already familiar with the dress of the period, this is an excellent supplement. This book would also be of interest to anyone interested in the relationship of dress and print culture in any period.

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The PhD theses listed in this article are available for immediate download, in full and for free, through The British Library portal, <http://ethos.bl.uk>. This theses list contains only those PhD theses in dress history that are registered at The British Library, London, England, the official theses repository of the region in which The Journal of Dress History is published. Additionally, this article includes those PhD theses of international members of The Association of Dress Historians, whose theses are not registered at The British Library. If you are a member of the ADH 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.

Anna-Mari Almila, *Hijab as Dress: Muslim Women's Clothing Strategies in Contemporary Finland*, PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, Scotland, 2014.

This thesis concerns female Islamic dress, the hijab, in contemporary urban Finland. The hijab is not merely a symbol or an inevitable embodiment of either female oppression or agency, but rather is a form of dress that is simultaneously social, mental, material, and spatial. The approach developed here captures the multiple dimensions of the hijab as it is lived and experienced. The thesis draws upon ideas from a range of social theorists, including Bourdieu, Lefebvre, Goffman, and Gramsci. These ideas are deployed to understand the conscious and semi-conscious

dress strategies and practices that veiling Muslim women use to manage various everyday issues and challenges. I investigate questions concerning how social, material and spatial relations both impact upon, and are negotiated by, the wearing of the hijab. The research was conducted in Helsinki using ethnographic methods, such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The main groups of informants were Finnish converts to Islam, Somalis, and Shi'a Muslims from Iran, Afghanistan and Iraq, and the sample covered women of various ages, educational backgrounds, and professional positions. The empirical chapters are organised according to four major themes: Politics, Materiality, Performance, and Visibility in Public Space. According to the findings, Muslim women in Finland negotiate their dress strategies with reference to Finnish "mainstream" society, religious doctrine and the demands of their particular ethnic communities. Dress strategies and practices are found to be bound up in complex but identifiable ways with factors such as fashion markets and dress availability, diverse modes of embodiment and habituation, and the socio-spatial relations which produce and are produced by the Finnish built environment. In sum, by focussing on the lived experience of wearing the hijab, many of the more simplistic politicised understandings of Muslim women and their characteristic forms of dress can be challenged and superseded.

Karen Nickell, *Embroidery in the Expanded Field: Textile Narratives in Irish Art Post-1968*, PhD Thesis, University of Ulster, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 2014.

This thesis investigates embroidery/textile art in Ireland from the 1960s to the present day. It does so by drawing on the knowledge and experience of practitioners, educators and related professionals as a source of primary data, collected through interviews. The thesis questions how textile art emerged in Ireland, what structures and influences shaped its development and in what ways it is still relevant. It also questions if textile art in Ireland reflects specific cultural and regional identities and examines the relationship between contemporary textile art and the continuum of textile history. The project interrogates issues such as art and craft; specialist and generic skills; regional identity; ways of being a practitioner; circumstances of making; placement and curatorship of work and the role that textile practices play in society. The inclusivity of the project is broad, encompassing amateur and professional practices, the use of textiles in art, textiles as an art practice and textile arts and crafts in the community. The focus is on embroidery/stitched textiles although textile work using other materials and processes is included where relevant. The project is based on a Social Constructivist paradigm, with the artists and makers as active participants in the research. Their voices fashion the emerging themes; which are understood in relation to substantive and formal theories from interdisciplinary research areas such as women's studies, material studies and new craft theory. The research contributes to knowledge by constructing a contextual analysis for the understanding of textile arts

in Ireland. This can be used to develop contemporary models for the transference of knowledge and skills, and to explore the possibilities of textile arts in society and art in a textile culture. It establishes a body of knowledge that can be used as an entry point and resource for future researchers.

Loubna Bijdiguen, *Colonial and Orientalist Veils: Associations of Islamic Female Dress in the French and Moroccan Press and Politics*, PhD Thesis, Goldsmiths College, University of London, London, England, 2015.

The veiled Muslimah or Muslim woman has figured as a threat in media during the past few years, especially with the increasing visibility of religious practices in both Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority contexts. Islamic dress has further become a means and technique of constructing ideas about the “other.” My study explores how the veil comes to embody this otherness in the contemporary print media and politics. It is an attempt to question constructions of the veil by showing how they repeat older colonial and Orientalist histories. I compare and contrast representations of the dress in Morocco and France. This research is about how Muslimat, and more particularly their Islamic attire, is portrayed in the contemporary print media and politics. My research aims to explore constructions of the dress in the contemporary Moroccan and French press and politics, and how the veil comes to acquire meanings, or veil associations, over time. I consider the veil in Orientalist, postcolonial, Muslim and Islamic feminist contexts, and constructions of the veil in Orientalist and Arab Nahda texts. I also examine Islamic dress in contemporary Moroccan and French print media and politics. While I focus on similarities and continuities, I also highlight differences in constructions of the veil. My study establishes the importance of merging and comparing histories, social contexts and geographies, and offers an opportunity to read the veil from a multivocal, multilingual, cross-historical perspective, in order to reconsider discourses of Islamic dress past and present in comparative perspective.

Roslyn Chapman, *The History of the Fine Lace Knitting Industry in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Shetland*, PhD Thesis, The University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, 2015.

