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Green Silk Dress, Callot Soeurs, 1925, Goldstein Museum of Design, St. Paul, Minnesota, United States, 1990.003.005a-b, © Regents of the University of Minnesota.

The Journal of Dress History

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Contents

Articles

"...I thought of my lovely puffed sleeves and took courage...":
Transformative Dress in L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1908)
Jaclyn Marcus 6

From Colonial Traditions to Modern Values: Eufrásia Teixeira Leite's Shoes and Brazilian Footwear, 1808–1930
Cecília Soares 32

The Not-So-New Woman:
Ancient Egyptian Influence in the Fashion and Beauty of the Flapper, 1917-1922
Emily Yoder 79

Book Reviews

Fashioning Spain:
From Mantillas to Rosalía
Francisco Fernández de Alba and Marcela T. Garcés, Editors
Reviewed by Valeria Akl 106

Dandy Style:
250 Years of British Men's Fashion

Shaun Cole and Miles Lambert, Editors
Reviewed by Rachel Church 110

Lee Miller:
Fashionin Wartime Britain
Robin Muir and Amber Butchart
Reviewed by Kimberly Lamm 114

A History of Women in Men's Clothing:
From Cross–Dressing to Empowerment
Norena Shopland
Reviewed by Micah Ling 118

Images on the Page:
A Fashion Iconography
Sanda Miller
Reviewed by Giulia Mangone 122

Dressing the Resistance:
The Visual Language of Protest Through History
Camille Benda
Reviewed by Ludovica Mucci 127

Queering the Subversive Stitch:
Men and the Culture of Needlework
Joseph McBrinn
Reviewed by Kelly L. Reddy-Best 131

Fashion, Society, and the First World War:
International Perspectives
Maude Bass-Kreuger, Hayley Edwards-Dujardin, and
Sophie Kurkdjian, Editors
Reviewed by Dilara Scholz 136

Fashion on the Red Carpet:
A History of the Oscars®
Elizabeth Castaldo Lundén
Reviewed by Emily Stoehrer 140

The Dressmakers of Auschwitz:

The True Story of the Women Who Sewed to Survive
Lucy Adlington
Reviewed by Lou Taylor 143

En inblick i 1700-talets skrädderi / A Glimpse into 18th Century Tailoring
Therese Holmgren
Reviewed by Sarah Woodyard and Michael Ballard Ramsey 148

Exhibition Reviews

Noel Coward: Art & Style
Curated by Brad Rosenstein
Guildhall Art Gallery, London, England
Reviewed by Alice Naylor 153

Additional Sections

Recent PhD Theses in Dress History 156

The Editorial Board 158

The Advisory Board 162

ADH Membership, Conferences, and Calls For Papers 173

"...I thought of my lovely puffed sleeves and took courage...":[1] Transformative Dress in L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1908)

Jaclyn Marcus

Abstract

L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) follows protagonist Anne Shirley from a child of 11 to a young woman aged 16, from approximately 1890–1895. Anne is accidentally sent to the fictional community of Avonlea, Prince Edward Island for adoption by Matthew and Marilla Cuthbert, who had been hoping to adopt a boy. The replacement of Anne as the novel's focus marks the start of Montgomery's feminist subversion, reflected throughout the novel in her protagonists' unapologetic engagement with fashion. This article demonstrates that the central moments within the text surrounding Anne's integration into the Avonlea community pivot around Anne's successful application of stylish dress, signified through her skillful navigation of the fashion system. This research establishes fashion's significance in shaping Anne's social development and maturation through analysis of both the illustrations and text found within the first edition of Montgomery's novel.

[1] L.M. Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables*, 1908, edited by Cecily Devereux, scholarly ed., Broadview Press, Guelph, Ontario, Canada, 2004, p. 238. Ellipses added by the author of this article, Jaclyn Marcus.

Introduction

L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) follows the growth of protagonist Anne Shirley from a child of about 11 to young woman aged 16, from approximately 1890–1895. Within the fictional community of Avonlea, located in Prince Edward Island, Canada, Anne is accidentally sent to be adopted by Matthew and Marilla Cuthbert, a local Avonlea family, who had been hoping to adopt a boy but are instead sent a girl due to a miscommunication across word-of-mouth. This replacement of Anne as female protagonist is the start of Montgomery's feminist subversion of the typical story of the male hero, reflected throughout the novel in her unapologetic engagement and fascination with fashion. Montgomery's novel tracks Anne's integration into the Avonlea community, beginning with Matthew and Marilla's decision to keep Anne at their home known as "Green Gables" in Avonlea, rather than sending her for adoption elsewhere, and continuing through the development of her relationships with her adopted parents as well as her peers, particularly her closest female friend throughout the novel, her neighbor Diana Barry. Anne's maturation is portrayed in the form of deft social satire throughout her many mishaps and errors that drive the novel's episodic plot, motivated throughout by her desire to find acceptance within her social environment. This article demonstrates that these central relationship-centred moments within the text surrounding Anne's integration into the Avonlea community pivot around Anne's successful application of stylish dress. By the novel's conclusion, Anne is an established and elegant member of the Avonlea community, signified through her skillful navigation of the fashion system.

Twenty-first century scholarship has explored fashion in *Anne of Green Gables*, regarding dress as central to the crafting of Montgomery's text. Irene Gammel draws on popular fashion media resources as a means of interpreting both L.M. Montgomery's novel and its cultural context.[2] Gammel employs publications like *The Delineator* and *Godey's Lady Book* as support for her research, arguing that Montgomery drew heavily from these resources as inspiration for *Anne*.[3] Gammel's research also ties dress to identity, arguing that Anne employs fashion trends and style changes as a way of crafting her individuality.[4] In their chapter "'Matthew Insists on Puffed Sleeves': Ambivalence Towards Fashion in *Anne of*

[2] Irene Gammel, Looking for Anne of Green Gables: The Story of L.M. Montgomery and her Literary Classic, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, United States, 2008.
[3] Ibid., p. 16.
[4] Ibid., p. 169.

Green Gables," Alison Matthews David and Kimberly Wahl note that Anne's interactions with clothing are consistently facilitated by a third party in the novel, for example Matthew or Diana, demonstrating the significance of relationships to Anne's engagement with fashion.[5] Applying Anne's puffed-sleeved gown as their primary example, the authors argue that this ambivalent relationship is due to the tension between modernity's increasing presence within the world of Green Gables, and the pastoral, rural setting of the novel.[6] In barring Anne from interacting with clothing independently, Montgomery allows the world of Green Gables to "remain untainted by the more 'disturbing' elements of the New Woman..." while still acknowledging the importance of dress.[7] As Gammel does, David and Wahl make use of popular fashion publications at the turn of the century to support their argument, recognising as well the impact of real life events and environments on fictional texts.[8] Most recently, Jennie Macdonald maps fashion's influence through the novel's paratextual elements; the illustrations, covers, and frontispiece found within the novel.[9]

Within the context of this knowledge, this investigation contributes to the growing body of work that examines intersections between fashion and Montgomery's *Anne*. This article engages the first edition novel's illustrations in particular, and the tension they reveal between image and text within Montgomery's work. In this article, "fashion" is defined as a social and cultural force. Wilson argues that "[f]ashion is dress in which the key feature is rapid and continual changing of styles."[10] Style and dress are thus key terms which delineate fashion as having cultural and social influence and illuminate its meaning. As Wilson demonstrates

[5]Alison Matthews David and Kimberley Wahl, "'Matthew Insists on Puffed Sleeves': Ambivalence Towards Fashion in *Anne of Green Gables*" in *Anne's World: A New Century of Anne of Green Gables*, edited by Irene Gammel and Benjamin Lefebvre, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2010, pp. 35-49.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Matthews David and Wahl, op cit., pp. 36-37, 39, 47. Quotation marks and ellipses added by the author of this article, Jaclyn Marcus.

[8] Gammel, op. cit; Matthews David and Wahl, op cit., pp. 35, 37-38.

[9] Jennie Macdonald, "I just love pretty clothes": Considering the Sartorial in *Anne of Green Gables*" in *Anne Around the World: L.M. Montgomery and Her Classic*, edited by Jane Ledwell and Jean Mitchell, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, Canada 2013, pp. 245-261.
op. cit, pp. 246-261.

[10] Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 1985, I.B. Tauris, London, England, 2014, p. 3.

in the above quote, it is changing styles that allows for fashion's existence.[11] "Style" therefore represents varied and multiple expressions of fashion, and the particular ways in which the body may be dressed.

"Dress," then, is understood as the act of clothing the body, synonymous with the term "adornment," drawn from Entwistle's sociological framework.[12] Entwistle views dressing the body as a communal act, "one of the means by which bodies are made social and given meaning and identity."[13] Fashion, style, and dress are tied to social identity.

Semiotic analysis of *Anne of Green Gables* will demonstrate both fashion's impact in literature and its ability to create a subversive, empowering subtext within a novel, particularly within the genre of adolescent and youth literature. Dress in the novel can challenge as well as enforce societal norms for the characters found therein and its reader. L.C. Page & Company in Boston, the publisher of Montgomery's work, commissioned a Boston based couple, M.A. and W.A.J. Claus, to illustrate *Anne of Green Gables* with black and white drawings found in the 1908 first edition of *Anne of Green Gables*. May Austin Claus was an American painter and William Anton Joseph Claus was a German artist and teacher, each born in the late nineteenth century and married at the turn of the century.[14] They are listed as the cocreators of the images found in the original *AGG*; however, as Irene Gammel has revealed, it was likely May Austin Claus who was the primary illustrator.[15] Following the mid nineteenth century, "women's journals [were] published in Canada with considerable American content, [and] Canadian women soon adopted the popular modes from New York and Boston."[16] Given the communication of fashionable styles between Canada and the US, specifically Boston, these first edition illustrations therefore offer a unique reflection of Canadian fashion at the turn of the century. The cover illustration of the first-edition novel was even pulled from a copy of stylish women's magazine *The Delineator,* but was not credited to the artist of this

[11] Wilson, op cit., p. 3.
[12] Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body*, I.B. Tauris, London, England, 2000, pp. 6-7.
[13] Ibid., p. 7.
[14] Christy Woster, "The Artists of *Anne of Green Gables:* A 100 Year Mystery," 2007, http://www.lmmontgomery.ca/islandora/object/lmmi:4149/OBJ/OBJ, Accessed 19 April 2019.
[15] Gammel, op. cit., p. 233.
[16] Barbara E. Kelcey, "Dress Reform in Nineteenth-Century Canada" in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, edited by Alexandra Palmer, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2004, p. 232.

image, George Gibbs, until recently.[17] In the illustration created by Gibbs, a stylish Gibson Girl portrait is used to signify the protagonist Anne, highlighting the employment of fashion to help craft Anne's character and the novel's success (Figure 1).[18] Together, these visual images alongside Montgomery's text reveal Anne's shifting relationship with fashion throughout the novel.

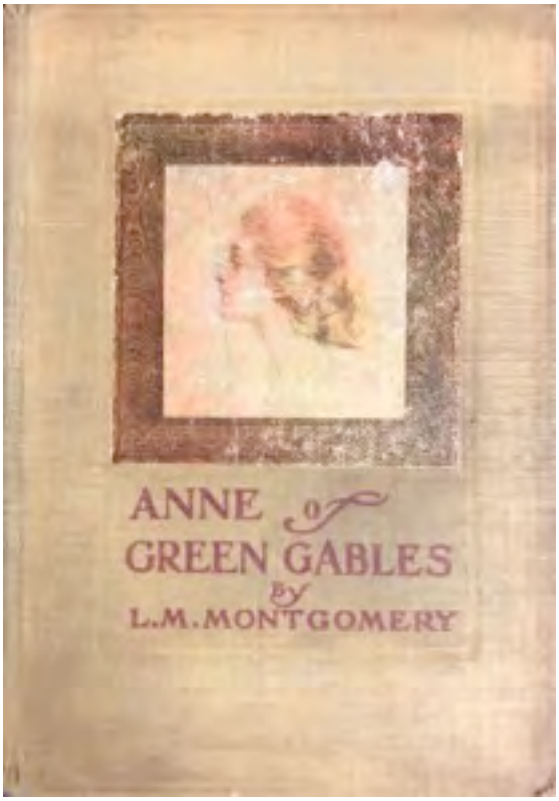

Figure 1:

Cover, *Anne of Green Gables*, L.M. Montgomery, illustrated by George Gibbs, 1908, L.C. Page & Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States. Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

In order to follow the trajectory of Anne's social identity as it is shaped by fashion's influence, four illustrations and their accompanying text will be explored: this article will begin by analyzing the plate that shows Anne in the outfit given to her by the orphanage she previously resided in; next, the article will turn to Anne's first social event within her community, and her experience as it is

[17] Woster, op cit.
[18] Gammel, op cit., pp. 231-232.

shaped by her personal style; third, to Anne and her best friend Diana as they dress and style one another's appearance; and finally, the concluding illustration, which depicts Anne in highly fashionable clothing. These illustrations are considered chronologically according to the narrative of *Anne of Green Gables*, so that the image may be considered in comparison to Montgomery's text. As the author of *Anne of Green Gables*, L.M. Montgomery was not happy with the illustrations created to accompany her book.[19] In particular, the final image conflicted with Montgomery's vision for the conclusion of her novel.[20] Irene Gammel writes that this image presented "conclusive evidence for Gilbert's romance with Anne..." rather than leaving the ending up to the reader's own imagination, as Montgomery had desired.[21] Montgomery's ambivalence is perhaps contradicted by the success of the novel as marketed by L.C. Page & Company; however, her critique of the illustrators highlights the tension between text and image that this article engages in its analysis of fashion. Montgomery wrote in her journal in 1932, almost twenty-five years following *Anne's* publication, that the illustrated figures of Anne and Gilbert appeared as though they had been "drawn from 'a 1908 fashion plate,'" highlighting the contemporary nature of the images for twentieth century readers.[22] Part of Montgomery's disappointment may then draw from the imagined setting of the novel itself; Montgomery's *Anne* is set between 1890–1895, marking an approximately ten year gap between text and illustration. Tracing the publication of Montgomery's text allows the dress historian to analyze fashion as it is represented in the novel following the conclusion of the Victorian era and the onset of the Edwardian era.

The illustrations drawn by the Claus' can be seen as a form of art, a medium proven to be valuable when interpreting fashion.[23] As Aileen Ribeiro writes:

> Artists may also invent costume, and it isn't always easy—especially in periods before clothing survives in meaningful quantities—to distinguish the

[19] Gammel, op cit., p. 233.
[20] Gammel, op cit., p. 233.
[21] Gammel, op cit., p. 233.
[22] Montgomery qtd. in Gammel, op cit., p. 233.
[23] See, for example, Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, Viking Press, New York, New York, United States, 1978; Ingrid E. Mida, *Reading Fashion in Art*, Bloomsbury, London, England, United Kingdom, 2020; Aileen Ribeiro, "Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, Taylor & Francis, London, England, United Kingdom, Volume 2, Issue 4, 1998, pp. 315-325; Aileen Ribeiro, "Truth and Imagination: How Real is Dress in Art?," *The Journal of Dress History*, London, England, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2017, pp. 3-5.

> real from the fanciful. The word "invent" should be used with care, for it is never possible to conjure up a totally new style out of the blue and we cannot imagine what we have never seen, nor can the future ever be accurately predicted.[24]

While the clothing depicted in *Anne* is fictional, as Ribeiro posits: "clothing in art always relates to real clothes."[25] Ribeiro states that literature "give[s] much information as to how people *felt* about their clothes (and those of others), but it is anecdotal and often colored by emotion," while also arguing that literature can serve as an important resource for the dress historian.[26] It is for this reason that the illustrations are analyzed alongside the text, providing important context for these images. In engaging with the depiction of fashion in *Anne* across multiple mediums, the significance of dress for protagonist Anne Shirley as well as within adolescent and youth literature is further revealed.

A Wincey Dress: Anne Arrives at Green Gables

Anne's overt longing to engage with fashion at the start of the novel is pronounced almost immediately; as an outsider in Green Gables, Anne recognises the power of dress to determine and improve her social position. In fact, the reader is first introduced to Anne through the lens of her clothing:

> A child of about eleven, garbed in a very short, very tight, very ugly dress of yellowish wincey. She wore a faded brown sailor hat and beneath the hat, extending down her back, were two braids of very thick, decidedly red hair. Her face was small, white and thin, also much freckled; her mouth was large and so were her eyes, that looked green in some lights and moods and gray in others.[27]

Anne's clothing is outlined before her physical traits, alerting the reader to the threadbare clothing that unravels her lonely and difficult past in orphanages and as a foster child cum child labourer, as we learn throughout the novel. Wincey is a colloquialism for linsey-woolsey, "a course textile valued for its warmth and durability but not for its appearance" typically worn at the turn of the century by slaves; in this way, the material conveys Anne's dark history and childhood.[28]

[24] Ribeiro, 1998, op cit., p. 322.
[25] Ribeiro, 2017, op cit., p. 5.
[26] Ribeiro, 1998, op cit., p. 316.
[27] Montgomery, op cit., p. 63.
[28] Matthews David and Wahl, op cit., p. 43.

As clothing reveals Anne's status, it is also the vehicle for altering her social identity. Throughout the story, Anne will exploit the changeability of fashion for her own advantage. On her drive back to Green Gables with Matthew, Anne begins this process by turning the nature that surrounds her into an imaginary fashion runway. Upon viewing a white, "lacy" tree that reminds her of a bride, Anne laments: "...I do hope that some day I shall have a white dress. That is my highest ideal of earthly bliss. I just love pretty clothes."[29] For Anne, this train of thought leads naturally into another; on fashion, of course, in particular her embarrassment at her current shabby appearance.[30] Having just arrived in Avonlea, the above soliloquy is telling of Anne's social awareness, and her understanding of fashion's impact on others' perception of her. Anne recognises that her appearance marks her as uncared for, separating her into a lower social class.[31] This logic shapes her ideal happiness in the form of ownership of a white dress. White can be interpreted as a symbol of luxury and status because of its easily dirtied nature, a signal of both leisure and consumption. White is also the colour of transformation in the novel; and in fact, Anne's dream of wearing white will later be realized.[32] The more beautiful and expensive her clothing, the more likely Anne is to have built a strong social network; it is for this reason that Anne also imagines herself in a "silk dress," "gold watch," and "kid gloves" on her journey to her new home.[33] For Anne, an orphan, potential financial support through engagement with the material would symbolize something even more important for her social survival: a sense of community and family.

In the opening illustration found in the 1908 publication of *Anne of Green Gables*, illustrators M.A. and W.A.J. Claus' alongside publishers L.C. Page & Co. chose to depict Anne as she meets what is to be her new family, her first membership into a community of her own through Matthew and Marilla Cuthbert. In the illustrated plate, Anne is shown looking up at Marilla, in awe of her authority (Figure 2). A first look at the image discloses little more than a plain, shaded dress and simple sailor hat. However, closer inspection reveals that Anne

[29] Montgomery, op cit., pp. 65-66. Ellipses added by the author of this article, Jaclyn Marcus.
[30] Montgomery, op cit., p. 66.
[31] Georg Simmel, "Fashion," 1904, *The American Journal of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, Volume 62, Issue 6, 1957, p. 541.
[32] Macdonald, op cit., p. 255.
[33] Montgomery, op cit., 66.

Figure 2:

Illustration, *Anne of Green Gables*, L.M. Montgomery, illustrated by M.A. and W.A.J. Claus, 1908, L.C. Page & Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States. Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto, Canada.

wears no coat; she has been waiting alone for Matthew at the train station and throughout the buggy ride home to Green Gables without any protection against the weather. Darkly coloured, the dress has no adornment; Anne is dressed for

function only. Anne has also outgrown her dress: her sleeves are too short, and do not cover the length of her arms. Significantly, the small size of Anne's carpet bag as depicted by the Claus' reveals how very little material items she owns, soliciting the reader's sympathy for the impoverished orphan before they continue to engage with the text. The visual medium dramatises Anne's later relationship with fashion, as she continues to acquire stylish clothing and accessories throughout her maturation.

Accompanying this illustration is the caption, which reads: "'Matthew Cuthbert, who's that?' [Marilla] ejaculated," creating a bridge between image and text. Anne's fear that her clothing will negatively impact the way those in Avonlea view her is therefore brought to life in her initial meeting with Marilla. In the novel, it is Anne's "stiff, ugly dress" that Marilla first notes, signifying the importance of fashion within the Avonlea community as well as in the historical context of the novel during the late nineteenth century. This appearance leads Marilla to conclude that Anne is an "odd little figure."[34] Though Marilla knows nothing about Anne, her history, her personality, or why she is at Green Gables, surveillance of her clothing leads to conclusions about her very being.

As such, Anne's integration into Avonlea within the novel begins with the receiving of new clothing, given to her by Marilla. As Anne's guardian, Marilla herself therefore acknowledges fashion's role in creating social stability, illustrating the relationship-centred dynamics surrounding clothing found within the text and the ways in which other characters in the novel develop because of fashion, alongside the protagonist herself.[35] It is notable that outside of the teaching of prayers and an engagement with religion, dress is the primary tool employed by Marilla when situating Anne within Green Gables. At this point in the novel neither character is well-versed in what is fashionable within Avonlea's late nineteenth century community. Marilla intuits clothing's importance in making Anne look respectable and cared for; it is because of this that she gives her new dresses to replace her old one. However, she does not endorse the "conspicuous consumption" that is implicit in social status.[36] Anne, in contrast,

[34] Montgomery, op cit., p. 74.
[35] Joe Sutcliff Sanders, *Disciplining Girls: Understanding the Origins of the Classic Orphan Girl Story*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, United States, 2011, pp. 94-95.
[36] Thorstein Veblen, "Chapter Four: Conspicuous Consumption," in *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* 1899, pp. 23-33. *Project Gutenberg*, 2008, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/833/833-h/833-h.htm#link2HCH0004, Accessed 23 February 2021.

may not know the nuances of current trends, but understands the fashion system far better than her guardian. Upon being given the three dresses Marilla has made for her, Anne "solemnly" takes in what is to be her new wardrobe. The clothing is described by the narrator as "serviceable," a "bargain," "ugly," and "plain."[37] Though more acceptable than her old wincey dress, Anne is unsatisfied because she understands that fashion is about more than clothing and material protection; its styling is a key construct in social identity.

A Little Flat, Glossy New Sailor: Anne Goes to Sunday School

In the novel Anne's approach to stylish dress aligns with a traditional approach in fashion theory wherein being fashionable means that she will be able to blend in with her peers, while also individuating herself thanks to her appearance.[38] It is for this reason that Anne also longs for a puffed-sleeve dress, the current height of fashion during the late nineteenth century and within the novel. These sleeves were "known for the absurdity of size," in stark contrast to the tight-sleeved new dresses Anne is provided with.[39] For Marilla, the puffed sleeves are not sensible as they require extra material, representing vanity and adornment, and so Anne's clothing does not conform to the fashions of the period. Puffed sleeves were stylish in part because of this excess, aligning with Veblen's understanding of fashion as a means of highlighting consumption and social success.[40] Marilla, however, calls the trend ridiculous, prompting Anne to respond: "But I'd rather look ridiculous when everybody else does than plain and sensible all by myself."[41] As Gammel explains, "Nowhere is the pull between [Anne's] distinct individualism and her desire to belong to a group better exemplified than in the realm of fashion—in her yearning for puffed sleeves."[42] Anne's interest in fashion begins with a longing to fit in with the residents of the Avonlea community, despite her inability to conform to societal standards in the early chapters of the novel. Anne understands fashion's influence on social identity and relationships, particularly as a character who has always been left on the outside of a community.

[37] Montgomery, op cit., p. 124.
[38] Simmel, op cit.
[39] Kelcey, op cit., p. 230.
[40] Veblen, op cit.
[41] Montgomery, op cit., p. 125.
[42] Gammel, op cit., p. 180.

Figure 3:

Illustration, *Anne of Green Gables*, L.M. Montgomery, illustrated by M.A. and W.A.J. Claus, 1908, L.C. Page & Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States. Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto, Canada.

The second illustration (Figure 3) depicts the pivotal moment when Anne first meets her peers at Sunday school, her first public appearance. M.A. and W.A.J. Claus' image shows Anne as she arrives to church, isolated and alone, though with her head held high. In contrast, Anne's peers surround her, sitting with one another in the church's pews. The reader of the illustration and Anne's clothing is likely to assume that Anne is by herself because of her recent arrival in Avonlea, as opposed to her appearance, given that the girls are depicted wearing dresses and hats similar to Anne's own (though many wear the aforementioned puffed sleeves). The caption, however, provides additional, critical information. Gaping at Anne's appearance, "They looked at her and whispered to each other."[43] Anne is an object of interest, even gossip, for her peers. Analysis of the text alongside the illustration offers clarity; upon leaving Marilla to head to Sunday school, Anne is described as follows:

> Anne started off irreproachably, arrayed in the stiff black-and-white sateen, which, while decent as regards to length, and certainly not open to the charge of skimpiness, contrived to emphasize every corner and angle of her thin figure. Her hat was a little flat, glossy, new sailor, the extreme plainness of which had likewise much disappointed Anne, who had permitted herself secret visions of ribbons and flowers ... being confronted halfway down the lane with a golden frenzy of wind-stirred buttercups and a glory of wild roses, Anne promptly and liberally garlanded her hat with a heavy wreath of them. Whatever other people might have thought of the result it satisfied Anne, and she tripped gaily down the road, holding her ruddy head with its decoration of pink and yellow very proudly.[44]

Though not stylishly attired, the glossy sailor Anne wears is not out of the conforms of fashion; rather, it is the addition of wildflowers to her hat that causes Anne to stand out.[45] She is not approached by any of the other girls, and builds no new friendships during her first social appearance in Avonlea. Irene Gammel explains that Anne's ties to nature, particularly flowers, connect her to the natural world as well as to pagan rituals.[46] This pivotal moment in the text is exemplary of this connection, with dress serving as the initial catalyst for Anne's interest in nature, as with the bridal tree that Anne engages during her first entrance into the

[43] Montgomery, op cit.
[44] Montgomery, op cit., pp. 125-126. Ellipses added by the author of this article, Jaclyn Marcus.
[45] Georgine de Courtais, *Women's Hats, Headdresses and Hairstyles*, Dover Publications, Inc., New York City, New York, 2006, p. 138; Clair Hughes, *Hats*, Bloomsbury Visual Arts, London, England, United Kingdom, 2017, p. 105.
[46] Gammel, op cit., pp. 83-84.

Avonlea community.[47] Anne's interest in fashion in these examples takes on elements of a mythical, even powerful force, enacted through her adornments. This authority, exemplified by Anne in her accidental disregard for fashion's rules, is read as an act of rebellion by the church-goers and marks her as a potentially threatening figure to social order. In tying Anne to "the irreverent world of wood nymphs and dryads," Montgomery "poke[s] fun at the solemn Sunday school decorum" that casts Anne as immediate outsider.[48] Montgomery therefore applies humour to fashion's rigid expectations even within the small community of Avonlea. Dress is used by the author to mark Anne as a subversive figure, challenging prejudices previously held by Avonlea community members in this chapter.

Although Anne attempts to engage with fashion and its trends by adding flowers to her plain hat, she does not understand that it is the *purchasing* of *fake* flowers that is stylish in her new world; this can be seen in Anne's later exchange with Marilla, where she attempts to discern the difference between wearing artificial flowers and her own real ones.[49] While Anne's self-adorned chapeau aligns with the growing Aesthetic movement in the late Victorian period, the context in which this hat is worn, alongside its obviously self-fashioned, haphazard structure, is deemed inappropriate.[50] Anne's confusion regarding when and how it is appropriate to adorn oneself with flowers satirises the Avonlea community, who blindly adhere to fashion's nuances. By the same token, however, the severity by which Anne's outfit is judged highlights clothing's impact on social development—perhaps following fashion's standards is not irrational after all. While Anne wants to be stylish, she must do so within the bounds of social norms—deviating from what is expected is the antithesis to her goal.[51] As can be seen, Anne's appearance has a direct and immediate damaging impact on her social standing. Both the illustration and text emphasize fashion's role in negotiating friendships and sense of community for young girls. Anne begins to understand, in a more mature sense, the importance of clothing and dress.

[47] Montgomery, op cit., pp. 65-66
[48] Gammel, op cit., p. 84.
[49] Montgomery, op cit., pp. 130-131.
[50] Fiona, Clark, *Hats*, B.T. Batsford Ltd., London, England, United Kingdom, 1982, p. 35.
[51] Simmel, op cit., p. 543.

Sashes and Slippers: Anne Engages with Fashion

The development of Anne's social life progresses alongside the accumulation of new clothing. The turning point in this evolution can be seen through Anne's eventual ownership of a dress with puffed sleeves.[52] Upon receiving the dress, Anne is happily overwhelmed. A description of the garment reveals its overtly fashionable nature: it is made of Gloria, in a brown material, with frills, shirrings, lace, ribbons and, of course, the puffed sleeves.[53] The many adornments that are a part of the dress mark it as Anne's first truly fashionable possession. Gloria was a material that typically signified luxury and transformation.[54] As well, the brown colour chosen by Matthew is in line with the "earthy colour palate" that was stylish at the time during which Montgomery's novel was written.[55] Unlike the dress of yellow-brown linsey-woolsey in which we first see Anne, this dress is brown because, as Rachel Lynde, the close family friend who assists Matthew in picking the material for the garment, proclaims, "a nice rich brown would just suit Anne, and William Blair [the store owner] has some new gloria in that's real pretty."[56] Its newness signifies its stylish nature. For Anne, however, what is important about the dress is conforming with what is "fashionable" with her peers, its existence as an obviously stylish garment, cutting-edge in its newness.[57] Though she loves puffed sleeves, Anne has learned her lesson from her mishap with the fresh wildflowers: if the puffed sleeves were not in-style within Avonlea, they would not communicate Anne's social status and signify her membership within its community, and she would not wear them. Fashion is again here about more than the garment itself, even a beautifully constructed one; instead, clothing is a form of social communication.

The night of Avonlea's Christmas concert, which occurs almost immediately after Anne receives her new dress, serves as a key moment in her adolescence, with Anne performing recitations. Although Anne is overcome with stage fright, it is fashion that allows her to flourish, as she explains: "...I thought of my lovely puffed sleeves and took courage. I knew that I must live up to those sleeves..."[58] New, fashionable clothing sets the social standard for Anne to aspire to. For

[52] Gammel, op cit., p. 178; Matthews David and Wahl, op cit., p. 41.
[53] Montgomery, op cit., p. 236.
[54] Matthews David and Wahl, op cit., p. 44.
[55] Gammel, op cit., p. 180.
[56] Montgomery, op cit., p. 234.
[57] Montgomery, op cit., p. 237.
[58] Montgomery, op cit., p. 238. Ellipses added by the author of this article, Jaclyn Marcus.

Anne, "living up" to her new Gloria gown with puffed sleeves references the importance of making her new community within Avonlea proud. What Anne values is not only the gift of clothing, but the symbolic acceptance into the Cuthbert family that her new dress, and its sleeves, signifies, bolstering her public performance.

Matthews David and Wahl argue that "Anne's wardrobe is not actively acquired but given to her as a charitable donation, a practical necessity, or a loving gift."[59] The two scholars suggest that Anne is not entirely an agent of her fashionability, but rather connects with clothing through her relationships. Building on these conclusions, this argument ties Anne's lack of agency to her historical context and age.[60] During her early adolescence, Anne must rely on the support of her benefactors, her parental figures Matthew and Marilla, for clothing. However, Anne is active, even aggressive, in her pursuit of new clothing, working within the social constraints surrounding her to ensure that she is stylishly attired. Well-meaning but unflinching, Anne ties fashion to her social success, going so far as to equate her moral virtue and academic achievements with clothing.[61] Anne's actions remind the reader that she purposefully applies fashion as a means of positive social transformation. Statements like these also remain at the back of the mind of the reader as Anne continues to excel, implying that her later successes—including graduating at the top of her class for the entrance exams into the Queen's school—are thanks in part to an engagement with fashion.

The following illustration depicts the chapter immediately after this major public triumph on Anne's part (Figure 4). This timing is important, as the illustrator, too, thus connects Anne's success with her stylish appearance, mirroring Montgomery approach in the text. In the image, the frontispiece for the first edition of *Anne*, Anne and Diana dress for a different, larger concert, where Anne is again to perform a recitation—the only resident of Avonlea selected to do so. Diana is shown tying a necklace around Anne's neck in the illustration, helping to adorn her as Anne allows herself to be dressed, her stature passive and queen-like. With Diana in the role of stylist and assistant, Anne stands in as the model, the face of fashion.[62] The illustration corroborates Anne's disinterest in defining what is

[59] Matthews David and Wahl, op cit., p. 42.
[60] Sanders, op cit.
[61] Montgomery, op cit., p. 264, 283.
[62] Macdonald, op cit., p. 249.

Figure 4:

Illustration, *Anne of Green Gables*, L.M. Montgomery, illustrated by M.A. and W.A.J. Claus, 1908, L.C. Page & Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States. Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto, Canada.

stylish, or in dealing directly with garments and clothing; rather, she wants to be seen as fashionable herself by others.[63] Close reading of the illustration reveals that Anne has succeeded on this point.

Fashionable gowns in the late nineteenth century consisted of simple skirts, while "sleeves were enormous and puffy," corroborating Anne's insistence in acquiring a puffed-sleeved gown.[64] Ankle-length dresses were also seen as the height of fashion during the decade, and a risqué one at that.[65] Although these details emphasize the illustrators' efforts to reflect late nineteenth century fashions, variances between image, text, and reality, were noticed by Montgomery herself. What is essential, however, is the presence of fashion within the illustration as in the text, in particular as a symbolic link to Anne's rising social status. Anne and her apparel are indeed the central focus of the image, with her dress in full sight and face directed towards the reader, almost as if she is looking as they observe her. In contrast, Diana is blocked by a portion of Anne's voluminous sleeves and her skirt; she is literally overshadowed by Anne's clothing. The illustration and Anne's relationship with fashion is further illuminated through its accompanying caption, which reads: "'There's something so stylish about you, Anne,' said Diana."[66] At least three pages, including the illustration, are devoted to the two adolescents' dressing and preparation process for the upcoming evening.

Montgomery's text tells the reader that Anne wears an organdy dress, along with pearl beads gifted to her by Matthews and a white rose given to her by Diana from her home garden.[67] Here, Anne competently, and far more demurely, engages with fashion, with only a single bud seen in her styled updo, rather than bouquets of flowers. These accessories serve as symbols of her close connections within the Avonlea community and illustrate how far her social relationships have come. Anne's all-white accessories, too, signify her rebirth as a mature fashion icon within the Avonlea community in contrast to Diana's own dress of "lovely wild-rose pink."[68] This pink and rose colour palate also emphasizes the characters' close friendship as one that is akin to that of a romantic partnership

[63] Matthews David and Wahl, op cit.
[64] Kelcey, op cit., p. 230.
[65] Kelcey, op cit., p. 238.
[66] Montgomery, op cit.
[67] Montgomery, op cit., p. 295.
[68] Macdonald, op cit., p. 255. Montgomery, op cit., p. 295.

(Robinson), offering intense, unconditional emotional support.[69] Fittingly, in this moment Diana enables Anne's social success through dress.

In this chapter, as Anne and Diana go back and forth about what outfits will suit them best while they prepare for their outing, Anne continues to be doted upon by her friend, persisting in marking Anne as the locus on which fashion's influence is played out. Diana directs Anne in the text, stating:

> Pull out that frill a little more—so; here, let me tie your sash; now for your slippers. I'm going to braid your hair in two thick braids, and tie them half-way up with big white bows—no, don't pull out a single curl over your forehead—just have the soft part. There is no way you do your hair suits you so well, Anne.[70]

In this scene, Montgomery demonstrates the ways in which fashion can be an avenue for connection between adolescents. Diana's styling of Anne allows them to interact intimately, with Diana tying Anne's dress, fixing her hair, and offering compliments, raising her self-esteem. As well, the trinket bestowed on Anne by Diana is an avenue for expressing their close friendship through the acts of giving and consumption. Fashion grants Anne and Diana the time and space to confide in one another away from the eyes and ears of the authority figures and adults in their lives. Anne is able to unselfconsciously voice her insecurities to Diana, and vice versa; this also allows the two young women to encourage and support one another. While dressing, Diana self-deprecatingly declares:

> "I am just a dumpling ... Well, I suppose I shall just have to resign myself to it."
>
> "But you have such dimples," said Anne, smiling affectionately into the pretty, vivacious face so near her own.[71]

An engagement with aesthetics and fashion has allowed Anne and Diana to care for and bolster one another. The illustration that accompanies the text establishes fashion as a bonding force between peers, highlighting the ways in which clothing is applied to facilitate social identity for adolescent characters within literary texts. Through an engagement with dress, Anne has become the beautiful, poised

[69] Laura Robinson, "Bosom Friends: Lesbian Desire in L.M. Montgomery's *Anne* Books," *Canadian Literature*, Vancouver and Kelowna, Canada, Issue 180, 2004, pp. 12-28.
[70] Montgomery, op cit., p. 295.
[71] Montgomery, op cit., p. 296.

young woman she must embody in order to secure her own social success. Fashion is what, for Anne, holds her in place as "Anne of Green Gables."

Conclusion

By the novel's end, Anne is 16 years old and no longer a girl. As Marilla views Anne, now a young woman dressed in elegant apparel, "memory recalled a vivid picture of the odd, frightened child in her preposterous yellowish-brown wincey dress, the heartbreak looking out of her tearful eyes. Something in the memory brought tears to Marilla's own eyes."[72] Marilla's recollection of Anne's isolated youth references her old clothing and credits fashion as a major factor in her transformation and maturation, representative of the care she has received at Green Gables. Anne's integration into the Avonlea community is reflected through her expert engagement with fashion; just as Anne connects with those around her through clothing, so in turn do those close to her now understand that their affections may expressed through dress.

A young adult, Anne has also had tragedy in her life; the passing of Matthews leads Anne to make the decision to stay at Green Gables and help care for Marilla and her home while teaching at the local Avonlea school, rather than continuing her education by attending college. In doing so, Anne prevents Marilla from needing to sell Green Gables as a source of income. Having weathered these changes, a more mature Anne begins to turn her focus from friends and family towards a romantic relationship: her budding courtship with Gilbert Blythe, the male protagonist in the novel who is hinted as being a potential romantic partner for Anne. The final image illustrated by M.A. and W.A.J. Claus in the 1908 edition of *Anne of Green Gables* shows Anne and Gilbert walking side by side back to her home of Green Gables (Figure 5). As Gammel explains, "Both [Anne and Gilbert] are dressed for a courtship walk" in this illustration, looking much like a fashion plate from the turn of the century as Montgomery herself had noticed.[73] Gilbert watches Anne, directing the reader to focus on her and her appearance. Anne and Gilbert's mature clothing hints at their impending courtship, as Gilbert assertively declares: "'Come, I'm going to walk home with

[72] Montgomery, op cit., p. 304.
[73] Gammel, op cit., p. 233.

Figure 5:

Illustration, *Anne of Green Gables*, L.M. Montgomery, illustrated by M.A. and W.A.J. Claus, 1908, L.C. Page & Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States. Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto, Canada.

you'" in the image's caption.[74] Looking adult, Anne is dressed more extravagantly than in any other illustration: she wears full length gloves, a hat, and an umbrella, despite the fact that she has just returned from an impromptu visit to her friend Diana, journeying along a familiar, unpaved rural road. In contrast to previous illustrations, Anne wears clothing that protects her from the outdoors, a setting she reveled in during her youth; this distinction, delineated through dress, separates her from past ties to childhood and nonconformity. Her sleeves recall a more subdued gigot sleeve that was at the height of fashion during the time of

[74] Montgomery, op cit.

Montgomery's writing as well as Anne's obsession with the puffed-sleeve trend, again marking consistency between illustration and text. Her parasol and florally adorned hat, too, align with contemporary styles during the late nineteenth century. The flowers on Anne's bring her facilitation of accessories full circle: from a simple straw hat, to finally wearing the artificial, fashionable flowers her young peers once did, the image seems to suggest that Anne no longer makes any fashion missteps. In doing so, the illustrators disconnect Anne from her previous, free-spirited behavior, marking her as a stylish figure who is respectful of fashion's rigid expectations. Finally, Anne's hair is worn up, signifying her maturation; Anne's hair is not shown in an updo in any of the previous illustrations. Anne's journey to adulthood is marked as complete by the illustrators in this final image.[75]

Despite the extremely stylized image Anne's clothing cuts in this image, her attire is not described in the novel as with the previous analyzed illustrations. This final figure exemplifies the tension between the image and the text that is found throughout Montgomery's novel. While the illustration implies that Anne's ultimate success can be found in partnership with a husband, as stylishly attired as she, Montgomery's conclusion rejects this traditional ending to the adolescent novel. At the turn of the century, the "marriage plot" within literature was prevalent, and the illustration alludes to Anne's compliance with this nineteenth century narrative though no final answer is given to the reader within the first novel by the author herself.[76] Montgomery's text crafts Anne as a far more subversive and independent figure. Anne's story ends with her saving both Marilla and Green Gables much in the way a male hero might be expected to. Anne's rescuing of her home demonstrates the autonomy and agency she has developed as she has matured. But Anne does not stop here; she determines to continue working as well as educating herself independently, studying Latin and Greek on her own. Anne is satisfied not just with ensuring her family life is secured; she must also guarantee her own future success, through education and employment. Despite the Claus' final illustration, Anne's ultimate destiny is left undecided at the end of *Anne of Green Gables*, with the reader free to imagine that she will achieve all of her dreams.

[75] Gammel, op cit., p. 181.

[76] Mary Henley Rubio, "Subverting the Trite: L.M. Montgomery's 'Room of Her Own,'" *Canadian Children's Literature/Littérature canadienne pour la jeunesse*, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada, Issue 65, 1992, pp. 6-39.

Throughout *Anne of Green Gables* fashion serves as a marker of Anne's social growth: with Matthew and Marilla, within the community as a whole, with Diana, and, finally, with Gilbert, a potential future suitor. Anne's social identity is shaped by her engagement with fashion. When Anne is first introduced, she is powerless, signified through her lack of clothing and material possessions. Anne's errors in the realm of style cost her improvements in her social status and make it harder for her to integrate into her community. By the same token, however, as Anne's relationships develop she is granted access to fashionable dress, in turn stabilising her development. At the novel's conclusion, Anne herself becomes an expert fashion icon, seen both in her stylish clothing and characterisation, embodying her status and success. This, in turn, empowers Anne and provides her with opportunities for upward social mobility and personal development. L.M. Montgomery's novel demonstrates the tension between fashion as liberating across social norms and boundaries, as well as fashion's ability to subtly instill these norms. In *Anne of Green Gables*, it is dress and a skillful application of fashion that enables Anne to develop into a young woman with a strong sense of community and the independence to determine an undoubtedly bright future.

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From Colonial Traditions to Modern Values: Eufrásia Teixeira Leite's Shoes and Brazilian Footwear, 1808–1930

Cecília Soares[1]

Abstract

This article explores features of Brazilian shoemaking and footwear over the course of the nineteenth century by analysing and contextualizing six pairs that belonged to businesswoman Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Today, they are kept at the Museu Casa da Hera, in her hometown of Vassouras, 120 km from the city of Rio de Janeiro. The research was based upon digital methodologies. The shoes were seen on site and compared to pictures and descriptions of other pairs, which were available on online international exhibitions and catalogues. Primary and secondary sources were also consulted. This study concludes that the shoes seem to have been carefully kept as memory items and at least one pair could have been someone else's and not Eufrásia's.

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Introduction

The Museu Casa da Hera (Figure 1), the "Ivy House Museum," is an historic house museum – the former home of a specific family or person who somehow "distinguished themselves from their contemporaries."[2] The space aims to "preserve the surroundings as close as possible to what they first were, including the original shape of the house, the objects, and the context where the person first lived."[3] The Casa da Hera was named after the ivy ("hera" in Portuguese) on its façade, a feature strongly tied to the history of its main inhabitants: the Teixeira Leite family in general, and Eufrásia Teixeira Leite (Figure 2) in particular.

Figure 1:
The façade of the Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil.[4]

Eufrásia Leite's life trajectory, unusual even for a woman who belonged to a distinguished and wealthy family, can be seen depicted today in the museum's dress items. Seen among the 44 pieces available are walking, riding, and party dresses, sleeping gowns, umbrellas, fans, hats, and shoes. Fifteen of the pieces of

[2] Antonio Ponte, *Casas-museu em Portugal: Teoria e Prática*, master's thesis, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto, 2007, p. 5.
[3] Idem, ibidem.
[4] Available at: https://www.guiadasartes.com.br/rio-de-janeiro/museu-casa-da-hera. Accessed 13 February, 2021.

clothing carry formal brand tags and can be attributed to some of the biggest fashion names of her time – including Felix Breveté, Rouff, Mourin & Blossier, and Charles Worth (Figures 3–6).[5] The six pairs of shoes therefore make up a very particular sample and leave nothing to be desired if compared to her outfits from luxury stores in Paris, the centre of the fashion world at the time. These are the only pieces that outlived Leite, who died in 1930.

Figure 2:
Portrait of Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, Carolus-Duran, 1887, oil on canvas, Paris.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil.

[5] See Ana Freitas Umbelino, *O acervo de indumentária do Museu Casa da Hera: Proposta de Catálogo*, master's thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Política e Bens Culturais, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2016 and Flávio Oscar Nunes Bragança & Priscila Faulhaber Barbosa, Etiqueta-documento: o acervo do Museu Casa da Hera, *XIX Encontro Nacional de Pesquisa em Ciência da Informação*, 2018, pp. 5690–5708.