This thesis tells the story of Shetland knitted lace. It is a history that comprises more than a series of chronological events which illustrate the development of a domestic craft industry; it is also the story of a landscape and the people who inhabited it and the story of the emergence of a distinctive textile product which achieved global recognition. Focusing on the material culture of Shetland lace opens up questions about the relationships between the women who produce it, the men and women who

sell it and the women who consume and wear it. In acknowledging these connected histories and by following Shetland lace over time and across, often wide, geographical spaces, Shetland knitted lace can be shown to epitomize and signify social relations. This research takes a life cycle, or biographical, approach to Shetland lace in which consideration is given not only to the circumstances surrounding its production, but also to recognising the different stages in its development and how it moved through different hands, contexts and uses. Shetland lace exists within a set of cultural relationships which are temporally, spatially and socially specific and it carries shifting historical and cultural stories about its makers, traders and wearers and the worlds that they inhabited. Recognising these relationships as an integral element in the formation of historical and cultural narratives it is possible to see the role Shetland lace played in defining self and community within Shetland while acknowledging difference in an expanding national and international market. This understanding of the production, marketing and consumption processes demonstrates the multiple relationships between Shetland lace and its market and between the producer and consumer. The focus on the highly skilled Shetland lace producers demonstrates the development of female enterprise and entrepreneurship in the Shetland lace industry in which local networks operated in an exchange of labour and goods, both as a barter and monetary economy. Identifying the economic and symbolic place of Shetland lace within Shetland society highlights the impact of external influences on the success, and perceived decline of this industry. From this perspective this research engages with many of the key questions concerning a specialised form of textile production dominated by women, its place within the female economy, and its position within the world of trade and fashion. In this it aims to make a new contribution to our knowledge of women's work, of the operation of markets, and the perception of skill and value in the past and the present and provide an understanding of an industry which was a crucial element of household economics and female autonomy in these islands. It acknowledges the community of unknown Shetland women who, over generations, introduced, produced and sustained the Shetland lace industry and where possible identifies, and gives a voice to, previously unknown individual producers.

G. Crosby, *First Impressions: The Prohibition on Printed Calicoes in France, 1686-1759*, PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, England, 2015.

This thesis examines the French prohibition on both importing printed cotton from India and printing it in France between 1686 and 1759, an interdiction significantly longer than any other European country, and challenges the portrayal of the ban as a sustained protectionist measure for the *anciennes manufactures*. Although it was undeniably instigated for this reason, the ban was prolonged due to conflicting government policies, vested interests and an overriding fear for France's reputation

for high-quality products. The study shows that attacking a fledgling, technically incompetent industry conveniently concealed that the textiles trades' loss of skilled workers and markets were the result of decades of a poor economic situation. The examination of primary sources has revealed how the government unwittingly handicapped the state-controlled French East India Company, whose main cargo was cotton, and the repeated granting of exemptions as appeasement negated the possibility of effective law enforcement and engendered perpetual confusion. Restricting the public's use of the fabrics only excited demand, and the challenges of enforcing the ban and eradicating the banned merchandise are explored through a case study of Nantes. The correspondence of officials has revealed the extent to which provincial application of the law was discretionary, and evidence from prosecutions has shown that women of lower social status were particularly vulnerable. Significantly, this study has also uncovered that enforcement was indeed frequent and widespread, and that the severest sentences have been masked in prosecutions for other types of contraband. The complex processes involved in imitating Indian techniques, and the widely accepted method of transfer of technology from Asia are re-examined, confirming that French cotton prints were technically inferior throughout the period, and concurrent development to other European nations should not be assumed. The study has also revealed that a greater amount of the *indiennes* were used as furnishings than imagined, that different qualities circulated, and also that covert printing was mainly carried out on linen, which has been greatly overlooked. French printing continued to be inferior for decades, and the conclusions made on prohibition-era products based on later samples must be questioned.

Michelle Jones, *Less than Art—Greater than Trade: English Couture and the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers in the 1930s and 1940s*, PhD Thesis, Royal College of Art, London, England, 2015.

This study examines the creation and professionalisation of a recognisable English couture industry in the mid twentieth century and in particular the role designer collaboration played within this process. The focal point is the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers, a design group established as a wartime measure in order to preserve and protect a number of London's made-to-measure dress houses and to promote the creative aspirations of the wider British fashion industry. The focus on this specific design group and collaborative practice, rather than the individual couturiers, offers an exceptional case study of designers working in association and the impact this can have on design practice. A number of central themes emerge that focus on the networks and mediated representations that supported this field of design. In dealing with these themes this study recognises that the Incorporated Society's formation and operation did not occur in a vacuum but within a specific industrial, political, economic and social infrastructure. It therefore

explores the networks and narratives that were used to sustain its specific form of luxury fashion production throughout a particularly turbulent period. Today London is acknowledged, alongside Paris, New York and Milan, as one of the world's major fashion cities and this thesis aims to achieve a better understanding of the role couturier-collaboration played in the early development of this recognition. Through the analysis of an extensive range of previously unconsidered primary material it questions whether and how, through the process of collaboration, the London couturiers established unprecedented and much needed cohesion for British design talent and the exact nature of their role within the construction and understanding of London as an internationally recognised fashion centre. The period under consideration allows not only an exploration of the creation of a London couture industry but also the cultural politics of design practice throughout a difficult period of economic depression, war and post-war reconstruction. In so doing, it explores the wider significance of the Incorporated Society's elite made-to-measure dressmakers both for and beyond the discipline of Design History.

Joseph Kean-Kim, *Markers and Meaning of Authenticity: Narratives of Mosuo, Bhutan and Harris Tweed Weavers*, PhD Thesis, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2015.