Figure 3:
Riding costume by Charles Worth, owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Purple velvet and details in pink wool.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. T1155.

Figure 4:
Coat by Charles Worth, owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Ivory wool with silk lining.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. T1141.

Figure 5:
Evening dress owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Silk satin.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. T1146.

Figure 6:
Long skirt by Rouff, owned by Eufrásia Teixeira. Beige silk with floral painting and lace. Circa 1880s.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. T1153.

Few clues exist as to what the origins of the shoes may have been and why these are the only pairs left. Cecília Bonfim, her maid, once stated that Eufrásia, who died a millionaire, used to sew diamonds into her clothing and tie them to her hair on special occasions.[6] A woman with so many possessions – who owned clothes by the finest Parisian names until her late 70s – would probably have more than six pairs of shoes in her collection, but all others have left no traces.

By analysing the pairs that have come down to us, in addition to catching a more detailed glimpse of the wardrobe choices of a very wealthy woman, making educated guesses about her taste and influences and even speculating on Leite's

[6] See Magda Sayão Capute, *A dama dos diamantes negros e a educação em Vassouras: um estudo sobre o Instituto Profissional Feminino e Masculino Doutor Joaquim José Teixeira Leite (1930–1959)*, master's thesis, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2011, p. 11.

memories and feelings, we can begin to reimagine a complex production chain and gain a better understanding of Rio de Janeiro's place in global trade back then. These shoes are the key to accessing the rich and complex scenery of the second half of the nineteenth century as a whole, particularly because there are very few pairs in Brazilian museums. Almost none other can be directly linked to a specific owner, so their context can hardly be reconstituted in any way.

The methodology adopted in this study consists in a comparative strategy to analyse the shoes, their time, and the meaning they held to their owner. Since the research began in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic, most sources, both in text and image, are digital. The six pairs, however, were seen on site and their pictures taken by the author. However, since she lacks formal training as curator or dressmaker, two experts were consulted remotely regarding the shoes' features as seen in the pictures.[7] Some variation must therefore be considered, as the pairs might be slightly younger or older than estimated, but this bears no significant relevance to the main conclusion.

Eufrásia Teixeira Leite: an Intriguing Personage

Even though the Casa da Hera could be spotted on the city map from as soon as 1836, as is usually believed, the property is not likely to have been bought by then newly-weds Ana Esméria Pontes França and Joaquim José Teixeira Leite (Figure 7), Eufrásia's parents, until 1843.[8] Several renovations and expansions followed the acquisition.[9] The ivy was planted in 1887, by initiative of housekeeper and former slave Manoel da Silva Rebello.[10]

Joaquim José, who graduated from Law School at the Faculdade de Direito of São Paulo, was a coffee commissioner or trader, i.e. a businessman with a focus on coffee, the dark gold of the time. Coffee traders did not own the plantations themselves; instead, they negotiated with rural owners and foreign buyers, and

[7] Their contribution was very enriching, but all mistakes are mine.

[8] See Eneida Queiroz, Daniele de Sá Alves and Cinthia Rocha, *Museu Casa da Hera*. Brasília: IBRAM, 2014, p. 5.

[9] *Chácaras* differed from farms by being closer to town and also usually not having large fields, as plantations did; however, several had exquisite gardens.

[10] Queiroz, de Sá Alves & Rocha, op. cit., p. 5.

lent money to those looking to start their own farms.[11] Ana Esméria herself descended from the Corrêa e Castro, a family of coffee farmers or "coffee barons," as they were known. Both belonged to a large and powerful network of plantations and businesses.

Figure 7:
Joaquim José Teixeira Leite and Ana Esméria Teixeira Leite.
Queiroz, de Sá Alves & Rocha, 2014, p. 38.

Coffee was to become Brazil's great exported item of the nineteenth century, with 65% of the country's total export revenues stemming from coffee at the end of the century.[12]

Eufrásia was born in Vassouras on April 15, 1850, to one of the richest families in town. A fine lady of her time was expected to marry a man worthy of her position and was often tasked with entertaining guests. Even in rich families, women were not usually taught to run businesses. Some could not even read or write. They were seen as the main authorities of the domestic space and were expected to dedicate themselves to child upbringing and individual chores (singing, playing the piano, embroidery, dealing with religious festivities, et cetera), while hard labour (like cooking, cleaning, mending clothes, gardening) was left to domestic

[11] Coffee is quite an expensive crop, as its plants take several years before yielding beans. Therefore, one must have large sums invested and be willing to wait for returns.
[12] Queiroz, de Sá Alves & Rocha, op. cit, p. 24.

slaves. Beautiful brides were expected to become skilled wives and mothers, but they remained confined within domestic boundaries.

Figure 8
Seller of toasted coffee, Jean-Baptiste Debret.
The white woman is kept at home and the black women are slaves.[13]

The Teixeira Leite family were far from following the main recipe on how to raise daughters and have them fit into the small and tightly knitted society, eventually to be seen as suitable brides, especially in the absence of a male heir to keep the family business running. Usually, a father who only had daughters had no option but to rely on his son-in-law, which casts light on how important marrying was in the pursuit of financial strategies and even in guaranteeing the survival of the family. This was clearly not the vision of the Teixeira Leite family, who, instead of seeking suitable bachelors, decided to recognize their two daughters as their main heirs and teach them how to administer the wealth that would be theirs someday.[14]

Joaquim José boasted one of the largest book collections in town, with almost a thousand volumes, and the solid content taught to his daughters might indicate he wanted them to be as analytical and well-informed as he was, even though their

[13] Available at: https://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/obra1197/caffe-sic-torrado. Accessed February 2, 2021.
[14] Joaquim José used part of his legal knowledge to establish several conditions on the heritage. In case of marriage, the husband of each daughter would be able to manage only one third of his wife's total wealth, thus avoiding complete bankruptcy.

skills as professionals were unlikely to be further developed once they held good marriage negotiations. But their future took unexpected directions. First, Eufrásia's older sister, Francisca (born in 1845), suffered from an undiagnosed infirmity, and the whole family spent almost two years, between 1857 and 1859, in Europe seeking treatment.[15] Once back in Brazil, the two sisters were given a thorough education, comprising business, finance, and mathematics, plus every subject seen as central to female education, such as good manners, piano, and French. Then, suddenly, their mother, father, and grandmother died a few months apart from each other, from 1870 to 1873.

In 1873, Eufrásia was 23-year-old and received her full heritage. She also became a wealthy woman with full powers to use her money as she saw fit.[16] She moved back to Paris with Francisca and spent the rest of her lifetime in the French capital, excepting some short visits to Brazil. Nonetheless, not only did she never sell her Vassouras home, she also gave strict orders to Manoel Rebello to keep everything as it was when she left, which he followed diligently.

Eufrásia was a keen businesswoman and her wealth flourished year after year as she invested in different economic sectors (railroads, goldmines, among others), although exactly what kind of trade she plied, and how, remains a mystery. She made successful investments both in Europe and in Brazil, and even entered the Paris stock exchange.

[15] Correio Mercantil, August 8, 1858, p. 1. Francisca was Ana Esméria's second child. The first child, a boy named Francisco, died shortly after birth. Apparently, Francisca's infirmities included a hip disability, and she was unable to lead an independent life. She lived with Eufrásia and died in 1899.

[16] The very fact that Eufrásia and Francisca inherited money, be it in cash or as stocks, is unusual when we consider their context. Typically, an inheritance came in the form of land, plantations, or slaves. This made it difficult for the beneficiary to use it as they wished, as there was no cash, just property; the most viable solution often consisted in staying on the farm and making it as profitable as possible. The Teixeira Leite sisters were given the very rare position of being free to choose how to live and that almost immediately after inheriting their share of the family wealth. Joaquim José Teixeira Leite's inheritance was the equivalent of 5% of Brazil's total amount raised in national exportation taxes in 1872. But the testament included only 12 slaves – some farms could use up to 150 slaves. Curiously enough, at the time of their parents' death, both sisters were older than the average age at which local girls married, but they were still single.

Between 1884 and 1927, the three women lived in a five-story *hotel particulier* at 40, Rue Bassano (8th *arrondissment*). Despite being engaged to Brazilian writer and congressman Joaquim Nabuco for 14 years in an on-and-off relationship, the wedding was finally called off and neither she nor Francisca had any offspring. She came back to Rio de Janeiro in 1926 and spent her last years quietly. After her death in 1930, her testament dictated how to deal with every possession – most should be sold and the final value donated to charity, on condition that schools and hospitals were built. The Teixeira Leite house, however, was to be maintained.[17]

Eufrásia's Shoes

Compared to today's standards, Eufrásia's shoes are quite small (Brazilian 33, European 35, US 6), which corroborates previous observations about how shoes were smaller in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[18] Their main materials are silk and leather, with most displaying fine embroidery. The main theory about why there are so few items remaining in such a luxury wardrobe is based on speculations that Eufrásia's personal goods were likely sold after her death to increase her immediate cash wealth and liquidity and to distribute their entirety as donations and improvements to the city of Vassouras.[19] These six pairs may have been left behind due to their low final value. That being the case, and given their very well conserved state, one would expect these pairs were bought between 1925 and 1930, Eufrásia's last years, further assuming that their owner did not develop ties with them, apart from their possibly being surrounded with good taste. One could also expect to find major French models since Eufrásia had been a long-time Paris resident. As we will see, the shoes might inform us otherwise and even suggest unexpected alternatives.

The first pair is the only one with enough clues to be easily connected to a shop: Hellstern shoemakers, in Paris. Founded by Louis Hellstern in the 1870s,

[17] The house eventually became the Casa da Hera museum.
[18] See Alison Fairhurst, Women's Shoes of the Eighteenth Century: Style, Use, and Evolution. *The Journal of Dress History*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2017, pp. 25–43.
[19] Personal communication with Aline Bougleux, chief museologist at Museu Casa da Hera.

Hellstern reached its peak between 1920 and 1925. Hellstern's sons, Henri, Charles (Figure 9), and Maurice, worked together to improve shoe production and retail, and their factory had around a hundred workers at its peak.

Their shop was first located at Rue du 29 Juillet, then, in 1902, it moved to 23, Place Vendôme (Figure 10), a major luxury address in Paris. The brand lasted until the 1970s, and even had branches in Brussels, Cannes, and London, but the success was never the same after the Second World War.

Figure 9:
Charles and wife Eugénie Hellstern. Eugénie would later be mayor of the city of Médan, France.[20]

[20] Available at: http://medandhieretdaujourdhui.unblog.fr/author/medandhieretdaujourdhui/page/3/. Accessed 14 February, 2021.

Figure 10:
Client trying shoes at Bootmakers Hellstern. Place Vendôme, Paris, May, 1950.
Photo by Walter Carone/Paris Match via Getty Images.[21]

Hellstern clients, from artists to Russian countesses, were regular customers and some ordered up to three pairs a week. Payments were done weekly, monthly or even once a year.[22] Hellstern also liked to develop one-of-a-kind models such as the Renault boot (Figure 11), thus doing "collabs" *avant la lettre*.

[21] Available at: https://www.gettyimages.de/detail/nachrichtenfoto/250th-anniversary-of-the-place-in-paris-vendome-nachrichtenfoto/160678564. Accessed 15 February, 2021.
[22] See Henri Hellstern, *Um demi-siècle de splendeur*, Paris, no editor, no date.

Figure 11:
A boot created by Renault founder Louis Renault in partnership with heritage French shoe label Hellstern & Sons.[23]

Most Hellstern heels are in the Louis shape (Figures 13 and 14) and measure from five to eight centimetres high. They are in wood, covered in leather or celluloid with rhinestones or coloured glass.[24] Eufrásia's model (Figure 12), in a light-green colour and with rhinestone buckles, presents the classic heels and is similar to models available at the Musée International de la Chaussure.

[23] Available at: https://footwearnews.com/2020/focus/sneakers/renault-le-coq-sportif-sneaker-collaboration-1202921901/. Accessed 14 February, 2021.
[24] See Marie-Josèphe Bossan, *L'art de la chaussure*. New York: Parkstone International, 2012, p. 79.

Figure 12:
Green shoe with rhinestone buckle, owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Kidskin with lining in white kidskin. The interior reads "Hellstern & Sons, Breveté Paris" with a crown illustration.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. MCH 92.12.06.

Figures 13, 14, and 15 show a satin escarpin with a rhinestone buckle and a red leather day model called Duc de Guise. Despite the absence of a buckle in figure 14, the model was meant to have one. Indeed, the night version of the pair comes with a metal buckle and heels higher than those of the day model. By combining these influences, one may consider that Hellstern did not rely on selling standard models alone but also worked heavily with customized pairs with different materials. This model was particularly successful between 1920 and 1928.

Figure 13:
Ceremony shoe for women from Hellstern & Sons, Brevetés, Paris.
Escarpin in white satin. Large rhinestone buckle. Leather soles and Louis heels.
Musée International de la Chaussure, Romans-sur-Isère, France. 1983.13.225.1.

Figure 14:
Duc de Guise de ville pour femme, Hellstern & Sons, Brevetés, Paris.
Red kidskin and leather soles with Louis heels. Missing buckles.
Musée International de la Chaussure, Romans-sur-Isère, France. 1983.13.132.2.

Figure 15 :
Duc de Guise de ville du soir pour femme, Hellstern & Sons, Brevetés, Paris. Bordeaux kidskin and reptile green leather. Large metal buckle with a golden colour. Louis heels covered in celluloid and rhinestones.
Musée International de la Chaussure, Romans-sur-Isère, France. 1983.13.122.2.

A similar pair can be seen at Victoria & Albert Museum (Figure 16). Belle Époque icons, such as actress Lily Langtry, were among the first people to wear this kind of style. The Duc de Guise was therefore not a real novelty when it became a successful model at Hellstern's, 10 years later, but it is not impossible that Eufrásia customized her pair with Brazilian gems. Further analysis with a gemologist could give us more information about the buckle, since the rhinestone could be made of Brazilian topaz stones, among other options.

Figure 16:
Women's mauve suede court shoe with a Louis heel and self-covered squared buckle. The tongue of the shoe extends up the ankle. Stamped inside in gold is the saying "Alan McAfee / 68 & 66 Duke Street / Grosvenor Square / London /W" with a circle.
Victoria & Albert Museum, London, England. T.149-1960.

During the 1920s, the Hellstern brothers invested heavily in marketing and publicity, and we can spot a model very similar to the Duc de Guise in a 1921 ad (Figure 17).

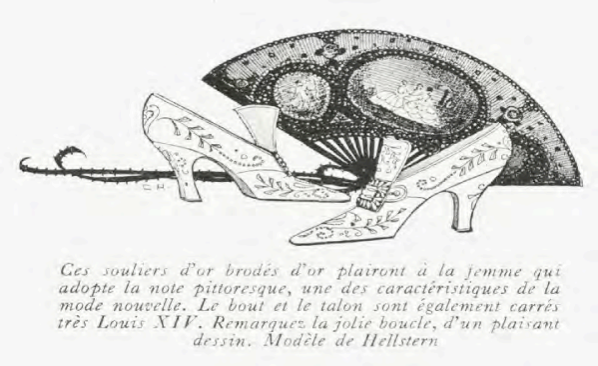


Figure 17:
Hellstern ad in France Vogue from 1921.[25]

Eufrásia's model is close enough to a day model, i.e. a practical pair that would allow her to walk comfortably through the streets of Paris. As its soles are quite pristine, the pair was hardly, if ever, used. This is what allowed the main Hellstern mentions to withstand time and remain visible today.

The second pair (Figure 18) is creamy pink with a silk ribbon that servers as the shoe's laces. There is a partial illustration on the sole, possibly the remains of a formal seal of the shop where the pair was bought in the first place. These shoes are similar to evening boots from the Victoria & Albert Museum collection (Figure 19) and also to the Derby model from Hellstern (Figure 20).

According to the description of the barette, or sandal boots, this model "daringly revealed coloured stocking through the bands or cutouts on the leg and instep. This was not always approved of. The contemporary boots create the same effect,

[25] Available at: http://www.thehistorialist.com/2018/10/1921-hellstern-in-vogue-part-1.html. Accessed 14 February, 2021.

framing the flesh of the leg."[26] This model was therefore quite bold for its time – circa 1870–1890s.

Figure 18:
Cream shoes with silk ribbon, owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Kidskin with leather sole.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. MCH 90.12.04.

Figure 19:
Evening boots, circa 1870. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, England. T551&A-1913.[27]

Figure 20:
Chaussure de ville pour femme, Hellstern & Sons, Brevetés, Paris. Derby model in kidskin and satin, both cream. Large silk ribbon of the same colour. Leather sole and Louis heels.
Musée International de la Chaussure, Romans-sur-Isère, France. 1983.13.183.1.

[26] As seen at https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O139999/pair-of-evening-unknown/. Accessed 12 February, 2021.
[27] Available at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O139999/pair-of-evening-unknown/. Accessed 14 February, 2021.

The Hellstern model indicates "chaussure de ville" and it is less bold than Eufrásia's, but the satin ribbon is similar. Could this be a customized pair ordered by her? It seems to have been worn, though just a little, since the sole references can no longer be retrieved. However, there is no reference to any shoemaker in the interior of the shoe.

The third model (Figure 21) shows green and mauve colours and detailed sequin embroidery forming a flower motif on the vamp. It also features straps and a Louis heel. This might indicate that this model was produced sometime during the 1920s, but the embroidery motifs could have absorbed Indian references, bringing the pair to the 1880s. A lamé model (Figure 22) was made by Hellstern circa 1925.

The fourth pair (Figure 23) is a red silk embroidered mule slipper, also with flower motifs, probably with metal thread. Usually worn indoors, the model was fairly common during the 1860s, but Eufrásia's could be from circa 1875, because of the particular knock on the heel. A very similar model is available at the Museu Histórico Nacional (Figure 24) and belonged to Maria Eugênia Corrêa de Oliveira, a Recife native (Figure 25).

The similarity between the two items is remarkable because Eufrásia's fiancé, Joaquim Nabuco, came from Recife himself. These mules might have held a special significance and may have been a particular regional memory that Eufrásia wished to keep over the years.

The fifth pair (Figure 26) is black and green, once again with floral embroidery and a bordeaux ribbon. Similar pairs (Figures 27 and 28) can be found at the Alexander Vassiliev Foundation, especially one from House of Dufossée (Figure 28). Coincidentally, Gérald Richard enchères possesses another pair of the same model (Figure 29). Based in Paris, at 20, Rue de la Paix, these shoemakers had another shop at 25 Old Bond Street, London. They replaced Melnotte as suppliers for several foreign courts and were most active between the 1850s and

Figure 21:
Green and mauve shoe owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Lamé and velvet with lamé rhinestone and embroidery. Fading stamp on the leather sole indicates "12014". Nineteenth century.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. MCH 92.12.03.

Figure 22:
"Salomé du soir" pair, Hellstern & Sons, circa 1925. Printed lamé with flower painting. Ribbons in golden lamé, metal and rhinestone buckle. Heel is covered in golden lamé. Ivory leather lining.
Musée Galliera, Paris, France.[28]

Figure 23:
Mule slippers owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Red silk with red silk lining and embroidery in metal thread. Nineteenth century.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. T1158.

[28] Available at: https://www.carnavalet.paris.fr/sites/default/files/dp_roman_dune_garde-robe_0.pdf. Accessed 15 February, 2021.

Figure 24:
Slippers owned by Maria Eugênia Rego, Mrs. João Alfredo C. de Oliveira. Silk, wood, and metal. Paraíba, Brazil. Nineteenth century.
Museu Histórico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Figure 25:
Maria Eugênia Corrêa de Oliveira, wife of politician João Oliveira and owner of the silk mules above.[29]

[29] Available at: http://www.dominiopublico.gov.br/download/imagem/jn003785.jpg. Accessed 14 February, 2021.

Figure 26:
Shoe owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Black kidskin with bordeaux grosgrain ribbon. Floral embroidery in cotton thread. Nineteenth century.
Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. MCH 92.12.05.

Figure 27:
"Soul Satin Cardinal" model of brand Grands Magasins du Louvre, worn by Madame Cheron.
Pair of prom shoes decorated with a cockade bow. France, circa 1875.
Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2015.3.9.1ab.AC.SH.C1875.FR.

Figure 28:
Pair of black silk satin ball gown shoes for a young girl. Eighteenth-century inspiration with a spool heel and a bubbled lace bow with a mini steel oval buckle. The toe is embroidered with white flowers and jet beads. Cream kid leather interior and sole. House of Dufossée, France, circa 1875. Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania. 2020.9.25.6ab.AC.SH.C1875.FR.[30]

[30] Available at: https://ns3103723.ip-145-239-9.eu/pawtucket/index.php/Detail/objects/8104. Accessed 20 February, 2021.

Figure 29:
Silk satin ball gown shoes from Dufossée. Circa 1870–1885. Eighteenth-century inspiration with bobine heels and a "faveur en noeud bouillonné" in lace with a mini steel buckle. Embroidered with white flowers and fleurs blanches and jet pearls. Interior and sole in creamy kidskin.
Gérald Richard enchères, Labrosse collection.[31]

the 1880s. As the three pairs are close enough in style, Eufrásia's could perhaps be dated from circa 1875.

Last but not least, the sixth pair (Figure 30) is very similar to present-day slippers. The interior indicates "P.A. Guilherme / de Paris, Rua da Quitanda, 5x". This is one of the most interesting pairs of the sample, starting with the format, which is quite different from that of all previous items. This model, often called Albert, after British Prince Albert, may be located in a wider time period, roughly from the 1850s to the 1900s, and could be an evolution of the very common ballerinas (Figures 31–35), which raged between 1810 and 1830, as observed by French illustrator Jean-Baptiste Debret, who lived in Rio de Janeiro at the time.[32]

[31] Available at: https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/ravissantes-paire-de-chaussures-de-bal-de-50358724?perPage=50. Accessed 20 February, 2021.
[32] See Cecília Elisabeth Barbosa Soares and Olga Carolina Bon Velozo, Modas, calos e cetins: os sapatos como símbolos distintivos no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX. *Diálogo com a Economia Criativa*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 5, no. 13, 2020, pp. 104–123.

Figure 30:
Slipper owned by Eufrásia Teixeira Leite. Velvet with floral embroidery in golden, plum and green colours. Interior border in black satin. Interior reads "P.A. Guilherme / de Paris, Rua da Quitanda, 5x". Nineteenth century. Museu Casa da Hera, Vassouras, Brazil. T883.

Figure 31:
Silk ballerinas. Meier, 15, Rue Tronchet, Paris, circa 1830.
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, France.[33]

Figure 32:
Silk ballerinas with leather sole. Interior reads "5 PASSAGE DE L'OPERA / CERTOST / FOURNISSEUR DE SSMM LA REINE / DES FRANÇAIS ET DE LA REINE DES BELGES / ET DE SSAARRMM LES PRINCESSES / ADELAIDE ET CLEMENTINE D'ORLEANS / PARIS". France, no date.
Owned by relatives of Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale.
Musée International de la Chaussure, Romans-sur-Isère, France.

[33] Available at: https://madparis.fr/IMG/pdf/depliant-marche-et-demarche.pdf. Accessed 2 July, 2020.

Figure 33:
Pair of ladies' leather shoes with square toes. Cream silk stalk, tied sliders on the vamp braided with sky blue taffeta on the blue silk lining, same as on the heels. The body is covered with ivory silk and lined with blue silk, same as on the heels. On the inside left sole a paper label reads "Viault-Esté / Breveté de S.M. L'IMPERATRICE / 17 rue de la Paix Paris". France, circa 1860.
Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2018.8.6.3ab.AC.SH.C1860.FR.[34]

Figure 34:
Ivory colour silk satin women's court shoes with rounded square toe, short heel and bow decoration at throat with round pearl covered with white and silver glass beads. Side seams between vamp and quarters at waist, heel covered in fabric with edges bound, on tan leather sole. Cream leather insole inside and cream cotton lining on the sides. France, circa 1860.
Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2021.1.21.11ab.AC.SH.C1860.FR.[35]

[34] Available at: https://ns3103723.ip-145-239-9.eu/pawtucket/index.php/Detail/objects/1259. Accessed 20 February, 2021.

Figure 35:
Shoes and reticule in crochet (vegetable fibre) with application of blue satins ribbons.
Gérald Richard enchères, Labrosse collection.[36]

As we can see, ballerinas were mostly plain. At a certain point, they reached a sharp polarization and were preferred in black or white. By 1850–1860s there seems to be an evolution in ballerinas, with some featuring short heels and some decoration, but keeping the plain colours. Some other models reveal that decoration was also present (Figures 36-41), so Eufrásia's pair looks like a hybrid version of the main trends, with no heels but not plain either.

The only shoe store that belonged to Mr. Alexandre Guilherme, in Rio de Janeiro, opened in 1836 and closed in 1838. During these years, the owner actively published illustrated ads in local newspapers. Shoes were not only locally made, but also imported from Paris and sold in retail, and, in 1838, also wholesale. The mentioned address, Rua da Quitanda, is very near to the core of luxury commerce in downtown Rio at the time – the Rua do Ouvidor.

[35] Available at: https://ns3103723.ip-145-239-9.eu/pawtucket/index.php/Detail/objects/8909. Accessed 20 February, 2021.
[36] Available at: https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/paire-de-chaussures-et-reticule-en-maille-50358706?perPage=50. Accessed 20 February, 2021.

Figure 36:
A pair of wool work slippers with floral pattern and leather sole stitched on. These men's shoes were worked on canvas in a petit-point stitch with colourful wools. United Kingdom, circa 1850. Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania. 2019.5.22.34ab.AC.SH.C1850.GB.

Figure 37:
Pair of ladies' shoes in kilim with red and green floral ornaments mounted on kidskin and lined with a gold yarn fringe, square toe and small reel heels. France, circa 1855.
Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2020.1.14.9ab.AC.SH.C1855.FR.

Figure 38:
Pair of shoes in turquoise and cream wool felt embroidered in chain stitch with a butterfly, friezes and foliage. Eighteenth century–inspired, with teal blue leather spool heel and pink tinted chamois leather interior. France, circa 1860.
Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2020.9.25.7ab.AC.SH.C1860.FR.[37]

Figure 39:
Bal shoes in "ramoneur" satin with embroidered bouquet and polychrome stitches on the heels. Circa 1820. Passepoils and ruché in creamy soie, lining in yellow taffetas (auréoles). Initials "FP" on the sole.
Gérald Richard enchères, Labrosse collection.[38]

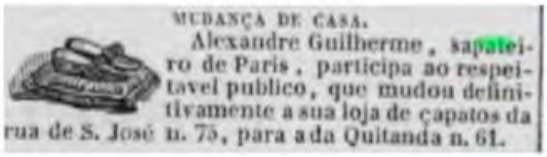
[37] The same model is available at Gérald Richard enchères and is described as "paire de chaussures en feutre de laine turquoise et crème brodée au point de chainette d'une libellule, frises et feuillage. Second Empire Circa 1860. Inspiration XVIIIe siècle avec talon bobine de cuir bleu canard et intérieur en chamois teinté rose." Available at: https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/paire-de-chaussures-en-feutre-de-laine-turquoise-50358717?perPage=50. Accessed 20 February, 2021.
[38] Available at: https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/belle-paire-de-chaussure-de-bal-en-satin-50358707?perPage=50. Accessed 20 February, 2021.

Figure 40:
Shoe pair from Maison Baudran, 318, Rue Saint Honoré. Circa 1840. Left and right feet are indicated and have a pleated ruché made of pink taffetas. Flower vase embroidery in point de Beauvais. Lining in creamy chamois.
Gérald Richard enchères, Labrosse collection.[39]

Figure 41:
Male pantoufles. Embroidery in petit–point with a wool thread. Vineyard motif. Leather sole and nailed heels. Circa 1860.
Gérald Richard enchères, Labrosse collection.[40]

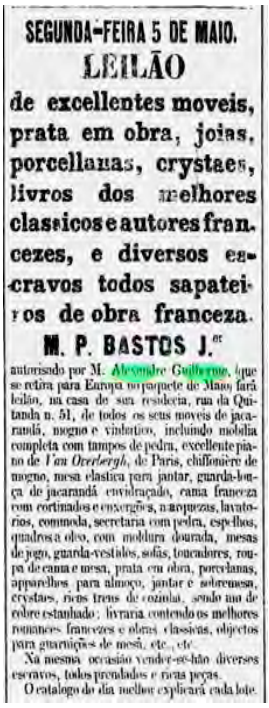
The ads disappear from 1839 on. However, in May 1856, *Jornal do Commercio* and other newspapers announce in several issues the definitive departure of Alexandre Guilherme, whose destination is vaguely mentioned as "Europe."

[39] Available at: https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/paire-de-chaussures-periode-romantique-en-50358709?perPage=50. Accessed 20 February, 2021.
[40] Available at: https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/paire-de-pantoufles-masculine-brodee-au-petit-50358719?perPage=50. Accessed 20 February, 2021.


MUDANÇA DE CASA.

Alexandre Guilherme, sapateiro de Paris, participa ao respeitavel publico, que mudou definitivamente a sua loja de çapatos da rua de S. José n. 75, para a da Quitanda n. 61.

Figure 42:
Alexandre Guilherme, "shoemaker from Paris," announces his new address in downtown Rio de Janeiro.
Jornal do Commercio, November 17, 1837.


SEGUNDA-FEIRA 5 DE MAIO.

LEILÃO

de excellentes moveis, prata em obra, joias, porcellanas, crystaes, livros dos melhores classicos e autores francezes, e diversos escravos todos sapateiros de obra franceza.

M. P. BASTOS J.er

autorisado por M. Alexandre Guilherme, que se retira para Europa no paquete de Maio fará leilão, na casa de sua residencia, rua da Quitanda n. 51, de todos os seus moveis de jacarandá, mogno e vinhatico, incluindo mobilia completa com tampos de pedra, excellente piano de *Van Oeerbergh*, de Paris, chiffonière de mogno, mesa elastica para jantar, guarda-louça de jacarandá envidraçado, cama franceza com cortinados e cuberças, commodas, lavatorios, commoda, secretaria com pedra, espelhos, quadros a oleo, com moldura dourada, mesas de jogo, guarda-vestidos, sofás, toucadores, roupa de cama e mesa, prata em obra, porcelanas, apparelhos para almoço, jantar e sobremesa, crystaes, ricos trens de cozinha, sendo um de cobre estanhado; livraria contendo os melhores romances francezes e obras classicas, objectos para guarnições de mesa, etc., etc.

Na mesma occasião vender-se-hão diversos escravos, todos prendados e ricas peças.

O catalogo do dia melhor explicará cada lote.

Figure 43:
Newspaper announcement on the final auction of Alexandre Guillherme's personal goods, including slaves "capable of making French shoes."
Jornal do Commercio, 5 May, 1856.[41]

Through a final auction, Alexandre Guilherme sells his fine belongings, including several slaves "capable of making French shoes." His personal address is Rua da Quitanda, 51. This matches perfectly the address mentioned on Eufrásia's pair

[41] Available at: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568_04&Pesq=%22Alexandre%20Guilherme%22&pagfis=9828. Accessed 15 February, 2021.

and there is no other reference whatsoever to any other shoemaker by the same name during Eufrásia's life span. As the shoe shop address and Guilherme's personal address were only 10 numbers apart, Guilherme might have rented a space just by his home and built a shoe business there, at once atelier and shop. After closing the store, he might have continued to produce specific pairs on demand or maybe placed ads.

Eufrásia cannot have bought these shoes herself, as she was born 12 years after the closing of the store. When Alexandre Guilherme quit Rio de Janeiro definitively, apparently leaving everything material behind, Eufrásia was only six years old. Moreover, the pair is 24.5 cm long, local size 36 (EU 38 or US 7.5) – considerably bigger than the others. This pair must have belonged to another Teixeira Leite, perhaps a man, since, as shown in the figures, male pantoufles and slippers were usually colourful and decorated. Ballerinas were mostly plain, and locals preferred delicate colours, such as white, baby pink, and baby blue. This slipper is much more richly decorated and is made of velvet, not plain silk satin. As most colourful pairs are from the 1850s–1860s, these were maybe ordered after the closing of the store and followed trends from just before Alexandre Guilherme left.

It is interesting to notice that Guillaume Alexander Sulzer, a German born in Leipzig in 1815, was a well-known shoemaker in Paris from the 1840s through the 1880s and the official supplier of the Queen of Saxe (Figure 44). His workshop was located at 7, Rue du 29 Juillet, in Paris. He married Josephine Louise Hipp (1826–1906) on October 15, 1852, in Montmartre. Could Sulzer have had a Brazilian adventure, and then, after 1838, have left someone on his behalf in Rio?

Footwear and the Brazilian Context during the Nineteenth Century

Eufrásia Teixeira Leite was born a free woman in a country where freedom was scarce. This meant, among other things, that, unlike Brazilian slaves, Eufrásia was allowed to wear shoes.

Figure 44:
Bright yellow silk satin women's court shoes with rounded pointed toe, semi–Louis heel, and bow decoration at throat. Side seams between vamp and quarters at waist, heel covered in fabric with edges bound, on tan leather sole. Cream leather insole inside and lining at quarters, cream cotton lining at quarters in the front. Guillaume Alexandre Sulzer, circa 1875.
Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2021.1.21.9ab.AC.SH.C1875.FR.

Brazil was one of the last countries in South America to give up colonial solutions like building empires and relying on slavery. This contrasted sharply with increasingly conspicuous modern values of free labour, citizenship for all, and the reduced power of religions institutions. Slavery was not abolished in Brazil until 1888, under stark resistance of local businessmen and less preparation than expected by society as a whole.[42] Once free, former slaves had no real support, and transition was far from seamless. They were often on their own and had to endure work competition with the increasing flow of immigrants, especially from Italy and Japan.

Thus, one of the central questions of the century is how Brazil adapted to inevitable modern values. Portuguese colonization imposed very rigid norms on

[42] See Maria Wissenbach, Da escravidão à liberdade: dimensões de uma privacidade possível, in Fernando Novais (org), *História da Vida Privada no Brasil* (Vol. 3). São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998.

the colony. Brazil was banned from developing its own production in central sectors. As history is full of plot twists, the country also witnessed a unique situation when the Portuguese Royal Family and the court moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, in part intending to flee economic and political impositions from France and England. Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the empire, and several rules and laws were devised, introducing both key decisions on new themes and replacing older legislation. The crossing of the Royal Family also had strong consequences in Portugal, and they moved back to Europe in 1821, fearing to be overthrown by the Porto revolution. This 13–year span saw substantial change in society, with new kinds of production and commerce, and establishing schools and even central democratic institutions and references, such as libraries and ministries.[43]

The Brazilian population was meant to comply with imperial sumptuary laws that described in detail what free people and slaves were allowed and were not allowed to wear, in addition to the consequences of breaking such rules. Travellers noted that these laws were often disregarded and not really controlled by officers and inspectors. On the other hand, slaves were forbidden to wear shoes (Figures 45–47), and, although it cannot be found in the form of an actual metropolitan sumptuary law, the norm was present in everyday life. In nineteenth Brazilian society, therefore, shoes occupy a central position in material culture, and dialogue directly with the constitution of citizenship, belonging, and freedom.

As happened to many other sectors, shoemakers were not allowed to work in Brazil before 1808. However, they were very present and usually organized in brotherhoods, a catholic equivalent of guilds which could be traced back at least to the Middle Ages and were most likely imported to the colony. They were usually named after the saints of a particular work – in the case of shoemakers, Saint Crispin and Saint Crispinian (Figure 48).[44]

[43] See Lilia Schwarcz, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis. Do terremoto de Lisboa à Independência do Brasil*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2002.

[44] See Mariana Siqueira, Aqueles que querem viver segundo o seu compromisso: permanência e transformação em meio ao conflito entre os sapateiros e a Câmara, Rio de Janeiro, circa 1764 - circa 1821, *Revista do Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, vol. 7, 2013, pp. 45–61.

Figure 45:
The Master and his slaves, Militão Augusto de Azevedo, 1874.[45]

Figure 46:
Barefoot slave, Christiano Jr., 1860.[46]

[45] Available at: http://www.historia.seed.pr.gov.br/modules/galeria/detalhe.php?foto=14&evento=1. Accessed 3 March, 2021.
[46] Available at: http://www.cedac.org.br/almanaquedevassouras/infooficinas_anexo3.htm. Accessed 3 March, 2021.

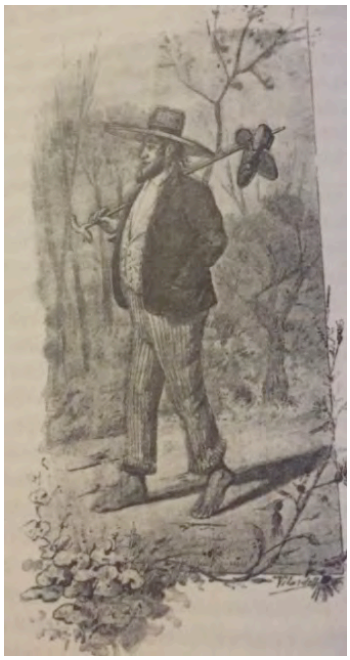


Figure 47:
A symbol of freedom. Flumen Junius. Nineteenth century.[47]

Figure 48:
Saint Crispin and Saint Crispinian.[48]

[47] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Figura-8-Ilustracao-Flumen-Junius-sem-titulo-sd_fig4_343353575. Accessed 3 March, 2021.
[48] Available at: http://arqrio.org/agenda/detalhes/1018/irmandade-dos-martires-sao-crispim-e-sao-crispiniano-celebram-seus-padroeiros. Accessed 27 June, 2020.

After the arrival of the Royal Family, liberal workers were allowed to exist, and, as happened with the large majority of manual activities, slaves were an important part of labour force (Figure 49). Slavery was so instrumental to the local dynamics that even slaves who managed to buy their freedom (called *forros*) bought their own slaves, thus preserving the chain of dependency.

If the labour force was local, aesthetic influences were mostly imported, especially from France. Debret was particularly impressed that a place where five sixths of the people walked barefoot – i.e. slaves – had more than a hundred shoe shops around.[49]

Figure 49:
Shoemaker, Jean–Baptiste Debret, 1835.[50]

As time passed, industrial activities increased. If, at first, small ateliers and factories were basically the workplace of slaves, free work was the rule from 1870 on.

Also, consumption and production grew apart, and the workspace of the artisans no longer served as shop. For centuries, street sellers had been a core dynamic of the city, dealing with traditional conceptions according to which women

[49] Soares & Bon, op. cit, p. 110.
[50] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Figura-8-Ilustracao-Flumen-Junius-sem-titulo-sd_fig4_343353575. Accessed 3 March, 2021.

(especially married) should be kept at home, away from undesirable looks and companies, and that goods should come to people, instead of people looking after goods. By adopting modern perspectives, shoe shops started seeking new addresses in downtown Rio, where a bustling shopping perimeter was built. *Grands magasins* and several kinds of stores became the local equivalent of Bond Street in London or Rue Vivienne in Paris, including a strong presence of Europeans as business owners or importers of foreign goods. Local women acquired the right to walk and do errands on their own, and goods underwent considerable standardization.

Just as slaves were forbidden to wear shoes, the feminine dress at the time was designed to convey the notion of a modest woman. Female feet were a strong symbol of independence and sexuality and should be always kept away from vision. One of the most well-known writers at the time, José de Alencar, went as far as to write *Pata da Gazela* ("The Antilope's Paw"), a novel where the main character falls in love with an anonymous female ankle he spotted while its owner was getting on a carriage. The title refers to female feet as a symbol of delicacy and smoothness. All references to large, brutal feet are used to describe a woman that fail to live up to the expected levels of grace, modesty, domestic skills, hygiene, and even virginity, a necessary condition if the girl aspired to be seen as a correct bride.

In pictures, the main female pose took dresses with long skirts for granted. Legs, feet and shoes should be entirely concealed by the clothing. By comparing pictures of former slaves and free women, one may notice the subtle negotiations between sitters and photographers, as the covered feet were often visible – just enough to indicate they wore shoes, and thus were free, but not enough to defy the main concept of dignity they aspired to attain. The umbrella lady from Ceará (Figure 51) is the only one who seems comfortable enough to expose her shoes plainly; both the black lady (Figure 50) and the public teachers (Figure 52) show their pairs in a defiant way, just the right amount to pass their message but making sure they are still respectful women.

Figure 50:
Black lady in studio pose in Rio de Janeiro. Klumb, circa 1862.
Ruy Souza e Silva Collection. Ermakoff, 2004, p. 50.

Figure 51:
Lady from Ceará. Unknown author, circa 1880–1889.
Campos, 1985, p. 141.

Figure 52:
Teachers from Kindergaten Marechal Hermes. Unknown author, circa 1910.
Costa, 2008, p. 50.

Eufrásia left no pictures of herself. The two portraits she ever kept, both oil on canvas, focus on her face and pose. Even if she is pictured in fine dressing, they do not intend to capture the person from head to feet, as do the pictures above. We can only wonder what she would look like standing on her feet and looking at the camera.

Conclusion

Eufrásia Teixeira Leite was not an ordinary woman of her time. Her belongings become somewhat more fascinating considering she comes from a very asymmetrical position in the society in which she was born, where she was expected to be powerful, but not independent; rich, but not a citizen of the world.

Brazilian people grew keen on consuming key fashion influences, especially those from France. These main references were seen as good taste per se and local workers tried their best to keep up the pace with the inventions from Paris, be it by further training skilled people or simply by importing goods and selling it on the other side of the ocean. This does not mean that the many influences in the Brazilian melting pot were totally ignored or not integrated into local goods, or that workers were unable to produce something different. It does mean, however, that European standards affected the population so strongly that many efforts were made to follow them thoroughly.

Eufrásia's shoes do not exactly tell these stories, since their owner supposedly lived most of her lifetime very far from Brazil and its contradictions. However, by being exactly as they are, they provide us with important clues on how strong Brazilian culture and its material reflections were. When it comes to sartorial aspects, Eufrásia seems to have been a regular at Paris's most prestigious *maisons*. Her clothes make this clear, and Hellstern can be seen as an equivalent of Worth and other brands, in the shoe sector. If, in many ways, she defied a the expected position of a woman at the time, she did comply to the main taste and fashion references, seeming to be inclined towards classic and well-established shops and ateliers. In this sense, Eufrásia apparently did not hesitate to regard these famous addresses among the best ones to find what she looked for, and she took her looks as seriously as her financial investments.

The absence of boots is noteworthy since these were the standard reference in Parisian fashion, and it is nearly impossible to argue that Eufrásia did not wear boots at some point in her life. Also, the fairly good state of the soles indicate that the six shoes were seldom used. Although her everyday activities took place chiefly indoors, negotiating at the Stock Exchange through letters and phone calls, Eufrásia probably did take walks and even rode horses, since she had specific outfits and accessories for these activities. These shoes do not entirely match Eufrásia's clothes, at least not the ones that have survived the passing of time. Although some were definitely worn, they were well taken care of and probably were used only indoors.

Conversely, some pairs can be associated with much earlier times than the expected 1920s and do not seem to be the pairs Eufrásia actually wore in her last years. Some seem to have been made in the 1860s–1880s, or as soon as the late 1830s. The last pair, in particular, probably comes from Alexandre Guilherme's shoe store that closed years before Eufrásia was even born; also, the shoes are way too long to fit her feet and might be a man's pair.

Eufrásia's pairs are different from what most travellers would describe when they spent time in Rio de Janeiro. On the other hand, Eufrásia certainly showed strong ties to her native references and the value she assigned to her childhood and

youth memories as she decided, at age 23, to keep her home just as it had been before her parting to France.

She seems to have cherished memories and to be very organized. It is unlikely that these shoes were kept together by chance alone – they seem to be material memory for their owner, as were the Casa da Hera and everything in it. The embroidered mule and the embroidered slipper may symbolize close ties to local references of loved ones, be it her on–again–off–again fiancé, or a close relative.

In her own way, Eufrásia, just as her native Brazil, managed to overcome colonial values and develop modern ones. It is particularly interesting to find a pair made in Rio de Janeiro at a time when the city's shoemakers were so eager to emulate Parisian fashion. More than a mere souvenir, this pair may have symbolized life in Rio and a reminder of how fast things can change, and loved ones can leave us.

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The Not-So-New Woman: Ancient Egyptian Influence in the Fashion and Beauty of the Flapper, 1917-1922

Emily Yoder

Abstract

Scholars often attribute mainstream "Egyptomania" in women's fashion and beauty to the opening of King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922. However, media from 1917 to 1922 clearly illustrates ancient Egyptian influences in women's fashion and beauty that predate the famous discovery, as well as a conflation between the flapper and the ancient Egyptian woman. This article uses newspaper articles, advertisements, and cartoons regarding fashion and beauty to explore how ancient Egyptian influences were presented to consumers from 1917 to 1922. The article asserts that the 1917 film *Cleopatra* and Parisian fashion designers were the most likely origins of these ancient Egyptian-inspired trends.