This research aimed to discover whether weavers could identify markers of authenticity of their own community-based and culturally bound hand-woven textiles. If so, how do they do it? What is the nature and meaning of these markers? Three case studies were selected that represented communities making such textiles at different levels of institutionalisation. The first case focused on the non-institutionalised Mosuo hand-woven textiles, a minority group in southwest China. This is contrasted with the fully legally institutionalised and branded Harris Tweed of Scotland. In between these two extremes, a study on Bhutanese kiras where the design and weaving of textiles are culturally institutionalised without a legal framework or a commercial brand. A pilot study phase informed the use of an ethnographic approach to field research conducted at the three sites employing a diverse range of methods including face-to-face interviews based on semi-structured questionnaires. When opportunities arose, indirect methods were included such as unobtrusive observations, examinations of exemplar textiles, and review through 'thick' descriptions in reflective journals. Data from these qualitative studies were distilled and confirmed through quantitative follow-up methods. The results indicated that for the Mosuo weavers, it is her experience of being a Mosuo weaver and the spirit in which the textiles are woven that determined authenticity. For culturally structured societies such as in Bhutan, authenticity was dependent on the contexts in which the kira was meant to be worn, reflected in turn through the physical characteristics of the kira. The markers of authenticity of Harris Tweed relied on objective characteristics

including the geographical site where the cloth is produced. Central to the experience of the weaver in all three studies was the pride in weaving the textile, a finding which identifies this element as a common marker of its authenticity.

Claire Lerpiniere, *The Textile Archive: Curating Personal Histories and Family Narratives*, PhD Thesis, De Montfort University, Leicester, England, 2015.

Textiles are a ubiquitous facet of global culture, with the potential to become records of significant relationships, events, and stories over their lifetime. This research project investigates textiles which have been informally gathered together, and kept within the home, for their emotional or symbolic resonance. No longer used for their designed function, these textiles are saved from disposal for their ability to prompt personal and family histories and stories, in a phenomenon identified within the study as the personal textile archive. Textile design research is increasingly concerned with incorporating interdisciplinary social and cultural frameworks within its traditional research fields of technology, innovation and creativity, to frame a textile's socio-cultural relevance. This shift in the field requires the development of specific textile design research tools which are capable of producing purposeful research which analyses the material and designed properties of textiles in relation to their symbolic or affective experience, in order to understand the user-experience of a textile. Phenomenological research methods are established as tools for investigating phenomena and lived experience from a first-person perspective, which the investigation of the personally significant textiles within this study requires. A particular method, interpretative phenomenological analysis, has been specifically adapted for textile design research, and it is demonstrated within this research project that it is able to investigate and analyse the personal textile archive, producing original insights into this phenomenon. Through this application of this adaptation of interpretative phenomenological analysis, the design, affordances and craftsmanship of a textile are revealed as interweaving with its emotional, sentimental, biographical or family historical meaning. This is a useful and important original contribution to textile design research, and the recommendation is made that other researchers in the field will be able to utilise and further test this tool within future textile design research studies.

E.E. Mbise, *The Development of a Quick Dry Fabric for Outdoors Garments*, PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, England, 2015.

Engineered clothing systems are one of the major textile research areas. These systems have a huge potential in providing protection and comfort to the wearer. Basically, multi-layered fabric technique is used, in which each layer contributes a

substantial moisture removal function. The process of moisture removal is greatly affected by the surrounding conditions, such as pressure, temperature and humidity. If these quantities are much higher than the inner microclimate, the moisture removal process is affected, due to reduced hydrostatic pressure. However, the technology of heating in textile systems is widely available but not used as a way of improving and controlling moisture removal. The project main objective is to investigate the feasibility of using heating elements together with knitted spacer structures so as to maintain and transfer moisture by capillary effect in order to be used for moisture management textiles. To achieve this a mathematical model to study the moisture transfer process was created and simulated results based on knitted spacer fabric with a construction of 2 tucks and 2 ends was found to be significant. It showed that application of 4W heating using a carefully designed Thermoknit knitted elements which was integrated on the inner side of the spacer fabric successfully improved the moisture transfer by 30% per 11.5 X 11.5 cm sample size. This was further studied on the novel, constructed test rig with two mini-chambers that created controlled climatic conditions as experienced when a textile is situated between the inner microclimate and the outside environment. The same conditions and properties were used for the spacer fabric sample and found to coincide with numerical results. A prototype garment was created using the 2-tuck-2-end spacer fabric with integrated Thermoknit heater elements on the inner side of the garment.

Tomasz Mossakowski, “*The Sailors Dearly Love To Make Up:*” *Cross-Dressing and Blackface during Polar Exploration*, PhD Thesis, King’s College London, London, England, 2015.

This research project writes against the hegemonic narratives of polar exploration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using the published and unpublished diaries of explorers from 1819 to 1904, it asks how queer, critical race and postcolonial critiques of the hyper-masculine, all-white image of the polar explorer can open up new understandings of polar spaces both in the nineteenth century and today, when similar nationalistic, colonial enterprises are at play. Primarily informed by Lisa Bloom’s feminist, postcolonial review of American ideologies of polar exploration, this project discusses the large disparity between the intensely masculine image of the polar hero-adventurer and the particularly Anglo-American, but also Norwegian, tendency to perform drag during polar expeditions. It also examines the high incidence of blackface theatre: in one of the whitest spaces conceivable, sailors donned the black mask to air a complex constellation of white, colonial and class grievances and aspirations. Polar performance, which evolved to have its own idiosyncrasies shaped by the natural and social polar environment, affected colonial relations with Inuit, the stuff of farce being pressed into the service of imperial force. Indigenous populations witnessed grotesque displays of Anglo-American gendered

and racial values through theatrical recreation, while simultaneously resisting the encroachment of expedition society through similar but seemingly smaller avenues of performative resistance. Broadly speaking, this project offers this more radical, revisionist interpretation at a time when interest in the Arctic and Antarctic is soaring due to anthropogenic climate change. It challenges the current reappropriation of heroic, hyper-masculine figures by national and private interests through celebrating their lesser-known but equally fascinating mid winter activities.