Introduction

The November 1922 discovery of the tomb of King Tutankhamen triggered widespread, global interest in Egyptology. In the United States of America, "Egyptomania" (the term by which Egyptian-inspired fads were known) heavily influenced Art Deco designs, specifically in women's fashion and beauty, during the 1920s (Figure 1). However, the influx of Egyptian trends sparked by Howard Carter (1874-1939) and the excavation of the famous tomb was not the beginning of America's obsession with Egyptian relics. Many advertisements, illustrations, and newspaper articles preceding November 1922 offer an outline of America's interest in Egyptian designs prior to the opening of Tutankhamen's tomb, but they have not received the same amount of scholarly attention that post-1922 "Egyptomania" has been granted, largely due to the sheer abundance of primary sources and material following the excavation of the tomb. Connections between ancient Egypt and the fashion of the new girl, modern woman, or flapper began to appear in publications during 1917. This timing coincides with the highly successful film *Cleopatra*, which was first shown during the same year. Following 1917, multiple sources also suggest that women's fashion and beauty trends were brought to the United States from Parisian designers (particularly during the year 1920) and that these designs included Egyptian motifs and influences. Therefore, the 1917 film *Cleopatra* and Parisian designers most likely contributed to the development of ancient Egyptian-inspired trends in women's fashion (Figure 1) and beauty prior to the Egyptomania that the 1922 discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb triggered. This article examines how newspaper articles, advertisements, and illustrations reflected not only a cultural interest in ancient Egypt in the United States but also a conflation between the flapper of the 1920s and the ancient Egyptian woman from 1917 to 1922. Particular emphasis is given to the cultural influence of the 1917 film *Cleopatra*, museum exhibitions, and Parisian trends that affected American fashions. The media-centric approach to examining Egyptian-inspired trends (through the lens of how they were portrayed in popular media, most notably in newspapers) of this research contributes to the lesser-studied Egyptian influences in fashion and beauty prior to the well-known opening of Tutankhamen's tomb. It further adds to this limited field by focusing its scope on the years spanning from 1917 to 1922. The objective of this article's exploration of media is to demonstrate how newspaper articles, cartoons, advertisements, and magazine publications touted ancient Egypt to their audiences as a trend. The advertisement of this trend specifically targeted the "new woman" by conflating flappers with ancient Egyptian women. Additionally,

this article examines the 1917 film *Cleopatra* and mentions of Parisian designers as potential origins of these trends.

Figure 1:

King Tut, Egyptomania, and a 1920s Dress, Goldstein Museum of Design, Photographer and Date Unknown, © 2021 Regents of the University of Minnesota.

Egypt's Imperialist History of Artefact Removal

It is first worth noting Egypt's longstanding history of the removal of its antiquities, which was often centred around nationalistic and political conflicts and competition. One notable example of this systemic, colonialist removal of artefacts occurred as the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), a London-based archaeological mission founded in 1882, dispersed Egyptian artefacts to 75 United Kingdom institutions, 35 United States institutions, and 35 other international institutions by 1915.[1] The Egyptian Exploration Society, the modern EEF, has acknowledged the colonial history of the EES, as well as the looting, racism, and white supremacy of its founders and early members, which pervades the history of archaeology in Egypt.[2] Egyptian-inspired trends in the United States offered no benefit or profit to the Egyptian contemporaries of the American salespeople and designers who profited from the imperialistic removal of Egyptian objects from their country of origin. These objects fueled fashion and jewelry trends after they were displayed in museum exhibitions (which will be examined specifically in this article, with particular focus on exhibitions at Chicago's Field Museum and New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art). At the beginning of the twentieth century, archaeological excavations were closely tied to colonialism; artefacts were removed to bolster the collections of Western museums without any benefit to Egyptians.[3] Egyptian heritage was disregarded while foreign sellers profited from consumers who sought trendy, Egyptian-inspired products.

European Origins of American Fashions

Most ancient Egyptian-inspired trends in women's fashion originated in Paris and then traveled to the United States of American during the mid-1910s to early 1920s. Generally, during this time, American men's clothing took its inspiration from London (the result of French designers adopting upper class, English suit

[1] "Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) | Artefacts of Excavation," https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/resources/egypt-exploration-fund-eef, Accessed 9 March 2019.
[2] Egypt Exploration Society, "Good Archaeology, Bad Archaeologists?" https://www.ees.ac.uk/news/good-archaeology-bad-archaeologists, Accessed 9 March 2021.
[3] Alice Stevenson, "Egyptian Archaeology and the Museum," 3 February 2015, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935413.013.25.

designs during the eighteenth century, which ultimately led to England being regarded as the leading source for fashionable menswear), while women's clothing looked to Paris for new styles.[4] However, Americans typically had conflicted ideas about taking on French fashions; a combination of pre-First World War nationalistic sentiments, as well as views that the novel Parisian designs were "licentious" and posed a moral danger to Americans, created wariness about the influx of French clothing.[5] At the same time, American designers copied French trends, as famed designer Paul Poiret (1879-1944) discovered on a 1913 tour of the United States after seeing his designs copied and attached to faux Parisian brands.[6] So, the influx of Egyptian trends from Paris was not an anomaly in its origination; it was typical of the time period to trace women's fashion from the United States back to Paris.[7]

French Flapper Fashions and the Ideal, Female Body: Patou, Lanvin, and Poiret

In order to understand the travel of Egyptian-inspired designs from France to the United States, it is necessary to understand the Parisian origins of flapper fashions, as well as the evolution of dress styles and the desirable female body during the 1910s and 1920s. Prior to the turn of the century, "flapper" had referred to an older teenage girl who wore her hair gathered in a low ponytail, trailing down her back.[8] During the 1910s and 1920s, the term "flapper" evolved to refer to modern women. It had also become a type of slang, meaning by 1921 a "forward young woman."[9] Zelda Fitzgerald (1900-1948), one of the most well-known flappers, suggested

[4] Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2017.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Burch, M. "Paris in the 1920s: Changes in Society Lead to Changes in Fashion," 17 November 2010, https://uramericansinparis.wordpress.com/2010/11/17/paris-in-the-1920s-changes-in-society-lead-to-changes-in-fashion/, Accessed 10 December 2020.
[8] Oxford English Dictionary, "Flapper, n.2", http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71110, Accessed 6 March 2021.
[9] Ibid.

> the Flapper awoke from her lethargy of sub-deb-ism, bobbed her hair, put on her choicest pair of earrings and a great deal of audacity and rouge, and went into the battle. She flirted because it was fun to flirt and wore a one-piece bathing suit because she had a good figure; she covered her face with powder and paint because she didn't need it and she refused to be bored chiefly because she wasn't boring. She was conscious that the things she did were the things she had always wanted to do. (Fitzgerald, 1922)[10]

Flappers embraced independent sexuality and freeing clothing; in short, they refused to be confined to the dominant ideals of women as submissive, modest, and weak mothers, wives, and homemakers. As Fitzgerald wrote, they enjoyed themselves purely because they wanted to. Two highly successful, influential designers who both contributed to the conception of flapper fashions were Jean Patou (1880-1936) and Jeanne Lanvin (1867-1946). Jean Patou was instrumental in establishing athletic fashions that traveled to the United States after debuting in Paris with great popularity. Patou shortened the women's tennis skirt and used comfortable, practical designs for women, such as lengthened skirts and bare shoulder cuts.[11] Both shorter hemlines and tops and dresses that left women's shoulders bare were quite daring for the time. Jeanne Lanvin was also a crucial designer in establishing flapper fashions in Paris that traveled to women in the United States. Lanvin pioneered the shift or chemise dress, which included the low waistline and loose fit characteristic of dresses worn by flappers during the 1920s.[12] Multiple newspaper articles later compared this style to the loose, draping garb of ancient Egyptian women. Both Lanvin and Patou operated highly successful fashion houses in Paris whose designs would ultimately make their way to the United States due to their high demand, desirability, and appropriateness to the modern woman. Paul Poiret was another French designer who was

[10] Matthew J. Bruccoli and Zelda Fitzgerald, *The Collected Writings of Zelda Fitzgerald*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, United States, 1997, p. 866.
[11] Bernard Vere, "Adversarial Modernisms: The Spectacle of Boxing and the Geometry of Tennis," *Sport and Modernism in the Visual Arts in Europe, c. 1909-39*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2018, pp. 46–84.
[12] Deirdre McQuillan, "Jeanne Lanvin Finally Gets the Recognition She Deserves: The Modernity of Lanvin's Century-Old Dresses Is Extraordinary, and Her Moment in the Spotlight Is Long Overdue - ProQuest," 14 April 2015, https://www.proquest.com/docview/1672766130/6097EB4AC0745AAPQ/6?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2020.

influential not only in developing new fashions that redesigned the American fashion landscape but also in creating an entirely novel physical ideal for women. While his overall influence has been exaggerated by historians, he did progress new physical standards for feminine beauty, similarly to Lanvin.[13] After establishing his own fashion house in Paris in 1903, Poiret abandoned the women's corset (although he was not the first to do so-Madeleine Vionnet (1876-1975) claimed to have done the same years earlier, in 1907)[14], instead favouring body types with long legs, small breasts, and a slim figure.[15] This shift was reflected in the surrounding culture, although it was not a result of an early feminist-type movement away from restricting garments, but rather the result of a progression from a voluptuous ideal of beauty to a slim, youthful, and fit woman.[16] The trend toward slenderness covered and minimised women's hips and breasts but exposed their legs, which mirrored the dress of a child at the time, thus holding a youthful appearance as a standard of beauty.[17] However, this trend took place during the early 1900s and beginning of the 1910s. Prior to the 1920s, one-piece dresses were favored for their simplicity (1917), and then styles moved to favour V-neck dresses in 1919. During this time, high-waisted dresses with full skirts remained popular; the popularised idea of 1920s dresses (embellished dresses with dropped waists) only truly existed from 1924-1928.[18]

The American New Woman

From 1920 to 1922, Egyptian influence in women's fashion appeared in hats, dresses, and other articles of clothing. However, there were also multiple claims in newspapers and magazines that the flapper originated in ancient Egypt, or that Egyptian women were stunningly similar to the modern woman. One important aspect of defining the flapper to consider is that the flapper (also known as the modern girl or new woman) came to be defined primarily through advertisements

[13] Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 1985, p. 225.
[14] Steele, 2017, op cit., p. 32.
[15] Steele, 1985, op cit., p. 227.
[16] Steele, 2017, op cit., p. 28.
[17] Steele, 1985, op cit., p. 30.
[18] Ibid., p. 235.

and consumerism.[19] Advertisements and their accompanying illustrations portrayed the modern girl as athletic, scantily but practically clad, dancing, smoking, flirting, and applying makeup. It follows that much evidence of Egyptian influence in women's fashion from 1917 to 1922 also appeared in advertisements and newspaper articles targeted toward women's appearance. The prevalence of advertisements and newspaper articles targeted toward flappers allows for research methodology employed in this article (close examination of these types of primary sources) because the flapper came to be so closely defined according to sources such as these. Therefore, they illustrate the connections between ancient Egyptian and the new woman.

Collegiate Backlash: "Modern Egypt" Cartoon

However, in-vogue flapper fashions were not always met with approval by more conservative administrations and individuals. In one instance, a university president highly disapproved of an ancient Egyptian-influenced portrayal of the modern girl that appeared in a student-published, satirical magazine. A monthly satire magazine titled "Ghost" (published by the students attending George Washington University) included an illustration of a woman wearing a bikini-like top encrusted with stones, a sheer skirt, sash, tall stockings, and heeled shoes (Figure 2). She also wears bangle bracelets and a headdress; the entire outfit is inspired by ancient Egyptian fashion. The cartoon was titled "Modern Egypt," with no accompanying text.[20] The cartoon does not relate to any of the magazine's other content; it is free-standing. It appears to be mocking the perceived lack of modesty in flapper fashions, but no explanation of the cartoon's satirical purpose is available. The 22 December 1921 edition of *The Washington Post* detailed the president, H. L. Hodgkins (1862-1931), of George Washington University's aversion to the cartoon as well as to an illustration of a flapper on the magazine's cover, which supports the hypothesis that the cartoon

[19] The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group et al. (Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Yue Dong, and Tani E. Barlow), *The Modern Girl Around the World*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Caroline, United States, 2008.

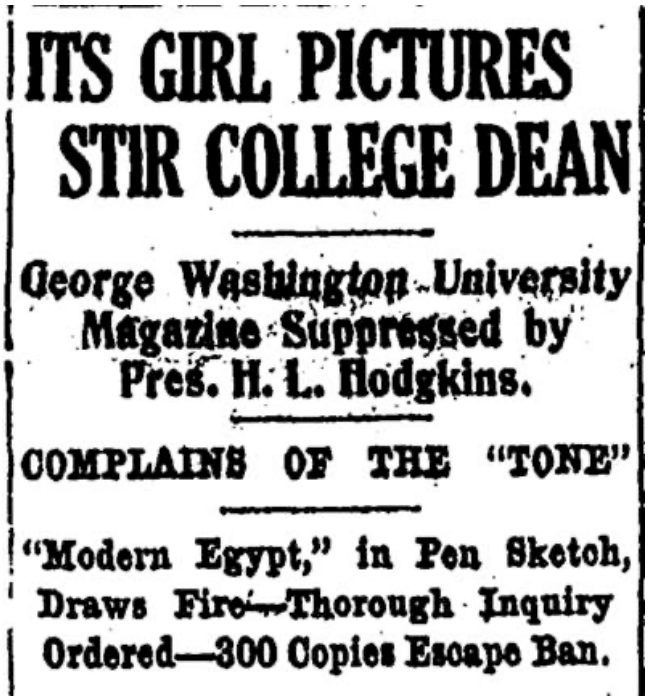
[20] George Washington University Student Publications, "The Ghost, Volume 2 Issue 3", 1921, http://archive.org/details/gwu_ghost_1921_vol4, Accessed 9 December 2020.

drew attention to fashions that were deemed inappropriate (Figure 3).[21] The president is quoted in the article expressing his disapproval as "The dean is also said to have held that a pen drawing of a young woman entitled "Modern Egypt" was not fit for publication... 'Clothes don't necessarily make the man, but they reveal the woman.'"[22] This is one example of the modern woman's less conservative clothing being deemed improper. It is remarkable that a student publication used an Egyptian-influenced illustration to communicate a conception of the modern woman. This cartoon also suggests an awareness of the physical similarities between the perceptions held about the appearances of ancient Egyptian women and flappers.

Figure 2

Page 10, *The Ghost*, Cartoonist Unknown, 1921, George Washington University Libraries, Washington D.C., United States.

[21] The Washington Post, "ITS GIRL PICTURES STIR COLLEGE DEAN: George Washington University Magazine Suppressed by Pres. H. L. Hodgkins. COMPLAINS OF THE 'TONE' 'Modern Egypt,' in Pen Sketch, Draws Fire--Thorough Inquiry Ordered--300 Copies Escape Ban. Flapper Stirs Dean. Squibs Are Disapproved." 22 December 1921, https://www.proquest.com/results/DD3CA5AE3BE04335PQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 9 December 2020.
[22] Ibid.



ITS GIRL PICTURES STIR COLLEGE DEAN

George Washington University Magazine Suppressed by Pres. H. L. Hodgkins.

COMPLAINS OF THE "TONE"

"Modern Egypt," in Pen Sketch, Draws Fire—Thorough Inquiry Ordered—300 Copies Escape Ban.

Figure 3

The Washington Post, Author Unknown, 22 December 1921, Washington D.C., United States.

Inspiration from Paris: Egyptian-Inspired Dress Trends (1917-1922)

Ancient Egyptian influence in women's fashion in the United States from 1917 to 1922 was most likely to have been the product of Parisian influences. An article from the 29 October 1922 edition of *The Washington Post* is specifically titled "Ancient Egypt's Dress Is Demanded by Paris: Gowns Would Cause Rameses to Stare, Might Also Bring Police Inquiry."[23] The fashions that the article describes even include hieroglyphic motifs and designers on the search for a new trend that ultimately was met with Egyptian designs:

[23] Special Cable Dispatch., "ANCIENT EGYPT'S DRESS IS DEMANDED BY PARIS: Gowns Would Cause Rameses to Stare; Might Also Bring Police Inquiry," 29 October 1922, https://www.proquest.com/docview/145977971/53F5153753DB4D30PQ/1?accountid=9676#0, Accessed 7 December 2020.

> (designers)... began to cast around for a new vogue which would satisfy the popular admiration for feminine beauty.[24] They have found it at last in the ancient Egyptian costume and already fashionable dressmakers report that they are being deluged with orders that would make Rameses...stare in surprise...The motif of these gowns is a diaphanous slip upon which are painted in bright colors Egyptian scenes and birds with occasional hieroglyphics to add to the mystery.[25]

Unfortunately, the article does not provide any specific designer names and only refers to these designers as "French style experts."[26] Regardless of its lack of specificity, the article certainly identifies Paris as the origin of Egyptian influence in flapper fashions. The title also suggests that ancient Egypt was a popular topic: it uses "Rameses" and "Ancient Egypt's Dress Is Demanded by Paris" to catch the reader's attention, which would not be a viable attention-grabbing technique unless readers already had some implicit interest in ancient Egypt.[27]

The 3 April 1920 edition of *The Washington Post* included a section titled "Of Interest to Women" that featured one paragraph titled "Fashion Visits Egypt."[28] This paragraph, like those of the two newspaper articles mentioned previously, emphasises the similarities between the dress of flappers and the clothing of ancient Egyptian women. The article cheekily claims that

> If Cleopatra should visit the earth this spring, she would not feel as poor Rip Van Winkle must have felt upon waking to find everything changed. She need only glance at the gowns of her sisters to feel perfectly at home.

[24] An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Emily Yoder.
[25] Special Cable Dispatch, op cit.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] The Washington Post, "Of Interest to Women: Featuring the Suit Blouse a Chic All-Day Frock Don't Burn Your Hands, Use This Fashion Visits Egypt a Brand-New Fan," 3 April 1920, https://www.proquest.com/docview/145823795/E46434149B094E1CPQ/2?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2020.

> The smartest of the new evening gowns drive their inspiration from Egypt...The spring hats show a decided Egyptian influence also.[29]

Multiple other sources specifically from the year 1920 mention Egyptian influence in hats and dresses as well. An article from the 15 February 1920 edition of the *New York Times* similarly is titled "Egyptian Influence in Spring Hats...Early Models From Paris Are Reminiscent of Cleopatra..."[30] Both of these articles also refer to these styles as originating in Paris, furthering the argument Egyptian influence in women's fashion from 1920 to 1922 was born in France. It appears that even French sportswear (worn primarily by spectators of sports) in 1920 featured Egyptian-inspired designs, as revealed by an article by Sara Marshall Cook titled "French Ideas in Sports Clothes" in the 28 March 1920 edition of the *New York Tribune*.[31] This article includes a paragraph titled "From Old Egypt" that claims "Cleopatra lives in fashions as well as history. Ancient Egypt inspires some of the best of our new models, Egyptian effects supply the new and dominant note in many of our clothes."[32] Once again, the article points to Paris as the origin of these trends. Like other sources, it also mentions Cleopatra, suggesting that the historical figure generated interest in fashionable women of the time. This may be an effect of the 1917 film *Cleopatra*.

Emulating Theda Bara: *Cleopatra* (1917) and Feminine Eroticism

The 1917 film *Cleopatra*, starring Theda Bara, was a source of inspiration for women's beauty trends. The film itself has not survived to the modern-day, and evidence of very few scenes remains. However, records of the life of the actress Theda Bara (1885-1955), as well as multiple sources that can be used to explain the film's cultural impact, are available. The film most notably upended the

[29] Ibid.
[30] New York Times, "EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN SPRING HATS: Early Models From Paris Are Reminiscent of Cleopatra--Lace, Raffia Braids and Oilcloth Among the Materials," 15 February 1920, https://www.proquest.com/docview/97912706/95D08ECF6CF446B7PQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 11 December 2020. An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Emily Yoder.
[31] New York Tribune, "French Ideas in Sports Clothes," 28 March 1920, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1920-03-28/ed-1/seq-49/, Accessed 10 March 2021.
[32] Ibid.

period's ideas about female sexuality. Bara, portraying Cleopatra, is not only an ideal of feminine beauty but also unapologetically a sex symbol, which contradicted the idea of the time that sexuality was not implicitly present in women. Rather, women were expected to submit to men sexually and to not have desires of their own.[33] However, claims about women overthrowing out-dated models of sexuality entirely have been over-exaggerated. These claims are often tied to women entering the workforce as a result of the First World War; in reality, a mere 5% of women began to work for the first time during the war. There were more frequent discussions of sex as well as more frequent pre-marital sex during this period, but, as Valerie Steele notes in *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age*, it was "hardly promiscuity."[34] Bara was also a precursor to the flapper. Flappers were always identified with "explicit eroticism," and Bara was one woman who appeared publicly as such a symbol for feminine eroticism.[35] However, Bara certainly was not the first woman to challenge standards of acceptable nudity and eroticism in performance. She was notably preceded by Maud Allan (1873-1956) and Mata Hari (1876-1917), two women who performed eroticised dances in Europe that included calculated semi-nudity.[36] Although these two women performed during the first decade of the 1900s, the first performance of the "Dance of the Seven Veils" (an erotic dance from the theatre adaptation of Oscar Wilde's (1854-1900) *Salome*, which Maud Allan famously danced) in the United States took place at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.[37] Ashea Wabe (1871-1908) performed the dance and used the name "Little Egypt," indicating a tie to Egypt specifically (eroticised dancing was largely associated with Eastern culture during the late 1800s and early 1900s) that significantly predated Bara's "Cleopatra."[38]

[33] Carmelina Marie Raines, "The Ultimate Cleopatra: American Film's Conceptualization of Cleopatra", 1994, https://www.proquest.com/docview/304131988/citation/22FEE4C663264B1DPQ/1, Accessed 5 March 2021.
[34] Steele, 1985, op cit., p. 236.
[35] The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group et al., 2008, op cit., p. 1.
[36] Udo Kultermann, "The 'Dance of the Seven Veils'. Salome and Erotic Culture around 1900," 2006, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.bu.edu/stable/20067116?origin=crossref&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, Accessed 11 March 2021.
[37] Ibid., p. 205.
[38] Ibid., p. 205.

Bara's status as an ideal of physical beauty is reflected by an article titled "Some Beauty Hints From Ancient Egypt," which appeared in the 3 February 1918 issue of the *Los Angeles Times*. The article entices female readers with its two opening lines,

> Look, for a moment, behind the screen into Cleopatra's boudoir and learn the secrets of those graces which made Egypt's Queen the siren who charmed Caesar and Antony, the mightiest Romans of her day. Has Theda Bara, who impersonates the sumptuous Cleopatra in the film...used some of these arts?[39]

The wording used to describe Cleopatra, "siren" and "sumptuous", reflects Bara's portrayal of her as an alluring woman, and perhaps invites readers to use the beauty hints in the article to feel equally as enticing.[40] However, somewhat surprisingly, the article discusses beautification methods used historically by the ancient Egyptians but does not suggest modern-day equivalents. Nevertheless, it can be implied from the title as well as from the opening lines of the article that women felt some urge to imitate Bara's Cleopatra. Her appearance was seductive and alluring; as Jeremy Pascall writes in *A Pictorial History of Sex in the Movies*, "men adored, women emulated."[41] The *Los Angeles Times* article is one piece of evidence of that emulation. This article is also an example of the self-indulgence and self-beautification that was integral to the modern woman's cultural identity; rather than staying home to care for a house and children, the modern woman spent her domestic time applying makeup and beautifying her body.[42]

[39] Los Angeles Times, "Some Beauty Hints from Ancient Egypt.," 3 February 1918, https://www.proquest.com/docview/160440529/733D7C927FD14E5CPQ/1?accountid=9676 Accessed 10 December 2020. An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Emily Yoder.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Jeremy Pascall and Clyde Jeavons, *A Pictorial History of Sex in the Movies*, Hamlyn, London, England, 1976.
[42] Group et al., *The Modern Girl Around the World*, 35.

The "Real" Thaïs: Egypt's Treasures Employed as an Advertising Tactic

An article from the 17 April 1921 edition of the *Boston Daily Globe* details women's fashion trends from Paris. The article ("Riotous Colors Dazzle Paris...Thais of Egypt Never Dreamed of Such Gorgeous Combinations as French Gowns and Hats Now Display") particularly focuses on fabric colours and bold clothing combinations.[43] Despite emphasizing Egypt in its title, the article only includes one small paragraph about ancient Egypt. The majority of the writing discusses Parisian high society, a French actress, and new tailoring methods and colours in women's clothing. Therefore, it is unexpected that the title of the article would use ancient Egypt to draw readers into the publication. The one paragraph that does refer to Egypt, "Gone Old Egypt One Better," claims that the colour schemes used by the Paris dressmakers (referred to by the rest of the article) were accurate to those excavated at the tomb of Thais "a few years ago."[44] The "Thais" mentioned by the article refers to Thaïs of an opera by Jules Massanet (1842-1912) of the same name. In the opera (which was first performed in 1894), Thaïs is a courtesan singer whom a priest attempts to convert to Christianity before realizing that his aspirations are rooted in lust.[45] Contrary to the claim of discovering the tomb of the "real" Thaïs of the *Boston Daily Globe* article, it is unlikely that such a person whose story is told in the opera ever existed in actuality or that such an archaeological expedition ever occurred.[46] Nevertheless, the article claims that the Parisian fashions of 1921 were taken directly from the colours that the "real" Thaïs wore.[47] The archaeological claims of this source are faulty and vague:

A few years ago the cemetery of the Roman Emperor Hadrian's splendid court in Egypt...was excavated and the dry sand has preserved intact the bright colors of its

[43] Sterling Heilig, "RIOTOUS COLORS DAZZLE PARIS: Thais of Egypt Never Dreamed of Such Gorgeous Combinations as French Gowns and Hats Now Display", 17 April 1921, https://www.proquest.com/docview/504123939/B2346FB4F56B4F04PQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2020.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Thais", https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thais-Greek-courtesan, Accessed 9 December 2020.
[47] Heilig, op cit.

great ladies' last finery. Thais of the legend and the romance and the opera was one of them: that is to say, the real Thais was found.[48]

Because the article provides no specific information (exact date of the excavation, name of the leading archaeologist, et cetera) and because Thais of the opera was a fictitious character, it is likely that the author of the article used this misinformation to either attract more readers or encourage women to purchase or pay attention to the Parisian fashions mentioned. Following this logic, it also suggests that ancient Egypt was a viable selling point for women's clothing during the early 1920s. The article also supports Parisian origins of Egyptian-inspired fashion during this time period.

"Old as the Pyramids": Ancient Flappers

Earlier in 1921, one article that appeared in the 3 September 1921 edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, appropriately titled "Bobbed Hair Nothing New...Egyptian Flappers Did It 3000 Years Ago...Also Wore Short Skirts and Concealed Ears...,"[49] claims that "all the other fads and foibles associated with modern women's styles are as old as the pyramids" (Figure 4).[50] The article interviews museumgoers, who are astounded that ancient Egyptian women dressed remarkably similarly to modern women. The claims of the article are the results of reporting on an exhibit of Egyptian and Peruvian mummies that were displayed at Chicago's Field Museum. The article explains that the conclusion that ancient Egyptians dressed like modern flappers originated from the paintings on the mummies' sarcophagi, rather than from the mummies' appearances themselves.[51] The article includes one particularly poignant quotation that encompasses spectators' fascinations with the exhibit: "Why, ma, they're dressed just like the girls we see on Michigan Boulevard," exclaimed an aged visitor to his

[48] Heilig, op cit. An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Emily Yoder.
[49] An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Emily Yoder.
[50] Los Angeles Times,"BOBBED HAIR NOTHING NEW.: Egyptian Flappers Did It 3000 Years Ago; Also Wore Short Skirts and Concealed Ears; Peruvian Ancients, Too, Had Similar Styles.," 3 September 1921, https://www.proquest.com/docview/160986028/7A18CEFD03F94FE1PQ/2?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2020.
[51] Ibid.

wife."[52] This man's observation was not an uncommon one. An article from the 12 September 1921 edition of *The Washington Post* includes a nearly identical quotation from a visitor to the same exhibition at the Field Museum: "To judge by the garments displayed in the sarcophagi holding Egyptian mummies, the women of Cleopatra's day dressed somewhat like the women of today."[53] Despite the apparent shock of these two museumgoers at the fashions depicted on sarcophagi, elements of Egyptian influence in women's fashion during the late 1910s and early 1920s were not simply a coincidence. It is also possible that connections between modern and ancient women, and perhaps also Egyptian-inspired fashion and beauty trends, could have arisen from museum visits.

BOBBED HAIR . NOTHING NEW.

Egyptian Flappers Did It 3000 Years Ago.

Also Wore Short Skirts and Concealed Ears.

Peruvian Ancients, Too, Had Similar Styles.

Figure 4

Los Angeles Times, Author Unknown, 15 September 1921, Los Angeles, California, United States.

[52] Ibid.

[53] The Washington Post, "CHATS WITH VISITORS: Finds Modern Fashions Follow Egypt's. Says Pacific Ocean Is Sinking.," 12 September 1921, https://www.proquest.com/docview/145860728/6FDE752EC43B4926PQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2020.

Metropolitan Museum Exhibit Captivates Fifth Avenue Designers (1919-1920)

An additional source of influence occurred in women's jewelry designs, specifically on Fifth Avenue in New York City, that was inspired by an Egyptian exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 5). A newspaper article that ran in the 16 May 1920 edition of the *Los Angeles Times* titled "Patrons of Fifth Avenue Ape Mummy...Egyptian Princess, 4000 Years Old Sets New York Jewelry Fashions" discusses the impact of the exhibit.[54] The exhibition displayed artefacts (Figure 6) that Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) excavated in 1914 from the Egyptian tomb of Sat-Hathor-Iunut, a princess, that were purchased afterward by the Metropolitan Museum.[55] Among the artefacts found were "costly baubles...shining pectorals of the deepest lapis lazuli and dainty amulets of dark carnelian, popular in the years now lost in a misty past" as well as "her favorite amethyst necklaces."[56] The article praises the workmanship and luxury of the jewelry collection in the museum. A 19 December 1919 *New York Times* article that was published the day after the exhibition opened similarly regards the exhibition. It describes how the jewelry is made "of gold of the greatest purity, with almost no alloy...of simple but beautiful workmanship."[57] It seems that this particular collection of artefacts received attention for its splendor and luxuriousness. The collection received public acclaim from newspapers. The *Los Angeles Times* article characterises the jewelry inspired by the finds as

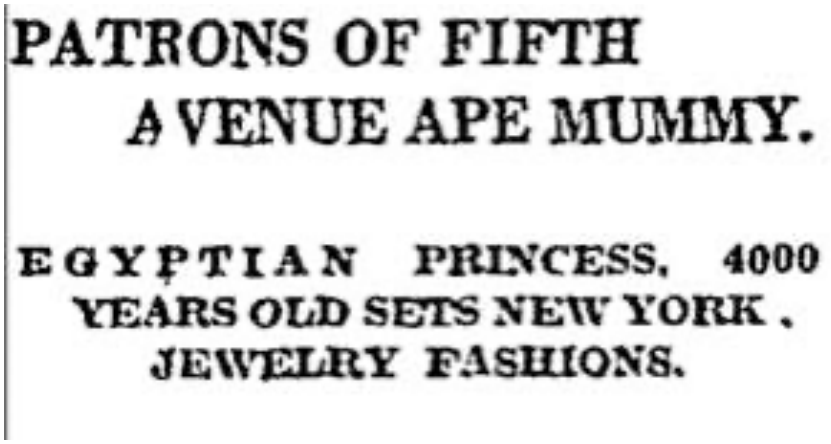
> New York jewelry shop windows at present display ornaments of platinum and diamonds patterned after the designs of some of the Princess Sat-

[54] Los Angeles Times, "Patrons of Fifth Avenue Ape Mummy.: Egyptian Princess, 4000 Years Old Sets New York Jewelry Fashions.," 16 May 1920, https://www.proquest.com/docview/160766225/CA1219C342BC48FEPQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 9 December 2020.

[55] The birth year and death year of Sat-Hathor-Iunut are unknown.

[56] A. P. Night Wire, op cit.

[57] New York Times, "EGYPTIAN JEWELS IN ART MUSEUM: Treasures Were Found in Hidden Niche of Tomb of Princess Sat-Hathor-Iunut. NECKLACES OF AMETHYST Archaeologists Found Sarcophagus of 'Royal Daughter' Had Been Robbed and Even Mummy Taken.," 19 December 1919, https://www.proquest.com/docview/100322724/4E7F6A32678F4E9APQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2020.


PATRONS OF FIFTH
AVENUE APE MUMMY.

EGYPTIAN PRINCESS, 4000
YEARS OLD SETS NEW YORK.
JEWELRY FASHIONS.

Figure 5

Los Angeles Times, A. P. Night Wire, 16 May 1920, Los Angeles, California, United States.

> Hathor-Iunut's trinkets. The craftsmanship of the Twelfth dynasty...however, have not been outdone by in skilled workmanship by the jewelry makers of today, say connoisseurs.[58]

This is reminiscent of current museum gift shops and signals a micro-trend in women's fashion that can be concretely traced to one specific cause.

The Flapper is Once Again Spotted in Museum Exhibitions

Although it is commonly understood that the "Egyptomania" phenomenon of the 1920s gained significant momentum following the November 1922 discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb, the sources cited demonstrate clear evidence of the beginnings of this widespread interest in ancient Egypt prior to the famous discovery, particularly in regard to dress history. In 1923, many more articles arose that emphasised the connection between modern flappers' appearances and those of ancient Egyptian women. These articles are strikingly similar to the previously mentioned "Fashion Visits Egypt," "Bobbed Hair Nothing New," and "Chats With Visitors: Finds Fashion Follows Ancient Egypt." One article, from the 24 February 1923 edition of *The Chicago Defender*, titled "Modern Girls Were Excelled by Flappers on the River Nile" even claims to have discovered the

[58] A. P. Night Wire, op cit.

Figure 6

Pectoral and Necklace of Sithathoryunet with the Name of Senwosret, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1887-1878 B.C., © 2000–2021 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

origination of the flapper by observing Egyptian exhibits at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[59] The article originally appeared in the *New York Globe* and its author, Martha Harris, makes no connections to the discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb.[60] Rather, she compares ancient Egyptian makeup, specifically dark eye makeup and reddened cheeks, to flapper makeup. Harris

[59]Martha Harris, "Modern Girls Were Excelled by Flappers on the River Nile," 24 February 1923, https://www.proquest.com/docview/100322724/4E7F6A32678F4E9APQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 10 December 2021.

[60] The birth year and death year of Martha Harris are unknown.

also compares the headwear worn by ancient Egyptian women to that worn by the modern girl. She writes about the similarities between ancient Egyptian fashion and beauty and modern fashion and beauty that the "actual proofs that such was the case are out in plain sight in the Egyptian rooms at the Metropolitan."[61] It seems that Harris has done her own research on this topic that is entirely separate and distinct from King Tutankhamen's tomb, which demonstrates an interest in the similarities between flappers and ancient women that was removed from mainstream "Egyptomania" (surrounding Tutankhamen) at the time. Harris even mentions working with library archives at the Metropolitan Museum to learn more about the beautification methods used by ancient Egyptian women; her stance on the "ancient flapper" seems more academic than those of earlier articles that make similar claims. However, even though the article does not explicitly mention King Tutankhamen, it is still possible that it arose out of widespread attention towards ancient Egypt. Another article, titled "Beauty Parlors Old as Civilization: Not in Gay Paris or on Flippy Fifth Avenue Did Art of Beauty Manufacture Originate, but in Ancient Egypt" makes similar claims to "Modern Girls Were Excelled by Flappers on the River Nile" about ancient and modern makeup.[62] The article was published in the 1 July 1923 edition of the *Los Angeles Times* and entices readers with the opening line "Did you, oh flapper of today, fancy that you knew more about the art of beauty than your ancestors did?"[63]

[61] Martha Harris, op cit.
[62] Sarah Comstock, "Beauty Parlors Old as Civilization: Not in Gay Paris or on Flippy Fifth Avenue Did Art of Beauty Manufacture Originate, but in Ancient Egypt," 1 July 1923, https://www.proquest.com/docview/161539643/E219F2B775AC47A7PQ/1?accountid=9676, Accessed 11 December 2020.
[63] Ibid.

Conclusion

Sources such as "Riotous Colors Dazzle Paris...Thais of Egypt Never Dreamed of Such Gorgeous Combinations as French Gowns and Hats Now Display", "Ancient Egypt's Dress Is Demanded by Paris: Gowns Would Cause Rameses to Stare, Might Also Bring Police Inquiry," and "Egyptian Influence in Spring Hats...Early Models From Paris Are Reminiscent of Cleopatra..." all illustrate the presence of ancient Egyptian-inspired trends in popular media between 1917 and 1922. These sources, coupled with references to Theda Bara in beauty articles, the "Modern Egypt" cartoon, multiple claims that the flapper was first seen in ancient Egypt, using the "real Thais" to entice readers, and jewelry inspired by Egyptian jewelry at the Metropolitan Museum all illustrate the widespread interest in ancient Egypt even before November 1922, the popular opening of the tomb of Tutankhamen. They also suggest that this interest originated in Parisian fashion trends, the 1917 *Cleopatra*, and museum exhibitions and conflate the modern girl with ancient Egyptian women. Perhaps one factor in the popular interest in the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen was the preexisting prevalence of ancient Egyptian trends; women's fashion and beauty trends created an environment where women were already bound to be enthusiastic about the discovery of ancient Egyptian artefacts. Additionally, conflations between the modern girl or flapper and ancient Egyptian women allowed flappers to see themselves in depictions of stylish, ancient women that were popularised in media and in museum exhibitions as ancient Egypt became used as a mechanism to advertise to the trendy new woman.

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Book Reviews

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Fashioning Spain, From Mantillas to Rosalía, **Francisco Fernández de Alba and Marcela T. Garcés, Editors, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2021, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 33 Black-and-White Illustrations, 215 pages, Hardback, £75.00.**

A nation is a concept that may change over time and depends on cultural, ethnic and social perceptions. A nation must not be mistaken with the concept of state as a state comprehends a territory. In other words, one can find nations within states which is very current in countries such as the United Kingdom, Uganda and even Spain, which has regions with strong national identities such as Catalonia, Andalusia, Castile and the Basque Country.

Fashioning Spain: From Mantillas to Rosalía is a book that encapsulates how fashion and the act of dressing may shape the conception of a nation. From material culture such as mantillas, to the Franco era, where fashion was conceived as an important tool to change Spain's international image and the transition to democracy. As the book's introduction mentions, "its framework mirrors the cyclical nature of fashion" (p. 20) exploring how fashion's material and immaterial objects fashioned the meaning of Spain through the years. Moreover, it illustrates how politics played a fundamental role in fashion, and how the relationship between the two is symbiotic. Overall, this book evaluates the creation of the idea of a nation through fashion, and by making Spain its case study, it tries to dock various perceptions of the Spanish nation. As stated before, Spain is a state with several nations. Although the link between fashion and nation has been

previously explored, it is a subject that needs more research as there are countless case studies and contexts that may help illustrate more clearly how a nation is built through fashion or how fashion may be used as a nation branding tool.

The link between fashion and national identity has been previously explored by renowned fashion academics such as Jennifer Craick (2009), Simona Segre Reinach (2011), and Philip Kotler and David Gertner (2002). Thus, Craick explored the Australian case study, where she observed that the State of Australia has created a notion of "Australianness" by using aboriginal motifs, swimwear and bush wear. Moreover, Segre Reinach made an important approach of how fashion and clothing can impact the perception of national identity and how nation–states have an interest in being recognized as international fashion hubs. *Fashioning Spain* provides a necessary perspective on the creation of national identity through clothing and fashion. Spain without a doubt is an important case to observe and study as its rich cultural legacy impacts the personal experiences of citizens and the national perception is constantly evolving.

Even though the organisation of the book is not intended to be chronological, it is consistent with exploring how different realms, such as fashion media, museums and even comics, can facilitate how fashion can mould national imaginaries. The fact that the authors have chosen to observe how a nation is constructed and shaped under these scopes, shows a consciousness of the different dimensions of fashion (material and immaterial) and how the act of dressing is a political one. Furthermore, the book is entertaining and provides visual material that can help readers conceive the information more tangibly. Not to mention, the book is well written and adds relevant examples, using sources of important cultural theories that were implemented, and mentions prominent Spanish fashion historians. This book can be read by people who have no previous knowledge of the subject.

Although the book presents a deep analysis of the way in which fashion (material and immaterial) acts as an important element in nation building and national perception, it only concentrates on the domestic sphere. The book would have been more complete if it had addressed the international perception that Spain has imposed with the aid of fashion. Spain's nation branding project is a case of success, and it would have been interesting to see how it developed through fashion, considering that fashion can serve as an international ambassador.

The book highlights the different nationalities of Spain and how material culture shaped each one of them. How the mantilla is important for Andalusian identity and how a digital museum is consecrated to the conservation and display of Catalan memory. The different authors of this book heavily relied on research methodologies oriented towards visual analysis, document analysis, and archival visits. As fashion was the main object of study, it was only natural to rely on visual analysis methodologies. In addition, chapters written by Movida Alberto Villamandos, Kathleen M. Vernon and Olga Sendra Ferrer depend on documents such as comics and fashion magazines, where the authors execute semiotic analyses, observing written elements and images to elaborate proper conclusions. Moreover, chapters written by Juan Gutiérrez and Nicholas Wolters rely more on archival visits to the Museo del Traje and the Digital Fashion Museum of Catalonia, where the authors inspected the collections and considered their contribution to Spanish memory and culture (pp. 165–212).

Fashioning Spain: From Mantillas to Rosalía is a book that materializes the importance of fashion for nation building. Unquestionably, Spain is a country that presents many nuances in national terms and its rich fashion heritage has had an impact on culture, politics and social perceptions of "Spanishness." This book is complete in the sense that it explores the domestic perception of Spain through mantillas, comics, fashion media, celebrity culture and museums. Nevertheless, it falls short in understanding how Spanish fashion may be a key player in the international perception of Spain or how the Spanish state may use fashion as a vehicle for its international agenda. Despite this, *Fashioning Spain* is a significant reference for the construction of literature regarding fashion and nation and it is an open invitation to continue to explore how this phenomenon manifests in different cases. Readers should consider the purchase of this book if they are interested in learning more about Spanish fashion, Spanish politics and nation building processes.

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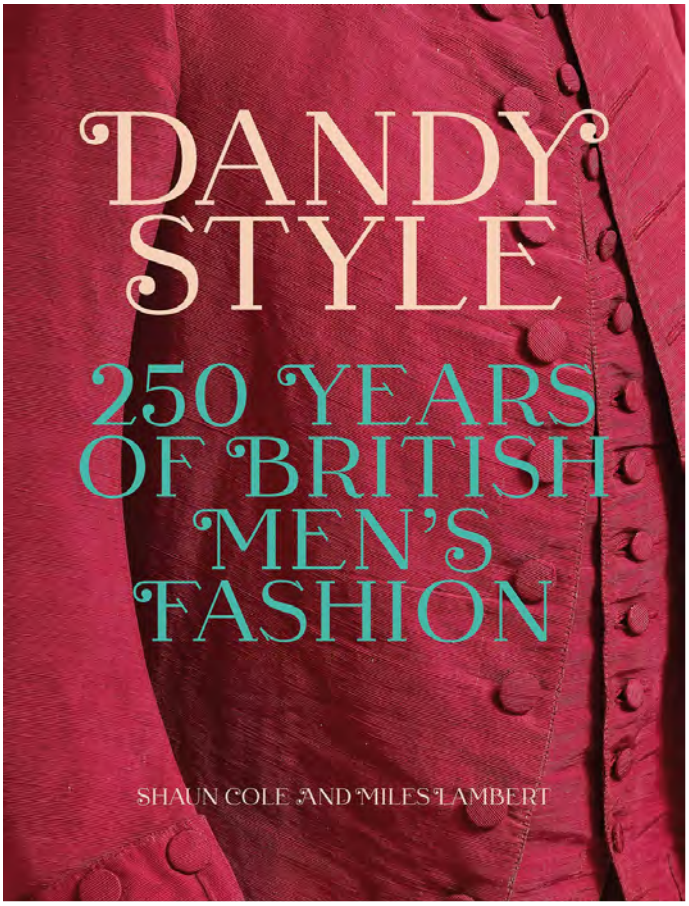

Dandy Style: 250 Years of British Men's Fashion, **Shaun Cole and Miles Lambert, Editors, Yale University Press, London, England, 2021, Notes, Select Bibliography, Index, Acknowledgements, List of Contributors, Picture Credits, 114 Colour Illustrations, 167 pages, Hardback, £25.00.**

Unlike nature, where the gorgeous peacock overshadows the dingy peahen, fashion history has tended to study women's clothing far more than men's. However, recently the tide has been changing and male fashion has attracted more attention and careful study. A useful select bibliography can be found in the end pages of *Dandy Style: 250 Years of British Men's Fashion.* Christopher Breward's 1999 study of male consumption in the late nineteenth century presented in *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860–1914* examined the urban man, while Peter McNeil's 2018 publication *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World* rediscovered the precursor to the dandy and put him in his historical and literary context. *The Men's Fashion Reader* edited by Vicki Karaminas and Peter McNeil in 2009 explored many of the key themes and methodology of male fashion. Publications have examined individual items of clothing such as the suit and Jermyn Street shirt. Confirming the increasing relevance and interest in male self-fashioning, The Victoria and Albert Museum will present its major exhibition *Fashioning Masculinities: The Art of Menswear* in March 2022.

The lavishly produced *Dandy Style: 250 Years of British Men's Fashion* is written to accompany the inaugural exhibition in the new Costume Gallery at the

Manchester Art Gallery (scheduled to open late 2021). An introductory chapter by Shaun Cole and Miles Lambert puts the dandy in an historical context, from well-known figures such as Beau Brummell and Oscar Wilde to the images of black dandy and photographer "Travis" (Jason Evans) and Lubaina Himid's *Dandy* of 2010.