Elodie Nevin, *Scripts, Skirts, and Stays: Femininity and Dress in Fiction by German Women Writers, 1840-1910*, PhD Thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, London, England, 2015.

This thesis examines the importance of sartorial detail in fiction by German women writers of the nineteenth century. Using a methodology based on Judith Butler's gender theory, it examines how femininity is perceived and presented and argues that clothes are essential to female characterisation and both the perpetuation and breakdown of gender stereotypes. Based on extensive research into the history of dress including historical studies, fashion journals and conduct books, the thesis indicates how clothes were scripted for bourgeois women in nineteenth century Germany. Women were expected both to observe the expensive dictates of fashion and to prove themselves morally superior. Arranged chronologically, this thesis analyses how this paradox is approached by female authors. It concludes that the revolutionary spirit of the 1840s was evident in the ways in which Louise Aston (1814-1871) and Fanny Lewald (1811-1889) portrayed dress, although both rely on sartorial traditions. 'Natural' beauty is at the centre of their characterisation, but the 'natural' is shown, not necessarily consciously on the part of the authors, to be an achievement. This is also true in the didactic works of Eugenie Marlitt (1825-1887) who surrounds her 'natural' protagonists with women who mis-perform their gender by dressing ostentatiously. Progressive writers at the end of the century are more direct in their treatment of the dress paradox. Such authors as Hedwig Dohm (1831-1919) and Frieda von Bülow (1857-1909), create heroines who feel vulnerable and awkward because of the pressure to be sexually attractive. This thesis concludes that dress is used in different ways to show how the dictates of fashion correspond to the dictates of patriarchal society; how sartorial details literally and metaphorically shape women; and how female writers accentuated the way dress functions as a means of oppression or attempted to overlook dress as a way of emphasising other feminine attributes.

Laura Price, *Wool Textile Workers and Trade Union Organisation in the Post-War Woollen District of Yorkshire*, PhD Thesis, University of York, York, England, 2015.

This thesis examines the level of trade union membership amongst wool textile workers in the Yorkshire woollen district after 1945. Trade union membership had always been low amongst wool textile workers, in comparison with similar industries such as the cotton textile industry. Although wool workers' low level of union membership has been referred to by eminent scholars of labour history such as David Howell and E.P. Thompson, no studies of significant length or scope have been undertaken on this topic. This thesis seeks to redress the balance away from other, better-organised groups of workers onto a workforce and an industry that have received little scholarly attention. Although the wool workforce had always been poorly organised collectively, the post-war period was chosen both because of the larger variety of sources available to historians, including oral sources, and because the industry's decline was occurring throughout this period. The thesis shows that decline—and the threat of jobs which accompanied it—was not enough to induce wool textile workers to join a trade union. The thesis draws on oral history sources with former wool textile workers, along with statistical information about the industry and the local population, government records, and the records of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers, as well as contemporary newspaper reports. The thesis demonstrates that there were several factors that combined to limit the growth of collective organisation amongst wool textile workers. The most significant was the organisation of the industry into many small units of production, which not only posed practical difficulties of organisation, but also encouraged close relations between workers and employers that circumvented the need for trade unions. Additionally, there was no common “wool worker” identity with which unions could mobilise potential members.

Orrapavadee Serewiwattana, *The Tin Chok Textile and Weaving Tradition of Mae Chaem, Thailand*, PhD Thesis, London Metropolitan University, London, England, 2015.

This thesis evaluates the unique social function, history and tradition of tin chok textiles (a weaving technique whereby the yarn is picked out using a porcupine quill), which originate from the Mae Chaem area of Chiangmai province in northern Thailand. It represents the first systematic examination of the culture and tradition of the Mae Chaem hand weavers, one that analyses and contextualises their art and provides a comprehensive digital resource. It examines the critical and analytical context of the tin chok tradition, the economic and social influences which have affected it, and its future sustainability. This project involved several field trips, to harvest oral history interviews with expert tin chok weavers, teachers and academics, who have detailed knowledge of the technique and its history. A comprehensively representative digital catalogue of tin chok textiles from Mae Chaem is presented. A corpus of historical examples was assembled from museums, personal archive collections, and publications and these are compared with contemporary tin chok

textiles. An archive collection of examples of weaving was assembled, and the methods, techniques and processes of the weavers were observed closely, to enable a better understanding relative to the analysis of tin chok textiles in Mae Chaem. The techniques, significance and meaning of patterns and motif types are examined in relation to cultural and economic factors present in the wider South East Asian context. Trends, such as transition from production for the domestic, subsistence market to the global tourist industry, are analysed, and the influence of Buddhist theology, changes in Thai culture, and the undermining of weaving by the importation of factory-produced garments are assessed. Ways are sought of reorientating the end use of the woven product, with a view to offering opportunities for the tin chok weavers to create and extend a niche market.

Sara Chong Kwan, *Making Sense of Everyday Dress: Integrating Multisensory Experience within Our Understanding of Contemporary Dress in the UK*, PhD Thesis, University of the Arts London, London, England, 2016.

Multisensory perception is fundamental to the wearer's experience of everyday dress, yet this remains an under-researched area within fashion and dress studies. Dress is predominantly described in visual terms, while much less attention has been paid to other relevant sensory aspects such as; touch, sound, smell—and to a lesser degree taste—and to the ways in which these interact. Similarly, within the now established field of sensory scholarship, little attention has been paid to the topic of dress. One of the contributions of this thesis is to address the above gaps in relation to both male and female contemporary UK dress (and more generally, dress within a western context). It also attends to the wider academic neglect of male dressed experience. This thesis draws upon sensory scholarship to bring a fresh perspective to current embodied understandings of everyday dress, thereby contributing to the field of dress studies by explicitly focussing on the sensory nature of dress. This research aims to foster an inter-disciplinary research field of “fashion, dress and the senses.” A new body of data, based on individual testimony around sensory experience of dress, has been collected using life-world interviews with twenty participants, both men and women, incorporating material culture analysis. Contextualised within the specific social and cultural lives of the participants, the analysis of this data is distinctive in that it weaves together material, cultural, social, phenomenological and sensory perspectives. The analysis explores how sensory engagement with dress affected both the materiality of the dress items and the participants by triggering behaviour, thoughts, memories and emotions. Felt on the boundaries of the body, dress is positioned as providing a sensory atmosphere for the wearer, one that negotiates the tensions between private and public experience, enabling the participants to push out into and pull back from the world. It is therefore argued that sensory engagement with dress is an integral part of the wearer's everyday negotiation of the self within social life.

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 guide documents online sources for dress history that are of a professional quality and that play a role in furthering the academic study of dress history. 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 text.

The purpose of this guide is to provide a comprehensive list of online sources for researchers and students of dress history. The following website addresses are hyperlinked and can be easily utilised from a downloaded pdf: simply click on the link to view the online source.

To be included in this guide, 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, the image must include an accession number or museum identification information.

This article is a living document and will be updated and published in every issue of *The Journal of Dress History*. The following descriptive texts were taken directly from the individual websites. Additions, suggestions, and corrections to this guide are warmly encouraged. The author of this article can be reached at jennifer@jenniferdaley.com.

AUSTRALIA

The Australian Dress Register, Sydney

The Australian Dress Register is a collaborative, online project about dress with Australian provenance.

<http://www.australiandressregister.org/browse>

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

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

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 hand-made domestic textiles.

<http://www.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collections>

Ryerson University, Fashion Research Collection, Toronto

This collection offers a wide selection of fashion and textiles.

<http://ryersonfashion.pastperfectonline.com>

The University of Alberta, Anne Lambert Clothing and Textiles Collection, Edmonton

Founded in 1972, the collection includes everyday wear and designer clothes for men, women, and children from different continents and spanning over 350 years of history.

<https://clothingtextiles.ualberta.ca>

The University of Calgary, Theatrical Scene and Costume Design Collection, Calgary

This collection features designs dating to the mid nineteenth century.

<http://www.ucalgary.ca/costumedesign>

CHILE

Museo de la Moda, Santiago

This online database offers a timeline of fashion with descriptive information and images.

<http://www.museodelamoda.cl/linea-de-tiempo>

ENGLAND

Art UK, London

This searchable database is a compilation of public art collections within the UK.

<https://artuk.org>

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

The Ashmolean has embarked on a major project to digitise its collections with an initial target of making 250,000 objects available online by 2020.

<http://collections.ashmolean.org>

The Bank of England Archive, London

On this page, select Online Catalogue. The Bank of England Archive contains over 88,000 records relating to all aspects of the Bank's history and work, dating from the founding of the Bank in 1694 to the present day.

<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/archive>

Bloomsbury Fashion Central and Berg Fashion Library

This platform offers instant access to scholarly research, iconic images, and quality textbooks. To gain comprehensive access, log in by subscription, which may be available through an affiliated educational establishment or public library.

<https://www.bloomsburyfashioncentral.com>

The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle

The online database includes an array of dress and textile artefacts, including items from the wardrobe of Empress Eugenie (1826–1920) and other pieces from the Blackborne Lace Collection.

<http://bowes.adlibhosting.com/search/simple>

Bridgeman Images

This online collection has over two million art, culture, and historic images.

<http://www.bridgemanimages.com>

Brighton & Hove Museums Costume Collection, Brighton

Brighton & Hove Museums' comprehensive costume collection is of considerable national significance. It embraces men's, women's, and children's dress and accessories from the sixteenth century to the present day.

<https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/collections/fashion-and-textiles>

British History Online

This is a digital library of key printed primary and secondary sources for the history of Britain and Ireland, with a primary focus on the period, 1300–1800. BHO was founded in 2003 by The Institute of Historical Research and The History of Parliament Trust.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/using-bho/subject-guides>

The British Library, London

The website contains many images, such as illuminated manuscripts, which could support dress history research.

<https://www.bl.uk>

The British Museum, London

On this page, a search box enables comprehensive research through over four million objects.

<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research>

British Pathé, London

British Pathé, the world's leading multimedia resource with a history stretching back over a century, offers a search tool, a Collections tab, and free availability to view newsreels, video, archive, film, footage, and stills.

<https://www.britishpathe.com>

The Burgon Society, London

The following website contains a list of the items of academical dress owned by The Burgon Society, with many images of academical gowns and hoods.

<http://www.burgon.org.uk/society/wardrobe/uk.php>

Central Saint Martins, London

This searchable online collection includes art and design of Central Saint Martins alumni and images from the British Artists' Film and Video Study Collection.

<http://collections.arts.ac.uk>

Chertsey Museum, The Olive Matthews Collection, Chertsey

This collection features many items of national significance. It contains 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, and more, or utilise the search tool.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections>

A hundred years of hand-coloured engraved fashion plates can now be explored through the following webpage. 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.