It is followed by a series of interlinking essays offering different approaches to male fashion through the history of particular types of garments, the strategies behind museum curation and displays, the materiality of wear and tear in clothing, the interrogation of visual sources such as paintings and fashion plates, the dandy in performance, extravagance and subversion in menswear, and finally a round-up of contemporary British male fashion. The objects featured and supporting illustrations are largely taken from the collections of Manchester museums and offer interesting juxtapositions, pairing surviving clothing with paintings of the same date or linking contemporary fashion to its historical inspirations.

Miles Lambert's essay on creative collecting explains how museums, with a particular focus on Manchester, collect dress. This process is often shaped by the vagaries of survival and biases of donors and curators. The discussion of life stories of men's clothes by Ben Whyman makes the case for using clothing to create or enhance biographical research, using the donated wardrobes of Sir Roy Strong, the former museum director and author, and socialite Mark Reed, to think about their lives and what their clothing reveals. Reading about how the stretched buttonhole on Roy Strong's flies reveals the changes in his body over the years he owned and wore a favourite velvet suit feels uncomfortably intimate, perhaps supporting the case that the biographies of the object and the subject are indeed intertwined. Mark Reed's chosen wardrobe and self-proclaimed love of fashion puts him in good company with the dandies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Joshua M. Bluteau examines the suit from an anthropological perspective, positing it as a garment so universal, so unexceptional and even banal, that it can confer almost a shield of invisibility on its wearer. However, unlike the dull off-the-peg suit, vivid colours or careful tailoring can make the suit a striking

garment. A bright yellow polyester–cotton plush suit from the late 1960s is illustrated facing the iconic image of the pin–striped Winston Churchill holding a wartime tommy gun. Bluteau describes the suit as "a cleverly crafted expression of an idealised form of masculinity, physically realised in the form of cloth, thread, padding and buttons" (p. 68) and one of the strengths of this publication is the way in which it looks beneath the surface of male clothing to consider it as a form of self–actualisation and a way to shape the presentation of the body, slimming it with stripes or using a bold pattern to create a more powerful presence. Does the suit "remain indelibly important, and an essential component of a man's wardrobe" (p. 73) though? Arguably, the move towards casual dress in many workplaces and in social spaces makes the suit an occasional garment at best for many men and it will be interesting to see whether it can continue to hold its iconic status in future years.

The chapter on portraiture and painting by Shaun Cole, Miles Lambert and Rebecca Milner ranges from the painted silks of Joseph Wright of Derby and Pompeo Batoni to David Hockney's painting of his love interest, Peter C, examining how useful a source portraiture is for the study of fashion and how it serves to express the character of the sitter. This is followed by a look at the dandy in performance by Kate Dorney, with a particular focus on the use of military uniform by mid twentieth century artists such as the Beatles and Mick Jagger, subverting the conventional ideas of militarism with fairground colours and gold braid. Jimi Hendrix's appropriation of a nineteenth century military tunic, combined with his natural hair, had an edge of defiance which was echoed in the aggressive posturing of punk style.

Established notions about the dullness of conventional male fashion are comprehensively negated by Miles Lambert's examination of the startlingly bright colours, decorative embroidery and splendour of surviving eighteenth century dress, as well as the twentieth century creations of Alexander McQueen and Vivienne Westwood. Even the eighteenth–century man could enjoy his comfortable *banyan* or a patterned waistcoat. The illustrations of a pink silk damask dressing gown from 1840–1860 or the floral embroidery on the lapels and cuffs of a late nineteenth century smoking jacket certainly show that men had access to colourful, attractive clothing as well as dark frock coats.

Shaun Cole looks at how casual fashion and sportswear allowed men to escape from the strictures of the suit, with an emphasis on comfort and a growing distinction between work and leisure wardrobes. Edward, Prince of Wales, later Duke of Windsor, brought soft collars, Fair Isle sweaters and loud checks into fashion, in what his memoir described as "this freer and easier democratic age" (p. 130) although his embrace of democracy probably extended no further than the world of dress. Identity through dress was important to subcultures such as the mods and skinheads or the football casuals, associated with what Mairi MacKenzie defined as a form of "British working–class dandyism" (p. 134). Athleisure, represented by the tracksuit, jogging pants or hoodie, is probably more relevant to many modern men than the suit, particularly in the recent period of Covid home–working but it still attracts classist judgments, despite its reinvention by contemporary designers such as Owald Boateng and Raf Simons. The final chapter by Jay McCauley Bowstead shows the resurgence of male catwalk fashion and its links with earlier dandyism.

This book does not aim to offer a chronological history of 250 years of menswear, rather an exploration of topics and methodologies, offering the reader a range of approaches and an invitation to think about menswear as a serious topic of investigation, as the product of social, economic and cultural factors and as part of rethinking our conception of gender, masculinity and male self–presentation. As such it should be a useful addition to the shelves of those interested in fashion, but also in gender and identity.

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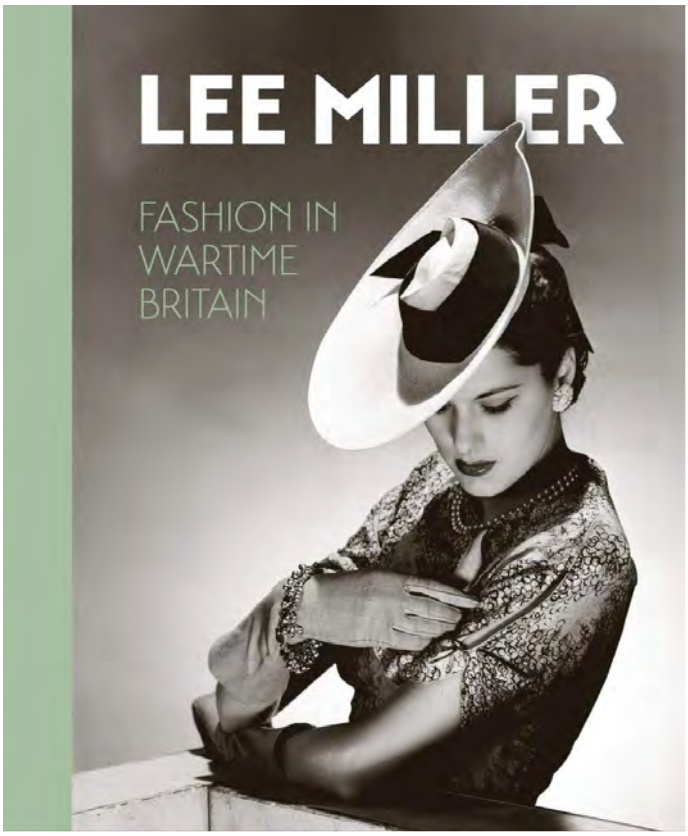

Lee Miller: Fashion in Wartime Britain, Ami Bouhassane, Robin Muir, and Amber Butchart, Lee Miller Archives Publishing, Muddles Green, East Sussex, England, 2021, Notes, Credits, 123 Black-and-White Illustrations, 7 Colour Illustrations, 165 pages, Hardback, £29.95.

World War II gave Lee Miller an opportunity to become a fashion photographer for *Brogue* (British *Vogue*) and she took it. Most of the male photographers employed by the magazine were taken away by the war effort, and the editor, Audrey Withers, needed Miller's knowledge of fashion and talent as a photographer. She gave both with diligence and generosity. In this period of "make do and mend," she ran *Brogue*'s studio, helped sustain the magazine, and crafted its proto-feminist message to the women who were also keeping the country going. *Lee Miller: Fashion in Wartime Britain* presents the photographs she produced for the magazine from 1939 to 1944. Ami Bouhassane, Miller's granddaughter, identifies the imaginative resources into which she tapped in order to maintain the consistent production schedule the magazine required: "Lee's fashion photography contribution to the magazine was prolific. She had to draw on all of her previous experience, her imagination and her surrealist roots for new ideas for presenting the garments, hats and hairstyles especially for the features that were regularly repeated" (p. 13). Together Withers and Miller, a "formidable duo," as Bouhassane describes them, kept *Brogue* running and never missed an edition (p. 13).

Miller's work as a fashion model, her collaboration with Man Ray, and the photojournalism she produced during the allied advance across Europe are all well known. *Lee Miller: Fashion in Wartime Britain* focuses attention on a period

in her career that has been overshadowed, or viewed as only transitional. Featuring materials held in the archive located in East Sussex, the 130 photographs included in the book are its primary features. The majority of the images are printed full page, and many of them have never been exhibited or seen before. Together they reveal how often Miller's fashion photographs meditate on the practice of making images, and a few of images slyly reflect on how the figure of "woman," conflated with visuality itself, has historically been the pivot of such making. Viewers can also detect the surrealist experimentation pulsating within these photographs. With her "surrealist eye," Miller composed dynamic poses, sinuous lines, and sensuous patterns of light, shadow, and texture that imaginatively test the lady-like formality of the fashion photographs and the practical, utilitarian order the war demanded (p. 26).

The fashion photographs are preceded by three short essays that give refreshingly detailed contexts for the images. Bouhassane writes a broad introduction to Miller's work at *Brogue* and places it within the arc of her grandmother's oeuvre, noting, along the way, the feminist assertions that moved through it. Robin Muir, a contributing editor to British *Vogue,* charts how, despite the threats and restrictions of the war years, the magazine came into its own and illuminates the role Miller played within that becoming. As an example of her innovative impact, Muir focuses on Miller's *en plein air* photographs in which she posed models against "jagged ruins and craters" of a blitzed and bombed-out London (p. 27). Fashion historian Amber Butchart tells a story about fashion's transformation during the war and documents how Miller's photographs reflect those changes: because they were not subjected to rationing restrictions, hats are the focus of many photographs; Utility clothes were produced to level out inequity, and Miller found a way to feature their practicality as pretty; uniforms were ubiquitous, and Miller portrayed how women "suffuse[ed]" them with "glamour" (p. 39). Together, these writers show a deep appreciation for Miller's talent and the particularities of her photographic style. They get inside how she composed the photographs and give a detailed picture of her photographic practice: the techniques she created, the advice she took, the modelling skills upon which she built, how she allowed the sign systems of war (barbed wire, military uniforms, rubble, eye shields) to infiltrate her imagery.

Images and illustrations frame the essays, enlivening the contexts they evoke. The portrayal of Miller's camera was a welcome surprise, as it grounds the imaginary of the photographs in the history of image–making technologies. The photograph of Miller's Rolleiflex, "her weapon of choice," draws attention to the textures of its black and silver design, the mirrored surfaces of its pearl–coloured lenses, and the worn curves and bends of its strap (p. 13). To the right of the camera is a contact print of a photograph Miller took in 1939. With a red pencil, Miller drew a square around the woman in the photograph to indicate where it needs to be cropped. This red square rhymes with Miller's signature in the bottom right corner as well as the hint of red on the messy edges of the woman's hair that signals the need for retouching. Such details add layers of skill and embodiment to the picture of Miller's work this book offers.

The first photograph inside *Lee Miller: Fashion in Wartime Britain* is a self–portrait Miller took in 1940. She is posed between two sculptures of sphinxes, and the figure in the foreground has an expression that is uncannily alive and almost appears to be looking into the camera. By contrast, Miller appears in profile. She looks beyond the frame with a wistful but slightly blank stare. The pose of her well–lit white hand is awkward, two fingers are bent and the other two are straight. Her nails have been painted with a dark polish that draws attention to the soft texture of the fur on her collar and sleeve, but her fingers also suggest the desire to hold something, perhaps a camera. With its explicit focus on the layering of aesthetic objects, poses, glances, textures, and surfaces, this self–portrait can be read as a meditation on the fact that Miller's eventful life and career brought so much together (fashion, war, modelling, Surrealism, beauty, sexuality, feminism, and violence). Maybe the photograph stands for the way Miller gave herself over to the various arrangements of history in which she found herself and mined them for what they could give her to hold.

The value of *Lee Miller: Fashion in Wartime Britain* far exceeds its price. It provides a detailed picture of a significant period in Lee Miller's life and career, but also contributes to the larger project of giving fashion photography the seriousness it deserves, a project that has everything to do with valuing how women such as Miller negotiated the imperative to appear as a beautiful image, and with skill and dedication, made the visual world an arena of generative possibilities even as it was subjected to destruction.

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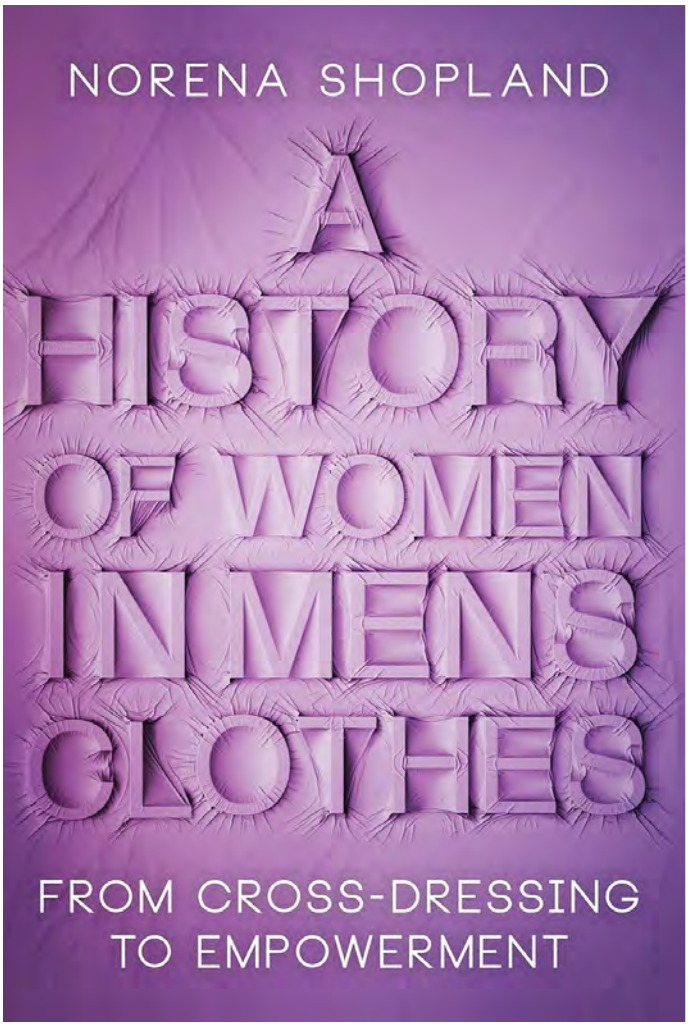

A History of Women in Men's Clothing: From Cross-Dressing to Empowerment, **Norena Shopland, Pen and Sword History, Barnsley, Yorkshire, England, 2021, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 32 Black-and-White Illustrations, 204 pages, Hardback, £22.00.**

Norena Shopland is an historian, museum professional, and author who specializes in LGBT Welsh history. Shopland has spent considerable time and effort constructing tools to accurately research and represent LGBTQIA history in her previous work, which includes *Forbidden Lives: LGBT Stories from Wales* (2017) and *A Practical Guide to Searching LGBTQIA Historical Records* (2021). The latter project builds off of a 2018 digital resource she generated with Daryl Leeworthy, called, *Queering Glamorgan: A Research Guide to Source the Study of LGBT History* wherein she analysed and compiled a variety of historical terminology utilized to describe queer people or non-heteronormative sexuality in the past to be more useful to historians and researchers in the present. All of this research lead to the 2021 publication reviewed here, *A History of W*omen in Men's Clothing: From Cross-Dressing *to Empowerment.* While this is not explicitly a queer studies text, Shopland's previous work in understanding the framing of marginal identities in nineteenth century publications and her efforts to democratize the historical record while centring gender and sexuality clearly play a large role in the construction of this text.

The introduction to this book is an essential read to understand the intricacies of Shopland's choices when it comes to the use of pronouns for her research subjects, the scope of the research, and the historical framing. The stories told here are those of nineteenth century people, mostly women, with a connection to the United Kingdom (either residing there or written about in UK news media). Male pronouns (he/him/his) are used when speaking of someone dressed as a man or passing as male, while female pronouns (she/her/hers) are used for those dressed as a woman. This can be confusing given that the pronouns can switch during a discussion of the same individual, but it is Shopland's attempt to honour the intent of the dresser without making assumptions about gender that would be without historical evidence. This feels like both a rational move and one that leaves space for queer potential. Of some 3000 narratives Shopland collected in researching this book, only about ten percent are included. Shopland is fully aware that more could and should be written on this topic, inviting people to take up the mantle and pen longer biographies on some of the women she highlights.

The chapters have artful titles taken from correspondence or newspaper articles included in the text, which make for a fun scavenger hunt as one progresses through the book. Each chapter has a thematic structure around reasons why one would change clothes. For instance, Chapter 1, "To See Lovely Things," discusses dress used to gain access to restricted spaces like art galleries or voting booths or churches. Chapter 2, "Individuals Not Distinguished," focuses largely on travel, and so on. Using accessible language to ask large questions about gender, Shopland provides a multitude of brief case studies within each chapter to illustrate that "cross-dressing, cross-working, and cross-living" (p. vii) were common occurrences throughout the nineteenth century. It may be more successful to provide fewer and longer case studies, but the sheer volume of narratives provided (cited in the notes for each chapter) clearly illustrates how common changing clothes was during this period.

A fashion historian looking for detailed visual descriptions, diagrams, and garment construction information will not find it within this book. There are passing references to the length of a trouser or the shape of an overcoat, but no details about tailoring or customization of men's clothing for a body with breasts or hips. One of the more interesting details about garments comes in the discussion of women traveling internationally and wearing men's ethnic dress

from outside the UK while on holiday. Since many of these garments were not form–fitting, they were considered appropriately modest and did not cause a stir. Overall, the actual dress included serves more as an illustration of multiple ways of being in the world, and to highlight the inequities nineteenth century women faced.

In her conclusion, Shopland writes, "In reality, there is no third sex, nor first or second. There is only a fluidity of disguise. By conforming to society's demands that men and women adhere strictly to the dictates of dress and behaviour, many people deny those aspects of themselves which are masculine for a woman or feminine for a man" (p. 183). She writes this not to negate the existence of a third, non–binary option for gender identity, but to expand and subvert the notion of gender altogether. Examples of contemporary men receiving criticism for wearing skirts are placed in contrast with historical women in pants to highlight that society has not moved past puritanical views of how dress should reflect the binary.

When conducting historical research, it is essential to consider both who was generating the source materials that are accessible today, and how our contemporary readings of the topic can cloud our understanding of the information presented. Shopland gracefully balances all of these issues. She acknowledges that men were the ones writing many of the articles she draws from and shies away from making large leaps in assuming the gender identities of the women about whom she writes. There are cases where transmasculine people are represented, but Shopland is careful in her representation and selection of pronouns. She does not erase the possibility of queer identity from the lives of any of the people about whom she writes, but does her best to let the correspondence and historical record speak. From her previous work on LGBTQIA archival terminology, her sensitivity to historical differences in the ways people considered their own gender and sexuality is evident in this work. This is not an easy task, but one that Shopland manages well.

This book is an excellent addition to scholarship that attempts to carve out space for understanding the lives of queer ancestors, as well as to create a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the lives of women. Shopland's humour and expertise make it an enjoyable and informative read, suitable for academic

contexts or casual browsing. While constantly regulated and observed, women have always found ways to subvert expectations and expand their horizons. Shopland proves that this task was often an easy one, though not without risk. As she notes, "this book leaves us pondering one point. The binary system failed – the gossamer nature of gender is torn. If one sex can so successfully reproduce the traits of the other, how stable are those boundaries separating sexes? How secure are the power and privileges of men when the justification of dominance fails?" (p. 182). Feminist acts of taking back power through dress in the nineteenth century were common, and Shopland invites readers to expand the body of knowledge on this topic with their own research and in their own local communities.

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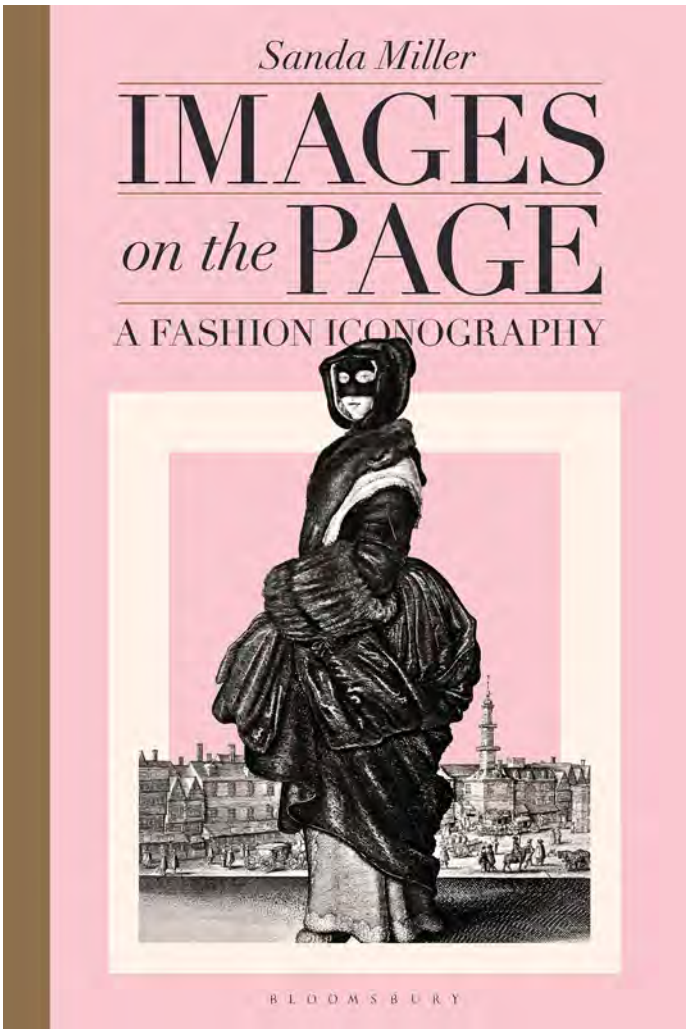

Images on the Page: A Fashion Iconography, **Sanda Miller, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2021, List of Illustrations, Acknowledgements, Notes, Bibliography, Index, 52 Black-and-White Illustrations, 296 pages, Hardback, £90.00.**

As an art historian, author Sanda Miller was always fascinated by iconography and its power to shed light on the deeper meanings of works of art. Iconographical analysis, codified by Erwin Panofsky in his seminal work *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939), is a well-established method used by art historians to interpret the layered meanings encoded in the images from the visual arts. This methodology, however, is relatively foreign to the academic study of dress – fashion images have hitherto been analysed by scholars from a predominantly descriptive or historical point of view. In *Images on the Page,* Sanda Miller challenges this approach, arguing that iconology can be successfully employed to "decode" fashion images as well – be they illustrations from fashion plates, books or magazines, photographs or even spatio-temporal events such as fashion shows – since they, too, have a story to tell and more profound layers of content to reveal.