<http://www.phm.org.uk/keemu>

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>

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 Royal Opera 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/projects/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, online 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**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/explore-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>

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>

IRELAND

National Museums Northern Ireland, Ulster

The museum has several collections, which include art, costume, and textiles.

<https://www.nmni.com/collections/art>

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>

Valentino Garavani Virtual Museum, Milan

Take a virtual tour through this museum, dedicated to the fashion design of Valentino (1932–)

<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

THE NETHERLANDS**Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam**

The Rijksmuseum is a Dutch national museum dedicated to arts and history. The collection of the Rijksmuseum includes costumes and accessories, together no less than 10,000 items. On the following page, researchers can search with keywords, such as fashion, textiles, etc. Additionally, on the following page researchers can 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**

This is a museum dedicated to the curation of the rich fashion past of New Zealand, making it relevant for the present and future. 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>

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. The online collections database includes 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

The AAS library today 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 Society maintains an online inventory and visual resource designed for researchers. The online inventory includes painted portraits, miniatures, sculpted portrait busts, as well as other artefacts that could be useful for dress historians.

<http://www.americanantiquarian.org>

The Art Institute, Chicago

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

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 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>

Brooklyn Museum Library, Fashion and Costume Sketch Collection, 1912-1950, 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

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

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. The following link provides access to the Research Collections, the Museum Collections, and Online Resources.

<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, Virginia

Colonial Williamsburg, an eighteenth century living heritage museum, hosts a vast selection of 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

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, Ithica

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>

Drexel University, Historic Costume Collection, Philadelphia

This is a searchable image database comprised of selected fashion from the Robert and Penny Fox Historic Costume Collection, designs loaned to the project by private collectors for inclusion on the website, fashion exhibitions curated by Drexel faculty, and fashion research by faculty and students.

<http://digimuse.westphal.drexel.edu/publicdrexel/index.php>

Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising (FIDM), Los Angeles

The collections of the FIDM Museum and Galleries span more than 200 years of fashion history, from Parisian haute couture to iconic film costumes and one-of-a-kind accessories.

<http://fidmmuseum.pastperfectonline.com>

The Fashion Institute of Technology, The Museum at FIT, 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, DC

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

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>

Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis

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 a large group of nineteenth century paisley shawls woven in England.

<http://collection.imamuseum.org>

Iowa State University, The Textiles and Clothing Museum, Ames

This online collections database includes dress, dating from the 1840s to today.

<http://tcmuseum.pastperfectonline.com>

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum 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 from its inception to the present day. The images are fully searchable.

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection>

Kent State University, Gallery of Costume, Kent

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, DC

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 (LACMA), Los Angeles

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

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

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

The following address is the main page, which lists the vast array of items held in the Met's digital collection, including The Costume Institute and the Irene Lewisohn Costume Reference Library at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Searchable image databases include dress, fashion plates, textual references, and more.

<http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm>

The following webpage contains the main search tool for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which represents more than 5000 years of art from across the globe.

<https://metmuseum.org/art/collection>

The Museum of Chinese in America, New York

The Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA) has amassed a nationally significant collection of materials documenting Chinese life in America, including fashion and textiles.

<http://www.mocanyc.org/collections>

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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

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>

Newport, Rhode Island Cultural Institutions Online Collections

This database includes items from participating cultural institutions in Newport, Rhode Island, including the Doris Duke Fashion Collection of Newport Restoration.

<http://newportalri.org>

The New York Public Library Digital Collections, 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

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), noted designer of displays, exhibits, sets, and interiors.

<http://nysidarchives.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/2>

Ohio State University, Daphne Dare Collection, Columbus

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>

Ohio State University, Historic Costume and Textiles Collection, Columbus

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>

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

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

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

The Fashion Collection is comprised of more than 4500 American and European garments, shoes, and accessories. It houses important fashions from the eighteenth to late twentieth centuries and emphasises major American designers of the twentieth century.

<http://www.phxart.org/collection/fashion>

Prelinger Archives, 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>

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

The Textiles and Fashions Collection is one of many that are listed on the following page.

<http://collections.rom.on.ca/collections>

Shippensburg University, Fashion Archives and Museum, Shippensburg

The Fashion Archives' 15,000-item collection, comprised mostly of donations, consists of clothing and accessories worn by men, women and children, dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Primarily focused on middle- and working-class Americans, clothing from all walks of life is represented in the collection.

<http://fashionarchives.org/collection.html>

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

The Smithsonian Institution is the world's largest museum, education, and research complex.

<http://collections.si.edu/search>

To search the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, insert "fashion" (for example) for a variety of fashion plates, shoes, and more.

<https://library.si.edu/image-gallery>

The National Museum of American History offers many images and information online. For a list of subject areas, select the following link, which includes Clothing & Accessories as well as Textiles.

<http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/subjects>

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

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

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 a variety of sources for research in dress history.

<https://sparcdigital.fitnyc.edu>

Staten Island Historical Society, 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

This is a guide for finding 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

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

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

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

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

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

This is a wide collection of vintage sewing patterns.

<https://copa.apps.uri.edu/index.php>

The University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, Austin

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

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, and provide important clues about how color and pattern on clothing is used to structure social groups.

<http://dig.henryart.org/textiles/costumes>

The University of Wisconsin Digital Collection, Madison

This digital collection includes images of millinery, dressmaking, clothing, and costume books from the UW–Madison collections.

<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/HumanEcol>

Virginia Military Institute, Lexington

This collection includes a wide variety of military images and text of the Institute, alumni, the American Civil War, the First World War, the Second World War, and more.

<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu>

Wayne State University, Digital Dress Collection, Detroit

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.

<http://digital.library.wayne.edu/digitalcollections/allcollections.php>

We Wear Culture, Mountain View

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

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

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

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

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. Together with the Reference Library and Archives, the Center's collections of paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints, rare books, and manuscripts provide an exceptional resource for understanding the story of British art.

<https://britishart.yale.edu/collections/search>

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 organization 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 that aggregates metadata (or information describing an item) and thumbnails 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>

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 is an online resource for visual arts that 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 you to the collections and services of more than 10,000 libraries worldwide.

<https://www.worldcat.org>

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Jennifer Daley researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She is a university lecturer, who teaches the history of dress and décor, international fashion business, and other courses to BA, MA, MSc, and MBA students at several universities. Jennifer is the Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of Dress History and the Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. She is a PhD candidate at King's College London, where she is analysing sailor uniforms and nautical fashion. She holds an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art, an MA from King's College London, and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.

The Advisory Board

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

Sylvia Ayton, MBE, Independent Scholar, United Kingdom

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

Cally Blackman, MA, Central Saint Martins, United Kingdom

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

Penelope Byrde, MA, FMA, Independent Scholar, United Kingdom

Penelope Byrde read Modern History at St. Andrews University before specialising in the history of dress for her MA from The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was a curator at The Museum of Costume and Fashion Research Centre in Bath for almost 30 years until she retired in 2002. She was joint editor of *Costume*, the dress studies journal published by The Costume Society, for five years and she is an Associate Lecturer at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts, London where she specialises in dress in eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century literature. She has written several books on the history of fashion, including *The Male Image: Men's Fashions in Britain 1300-1970*, *A Visual History of Costume: The Twentieth Century*, *Nineteenth Century Fashion*, and *Jane Austen Fashion*.

Caroline de Guitaut, MVO, AMA, Royal Collection Trust, United Kingdom

Caroline de Guitaut is currently Senior Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, London. She is a curator with more than 25 years' experience of caring for, displaying, and researching one of the world's greatest art collections. She is curator of high profile exhibitions of decorative arts and fashion at The Queen's Galleries in London and Edinburgh and at Buckingham Palace since 2002. Her publications include books, exhibition catalogues, and articles in peer reviewed journals. She is a regular lecturer in museums and galleries in the UK and internationally. She is a Member of the Victorian Order, an Associate of the Museums Association, and a Trustee of the Royal School of Needlework.

Thomas P. Gates, MA, MSLS, MAEd, Kent State University, United States

Thomas P. Gates attended The Cleveland Institute of Art and Case Western Reserve University, receiving a bachelors' degree in art history from the latter. He received a Masters' degrees in art history and librarianship from The University of Southern California. He also received a Master's degree in art education from The University of New Mexico. After receiving a Rockefeller Fellowship in museum and community studies at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, he assisted with exhibitions at the museum's Downtown Centre and curated a mobile exhibition for the US Bicentennial in 1976 sponsored by the California Historical Society. In 1996 he developed the June F Mohler Fashion Library for the School of Fashion Design and Merchandising, assuming responsibilities as head librarian when it opened in 1997. He achieved rank of tenured associate professor in 1998. Gates' interest in the history of the built environment and American mid century high-end retail apparel resulted in published, as well as invitational papers, in scholarly organisations such as The Society of American City and Regional Planning History; Western Reserve Society of Architectural Historians; The Costume Society of America; The Art Libraries Society

of North America/Ohio Valley Chapter; The Association of Architecture School Librarians; and The Association of Dress Historians.

Alex Kerr, PhD, FBS, The Burgon Society, United Kingdom

Alex Kerr has spent much of his career as a lecturer in medieval studies, later combining this with academic administrative roles. He holds a BA in medieval and modern languages from Oxford University, and an MA and PhD in medieval studies from Reading University. Since 2001 he has also been director of a consultancy providing training courses in communication skills. From 2001 to 2013 he was Managing Editor of the journal, *Contemporary Review*. So far as dress history is concerned, he is an independent researcher and has published several articles on the history of academic dress. He is a Trustee and Fellow of The Burgon Society, an educational charity for the study of academic dress, its design, history, and practice. He was editor of its *Transactions*, an annual scholarly journal, from 2003 to 2010, and is now the Society's Secretary.

Jenny Lister, MA, The Victoria and Albert Museum, United Kingdom

Jenny Lister is Curator of Fashion and Textiles at The Victoria and Albert Museum, from 2004. She has curated their exhibitions, 60s Fashion (2006) and Grace Kelly: Style Icon (2010). Her publications include *The V&A Gallery of Fashion* (2013), with Claire Wilcox; *London Society Fashion 1905-1925: the Wardrobe of Heather Firbank* (2015) and *May Morris* (2017), with Anna Mason, Jan Marsh, et al. Her other research interests include the British shawl industry and Mary Quant.

Timothy Long, MA, Independent Scholar, United States

Until 2018, Timothy Long was Curator of Fashion and Decorative Arts at The Museum of London. His career began at The Chicago History Museum in 1999 as a costume collection manager, before becoming curator of costume in 2006. In 2011, he returned to school for an MA, History and Culture of Fashion at London College of Fashion. Following the completion of his degree in 2013, he became a curator at The Museum of London. His publication record includes Chicago History Museum exhibition catalogues – *Dior: The New Look*, *Chic Chicago*, *Charles James: Genius Deconstructed*, *I Do! Chicago Ties the Knot*, and investigations on Etruscan dress for the *British Museum Technical Bulletin* (2014). More recently, he wrote a book titled *Charles James: Designer in Detail*, and a chapter on the same designer for *London Couture: British Luxury 1923-1975*, both through V&A Publishing (2015).

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

Jane Malcolm-Davies was a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellow at The Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, from 2015 to 2017. She is co-director of The Tudor Tailor, which researches and retails publications and products aimed at improving reproduction historical dress for pedagogical projects. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at The University of the Highlands and Islands (Centre for Interpretation Studies) and The University of Southampton. She lectured in entrepreneurship and heritage management at The University of Surrey, introduced costumed interpreters at Hampton Court Palace (1992 to 2004), coordinated training for the front-of-house team at Buckingham Palace each summer (2000 to 2010), and has coached guides for the new National Army Museum.

Susan North, PhD, The Victoria and Albert Museum, United Kingdom

Susan North is the Curator of Fashion before 1800 at The Victoria and Albert Museum. She has a BA in Art History from Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, an MA in Dress History from The Courtauld Institute, and a PhD from Queen Mary, University of London. She worked for The National Gallery of Canada and The National Archives of Canada, before joining the V&A in 1995. She has co-authored several V&A publications relating to early modern dress, as well as co-curating *Style and Splendour: Queen Maud of Norway's Wardrobe* in 2005.

Martin Pel, MA, Royal Pavilion and Brighton Museums, United Kingdom

Martin Pel is Curator of Fashion and Textiles at Royal Pavilion and Museums in Brighton where he has curated a number of exhibitions, including *Subversive Design* (2013) and *Fashion Cities Africa* (2016). He has published on dress and fashion history including *The Biba Years 1963-1975* (2014, V&A Publishing) and has co-edited *Gluck: Art and Identity*, with Professor Amy de la Haye, published by Yale in 2017 to accompany an exhibition of the same name.

Anna Reynolds, MA, Royal Collection Trust, United Kingdom

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, PhD, The Courtauld Institute of Art, United Kingdom

Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by postgraduate study (MA and PhD) at The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was Head of the History of Dress Section at The Courtauld Institute from 1975 to 2009; appointed Professor in the History of Art at The University of London in 2000, she is now Professor Emeritus. She lectures widely in Great Britain, Europe, and North America, and has acted as costume consultant/contributor to many major exhibitions. These include Reynolds (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1986); Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe 1830 to 1870 (National Portrait Gallery, London, 1987 and the Petit Palais, Paris, 1988); Goya: La imagen de la mujer (Prado, Madrid, 2001 and National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2002); Whistler, Women and Fashion (Frick Collection, New York, 2003). Recent contributions to exhibition catalogues include an essay on Renoir's use of fashion in his painting *La Loge*, in *Renoir at the Theatre: Looking at La Loge* (Courtauld Institute, 2008); an essay on Gainsborough's portrait of Ann Ford in *Thomas Gainsborough and the Modern Woman* (Cincinnati Art Museum, 2010); an essay on Gustave Caillebotte's painting Paris Street, Rainy Day for *Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity* (Paris, New York and Chicago, 2012), and an essay on dress in Liotard in *Jean-Etienne Liotard* (National Gallery of Scotland and The Royal Academy of Arts, 2015). In addition, she has published many books and articles on various aspects of the history of dress, including *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820* (1995); *Dress and Morality* (2003); *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2006); *Facing Beauty: Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (2011) and (with Cally Blackman) *A Portrait of Fashion: Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (2015). Her most recent book is *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion 1600-1914* (2016).

Georgina Ripley, MA, National Museums Scotland, United Kingdom

Georgina Ripley is Senior Curator of Modern and Contemporary Fashion and Textiles at National Museums Scotland (NMS). Her research interests currently include Jean Muir (fl. 1962-1995), contemporary menswear, and new technologies in fashion. She is working towards a major temporary exhibition for NMS in 2020. She was the lead curator for the permanent Fashion and Style gallery which opened at the museum in 2016 and co-curated Express Yourself: Contemporary Jewellery (2014). She has contributed to exhibitions at NMS including Jean Muir: A Fashion Icon (2008-2009) and Mary Queen of Scots (2013), and The House of Annie Lennox

(2012), a V&A Touring Exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. She has previous experience working with The Royal Academy of Arts, The Warner Textile Archive, Museums Galleries Scotland, and the National Galleries of Scotland.

Gary Watt, MA, NTF, The University of Warwick, United Kingdom

Gary Watt is a Professor of Law at The University of Warwick, a National Teaching Fellow, and co-founding editor of the journal, *Law and Humanities*. Specialising in performative rhetoric, he was named UK “Law Teacher of the Year” in 2009 and has led rhetoric workshops for the Royal Shakespeare Company for many years. Professor Watt’s monographs include *Equity Stirring* (Oxford: Hart, 2009); *Dress, Law and Naked Truth* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); and *Shakespeare’s Acts of Will: Law, Testament and Properties of Performance* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016). He has written for *The Times Literary Supplement* and collaborated with composer Antony Pitts for BBC Radio 3 and for The Song Company of Australia.

Rainer Wenrich, PhD, Catholic University, Eichstaett-Ingolstadt, Germany

Rainer Wenrich, PhD, is Professor and Chair of Art Education and Didactics of Art at Catholic University in Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany. He achieved his PhD on the topic of twentieth century art and fashion. His research interests are visual studies, costume history, and fashion theory. As a Professor for Art Education he has lectured at The Academy of Fine Arts, Munich and as a visiting scholar at Columbia University, New York. He is the author of many articles and books in the field of art education and fashion studies. In 2015 he edited *The Mediality of Fashion*, published by Transcript, Bielefeld, Germany.