The book is divided into six chapters, in which the author traces the history of fashion imagery (closely intertwined with art, social and cultural history) from the Renaissance to the present day and examines several examples of "images on the page" through the three different levels of interpretation theorised by Panofsky:

1. the "pre-iconographical description," which defines the "primary or natural subject;"
2. the "iconographical analysis," which identifies the "conventional meaning;"
3. the "iconographical/iconological (here the terms are used interchangeably) interpretation," which uncovers the "content or intrinsic meaning."

The latter is the most relevant in this case, and "consists in relating the dress to artistic and literary traditions and ideas as well as symbolic conventions of the culture in which it was worn" (p. 2).

In the first chapter, "Introduction: A New Tool for the Fashion Image: Iconography," the author illustrates her innovative method and applies it to two different types of images, a painting (Giorgione's *La Tempesta)* and a photograph (David La Chapelle's *Burning Down the House),* in order to prove that both can be analysed according to the iconographical model, provided they all deal with what humanist Leon Battista Alberti called *istoria*, namely storytelling.

Chapter 2, "Renaissance Books of Clothes," deals with the earliest (and until now poorly researched) examples of fashion illustration and costume or tailor books, starting from their antecedent, Villard de Honnecourt's *Sketchbook* (1225–1235), and focusing especially, among others, on *Il Libro del Sarto* (1540–1570), re-discovered by Fritz Saxl at the Fondazione Querini Stampalia in Venice and attributed to the Milanese tailor Gian Giacomo del Conte, Cesare Vecellio's *Degli Habiti Antichi et Moderni* and the *Trachtenbuch* by Matthäus and Veit Schwarz of Augsburg.

Chapter 3, "The Seventeenth Century: A New Profession – The Gentleman Journalist Writing for *Le Mercure Galant,*" other than dealing with the birth of the fashion magazine, offers an interesting insight on the influence of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, as well as Dutch genre painting, on fashion illustration of the time.

In Chapter 4, "The Eighteenth Century: From the Fashion Doll to the Fashion Plate," the author discusses topics such as the discovery of the communicative power of dress in the context of post-revolutionary France, where cultural changes, documented by fashion magazines, found an expression through dress,

and the advent of fashion plates, which also featured realistic representations of characters selected from the Third Estate, drawn "after nature" (pp. 146–153).

Chapter 5, "Capturing Modernity in Nineteenth Century France and England," mainly deals with the concept of modernity, embodied for instance by the figure of the *Parisienne,* and with the relationship between painting, fashion illustration, photography, literature and haute couture, whose interaction brought about a great innovation in the presentation of the "images on the page."

Special attention is devoted to Chapter 6, "Modernism," one of the author's main fields of interest which is further divided into three sections. The first one, "Fashion and Art; Is Fashion Art?," focuses on Paul Poiret, "the first couturier to bring art into fashion" (p. 189). Inspired by cubism, he also cooperated with the fauve painter Raoul Dufy, ushering modernism into the world of fashion. The author also mentions the birth of fashion photography, thanks to Edward Steichen and his artistic photographs of Poiret's latest collections in 1911, and presents a case study on fashion and art, namely the collaboration between Madeleine Vionnet and the futurist painter Thayaht. The second section, "The Photographed Image on the Page," outlines the prominence of fashion photography after the Second World War. Slowly replacing fashion illustration, photography became the "dominant mode of presenting images on the page" (p. 213), notably employed by Christian Dior for his New Look. Lastly, "The Fashion Show: Fashion as 'Spectacle'" deals with the fashion show and its storytelling from the 1990s on – an "extravagant public spectacle" (p. 241) pioneered as such by designers John Galliano and Alexander McQueen.

After this "voyage of discovery" (p. 249), the book significantly ends with a photograph of the "Detox Catwalk" fashion show, an eco–fashion campaign organised by Greenpeace in West Java in 2015, aimed at addressing pollution in the Citarum river. Like most twenty–first century images, this one has a very specific story to tell and message to convey, which is "far from comfortable," and this leaves us with the question: "what kind of images would reflect our alienated world today?" (p. 249).

This highly interdisciplinary and erudite publication successfully presents an innovative analysis of fashion illustration, previously neglected by scholars, with an approach based on art history methodology, developing ideas previously introduced by Marieke de Winkel in *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (2006) and Aileen Ribeiro in *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion 1600–1914* (2017). Thus, the author manages to shed a new light not only on dress history, but on social and cultural history as well.

Images on the Page was published in September 2021, only a few months after the author's untimely passing on 5 February 2021. Dr. Sanda Miller, born in Romania in 1942, was an art and fashion historian, critic, journalist and TV and radio broadcaster. She had been appointed Research Fellow at Southampton Solent University, United Kingdom, and, in recent years, taught at the Marangoni Institute in London and at the Milan Fashion Institute in Italy as a Visiting Lecturer. In her obituary, published in the Late Autumn 2021 issue of The Journal of Dress History, Peter McNeil, Distinguished Professor of Design History at the University of Technology in Sydney, author of the foreword to this publication, remembers her as "a true humanist thinker and something of a polymath, which gave her work on fashion and dress a depth and contextual richness often lacking elsewhere" (p. 162). Dr. Miller was also a member of The Association of Dress Historians and of the Advisory Board of The Journal of Dress History.

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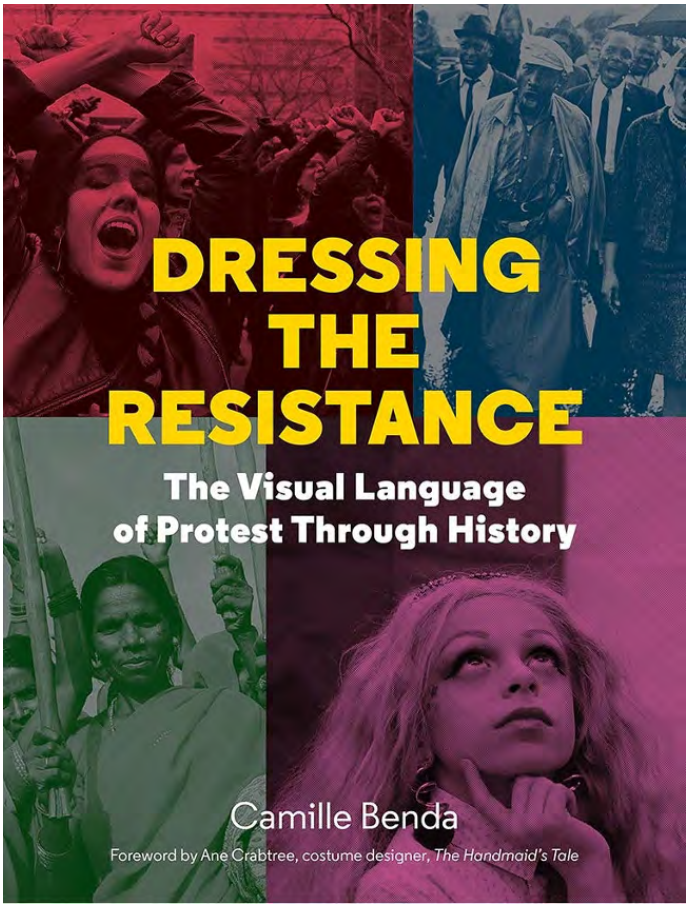
Giulia Mangone is an art historian, formerly curatorial assistant at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Austria), specializing in Old Masters painting. She completed her Master's degree in Art History at "La Sapienza" University in Rome with honours in 2017, with a dissertation about the influence of Metastasio's poetry on Gregorio Guglielmi's frescoes (1761–1763) in Schönbrunn palace, Vienna. She became passionate about dress history especially by participating in historical re-enactment events (Italian Risorgimento, Napoleonic Wars), as an educator and re-enactor. Her current interests include fashion history from the late fifteenth to the nineteenth century, with special

attention to the pictorial sources in the former Habsburg painting collections, and the Victorian era.



Dressing the Resistance: The Visual Language of Protest Through History, **Camille Benda, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, New York, United States, 2021, Contents, Foreword, Preface, Introduction, Acknowledgments, Notes, Bibliography, Image Credits, Index, 59 Black-and-White Illustrations, 110 Colour Illustrations, 208 pages, Hardback, £19.99.**

At this time of cultural, political, and environmental turmoil, the need for change has never been more imperative. *Dressing the Resistance: The Visual Language of Protest Through History* sets out a case for an in-depth analysis on dress and its infinite potential in reflecting one's identity, beliefs, and rights. Camille Benda, the author of the book, is a Los Angeles based costume designer, head of costume design at The California Institute of the Arts. She regularly holds dress history talks at several institutions of the likes of The Victoria and Albert Museum, The Costume Society, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of California, Berkley, and more. Benda also designs costumes for film, theatre and commercials across the United States and Europe.

After the foreword of Ane Crabtree, the multi-Emmy nominated costume designer for *The Handmaid's Tale,* which enhances the cross-cultural value of this work, Benda illustrates how her love for clothing turned into a profession and into a vocation, also highlighting how much of her cultural background and heritage both as a Czech and as an American influenced her perspective on the political and emotional power of clothes in addressing both otherness and belonging. The book is divided in three parts, each of which is constituted by

three extensive chapters illustrated by stunning iconographic material. These images are evocative as they carry a deep, emotional meaning which further enhances the written parts. Indeed, moving through and across the pages, the reader is flooded with colours and symbols of several cultures, with each shade of colour and type of fabric serving for a different cause.

The first section of the work includes an analysis on dress and status, where Benda explores the way clothes can visually explain and expand the narrative of unrepresented social groups. From a case study on denim and its political potential throughout the twentieth century, up to Nelson Mandela's choice of applying African colourful patterns on western clothing, the first chapter is dedicated to the infinite narratives that a dress can divulge, making it possible for silenced voices to speak up, be heard, and seen. Moving forward, the first section also offers some historical details on the roots of subcultures, their intrinsic subversive nature, and their manifestations through some of the most renowned groups in history. As they go on browsing through the pages, readers learn more about the teddy boys intimidating people on the streets in 1950s, the zoot suits rebelling against racism and inequality, as well as deepen their knowledge about the rudeboys, mods, hippies, and punks. Concerning this last point, the part dedicated to the legendary figure of Vivienne Westwood and her activist fashion is particularly noteworthy. The section closes with a focus on the elite resistance, an investigation deeply enriched with sociological and philosophical references on the French Revolution. Following this, the author focuses on the cultural shift of the twentieth century with a case study on Christian Dior and Claire McCardell, both working on women's clothes with two very different perspectives. From Benetton's shocking campaigns during the 1990s, up to today's Black Lives Matter and young activists' powerful fashion choices, Chapter 3 ends with a reflection on the multi-faceted aspect of dress as a means both to unite and stand out.

Part two of the book is dedicated to militant dress, and how clothes can be used to diverge from social rules. Benda re-examines the concepts contained in Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* by adding the idea of "conspicuous frugality" (p. 84) to the original conspicuous leisure theory. Working oppositely to the "conspicuous outrage" professed by punks, according to Benda, "conspicuous frugality" stands for those who took forward crucial

causes with rather discreet clothes. That is the case of Gandhi's nonviolent movement, as well as the powerful activism of Martin Luther King and Malcom X. Moving to the fifth chapter, the readers find themselves in the most colourful section of the book, which shows the potentialities of colour and its meanings when applied to a space of protest. Lastly, Chapter 6 closes the second section discussing about militant dress and the influence of military clothing through the ages; starting with the Black Panther's iconic military look, the chapter focuses on the study of the bomber jacket and the story of the one who wore it, namely leader of the United Farm Workers union Cesar Chavez.

In the conclusive section, the author focuses on costume and its performative function, by also emphasizing its disruptive messages visually conveyed through the performative arts. In this last section, the polyhedric costumes of David Bowie stand out, alongside early American feminist Amelia Bloomer and her "suffrage costume" (p. 149) made of innovative pants called *bloomers* after her. Following other brilliant examples of disrupting the ordinary through costumes, one moves to the second chapter of the third section, titled, "Portable Protest: Hide and Seek" (p. 160), a very interesting study on small but evocative symbols of protest. These portable objects can be small like a ring, a badge, a hat, or a handkerchief, but their emotional baggage can be incredibly powerful. Benda proposes a reflection on the French Revolution's Knitters (from the French *Les Tricoteuses*), and on the revolutionary red hat. The chapter goes on describing clothes of concealment and disguise, suggesting the Pussy Riot's protest for women rights as an example and goes on by showing poignant cases of rebellion, like the keffiyeh, and the purses worn by middle class abolitionist women in the nineteenth century depicting slaves, abolitionist poems, pamphlets, and letters. Coming to contemporary moments in history, Benda mentions late queer visual artist Kawira Mwirichia and her reinvention of the traditional kanga cloth turned into a symbol of LGBTQ+ rights.

The last chapter focuses on skin and the power of nakedness in conveying messages of protest. This chapter is one of the many in this book to have very outstanding pictures making the text even more resonant. Amongst the several examples described, Benda recalls the events of the Ferguson Protests in 2015 after the police shooting of Michael Brown, displaying the picture of a young protester wearing nothing but a shirt on his head and a mask to protect himself

from gas, thus conveying a message of vulnerability. The conclusive notes shed light on the young activists, such as Nobel Peace Prize nominee Greta Thunberg who made of her yellow raincoat and braids a political and cultural statement, and actress and activist Yara Shahidi who fights for more Black culture visibility in the entertainment industry.

Dressing the Resistance: The Visual Language of Protest Through History represents a remarkable compendium of protests across the globe and across time, demonstrating to all kinds of readers (professionals and amateurs alike) the significance of dress in shaping identities and retaking the ones altered by distorting, unfair narratives. Also noteworthy is the collection of bibliographic references, which represents a very useful tool for those who wish to gain even more knowledge on the subject. The informative and entertaining narrative of the book is very accessible and certainly will leave the reader quivering for participating in future protests with more consciousness and with an investigating eye for the endless possibilities and hopes that clothes manifest.

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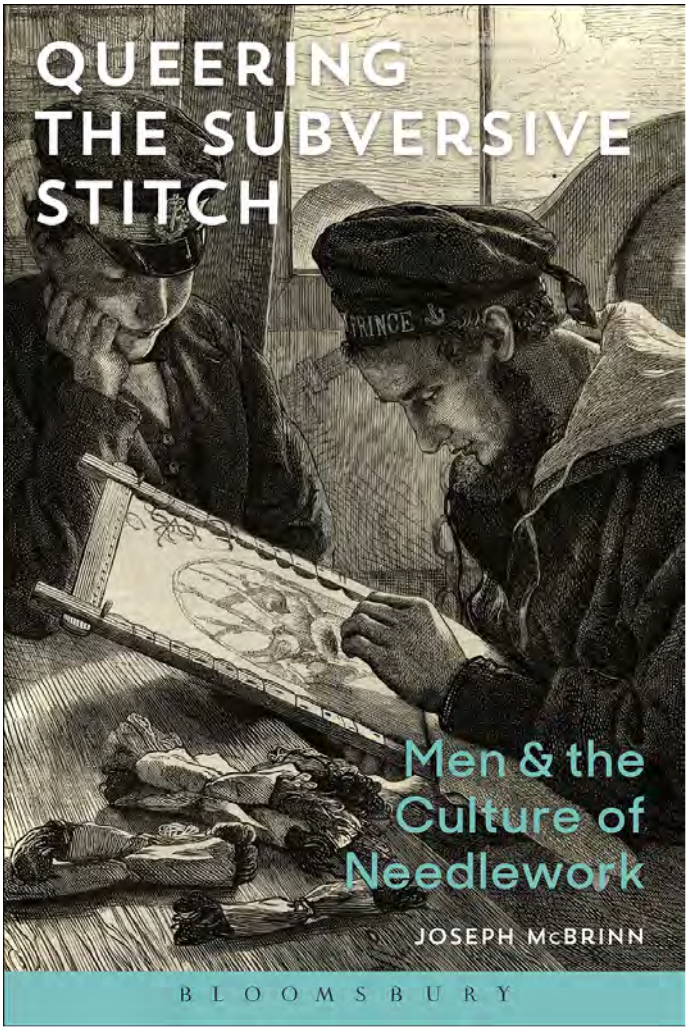

Queering the Subversive Stitch: Men and the Culture of Needlework, **Joseph McBrinn, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2021, Notes, Select Bibliography, Index, 71 Black-and-White Illustrations, 16 Colour Illustrations, 231 pages, Softback, £25.88.**

In *Queering the Subversive Stitch: Men and the Culture of Needlework*, Joseph McBrinn problematizes Rozsika Parker's 1984 publication *The Subversive Stitch*: *Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* and offers new/destabilizing readings of needlework. While drawing upon extant objects (those in museum archives and personal collections ranging mostly from the nineteenth century to the present), objects in digital archives, films, sitcoms (e.g. *Will & Grace*), photographs, personal diaries, novels, social media, magazines, advertisements, Etsy pages, Flickr albums, blogs, websites (e.g. eMbroidery by Jamie Chalmers known as "Mr. X-Stitch"), commercial patterns, memoirs, and exhibitions, McBrinn examines the plurality of masculinities through the needlework lens with some focus on intersectionality. Future readers interested in queer history may smile at some of the sources he draws upon, such as the *Make Yourself a Cuddly Clone* knitting pattern (p. 37) or the Tom of Finland cross-stitch kit (p. 38). Overall, his sources are robust and were used carefully and in conjunction with various queer theorists (e.g. Judith Butler, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Michel Foucault, and José Esteban Muñoz, just to name a few) to support his ambitious purpose to explore "how needlework operated in the making of modern masculinities through the exclusion, effacement and elision of men from its history" and the examination of the "presence of needlework in

medical, legal as well as socio-cultural discourses that gave birth to modern homosexual identities, their subsequent mediation through mass culture and in various forms of subcultural resistance" (p. 13).

Through various entanglements, the author brings light to the notion that "needle-wielding effeminate men and boys continue to face stigmatization, ostracism and even violence" (p. 47). Whereas the inclusion of stats on the troubles that men face (p. 9) may be understood, the stats provided do not break down the intersectional issues. For example, if men make up 95% of the prison population in the stats provided, how many of those men are people of colour? As for men's suicide rates, how many identify as trans? This is just one example where drawing upon Kimberlé Crenshaw's article "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour" (1991) would facilitate intersectional criticism.

In the introduction, McBrinn catches the reader's attention by describing the single interview Parker completed in 1984 for *The Subversive Stitch*. McBrinn described that when the journalist asked Parker why she did not include men in her publication, she responded with statistics that reported only 2% of British men engaged in needlework, about the same percentage as those who went to church, and that most men engaged in betting or football. Following this anecdote, he provides justification for why a study on men and men's needlework would assist in understanding the social construction of men, masculinities, and the rejection of needlework as an essentialized feminine activity. In some of these justifications throughout the book, McBrinn uses language such as "unrecorded" (p. 7), "omitted" (p. 8), "hidden history" (p. 50), "unfairly overlooked" (p. 125), and "excluded, effaced or elided" (p. 158). The readers should pay attention to use of this language that often is associated with justice work and remain critical to differences in language. One resource to view is the open-access module on equity versus equality, diversity versus inclusion produced by scholars at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill – Project READY: Reimagining Equity and Access for Diverse Youth.

In Chapter 2, "Needlework and the Creation of Masculinities: 'The Prick' of Patriarchy," the readers are provided an overview of the various ways men have

engaged with needlework and a very brief introduction to work on femininity and needlework. This chapter is used to question some of the earlier work on femininity and needlework. For example, McBrinn explains how Parker's feminist interrogation of seventeenth century needlework does not consider men's work such as Edmund Harrison's depiction of *The Circumcision of Christ* from 1687 and asks: "Does it say anything about his masculinity?" (p. 14).

In Chapter 3, "'Killing the Angel in the House': Victorian Manliness, Domestic Handicrafts and Homosexual Panic," McBrinn draws numerous connections between Victorian manliness and needlework. Henry James, an American writer, and various men who intersected with him such as Howard Sturgis, son of an affluent Boston banker and a novelist, are the focus of this chapter. McBrinn focuses on their personal consumption of embroidery, which he argues facilitated their same-sex fantasies for one another. The chapter also highlights work for public exhibition, Berlin woolwork, and Ernest Thesiger, a society figure and injured soldier, and his idea to engage needlework with occupational therapy through the Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry. The men examined in this chapter are argued to challenge the "Angel in the House" Victorian stereotype imposed upon women.

In chapter 4, "'The Mesh Canvas': Amateur Needlecrafts, Masculinity and Modernism," McBrinn draws upon numerous examples, yet has a strong focus on George Platt Lynes, a mid twentieth century photographer with interest in homoerotic imagery, and his circle of friends and lovers who engaged in much needlework. The readers are then brought into the stories from the 1970s and how men dealt with their anxiety surrounding the feminized craft such as using masculine language evident in Mark Dittrick's 1978 book *Hard Crochet*. This is the first chapter with imagery of a man of colour depicted on the cover of Rosey Grier's book *Needlepoint for Men* published in 1973.

In Chapter 5, "Masculinity and 'The Politics of Cloth': From the 'Bad Boys' of Postmodern Art to the 'Boys That Sew Club' of the New Millennium," McBrinn explores a range of examples in the latter twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Here is the discussion of the NAMES Project Memorial AIDS Quilt and Grant Neufeld's Revolutionary Knitting Circle.

This book certainly makes one think in new ways about the multiplicity of masculinities and the ways these different needlework–centred contexts shifted and shaped the various and evolving meanings, interpretations, and interactions. Overall, the book is highly recommended to the general reader and not just those interested in needlework and related histories. Despite the significant focus on white people, this book can help dispel some of the binary assumptions about masculinity, queerness, and gender. In the conclusion, McBrinn engages in an important shout out to Parker about the importance of on–going dialogue and criticism of one another's work, which speaks to the author's reflexivity during the research process.

Looking back at the title, purpose, examples, sources drawn upon, and the various arguments throughout the text, one thing that strikes is the unmarking of whiteness. That is, the title suggests the book is about men and the culture of needlework, which is certainly true, but the book focuses more specifically on white cisgender men with few references to men of colour or trans men. The book is certainly well researched, has well–developed arguments, has much nuance in the various interpretations following lots of paths and possibilities, and makes creative connections between the present and the past. One can agree with the author that "men and the culture of needlework is a stimulating subject of study and one worth sharing" (p. 162).

One last note is that the book has excellent images spread throughout, some of which include abstract or realistic depictions of the penis and testicles and other highly homoerotic imagery. Those not interested in seeing this due to their cultural beliefs, should read the book in its entirety and set aside the potential ethnocentric lens that might cloud appreciation of the various artistic expressions that McBrinn highlights that brought these various men pleasure, meaning making, and identity negotiations through needlework.

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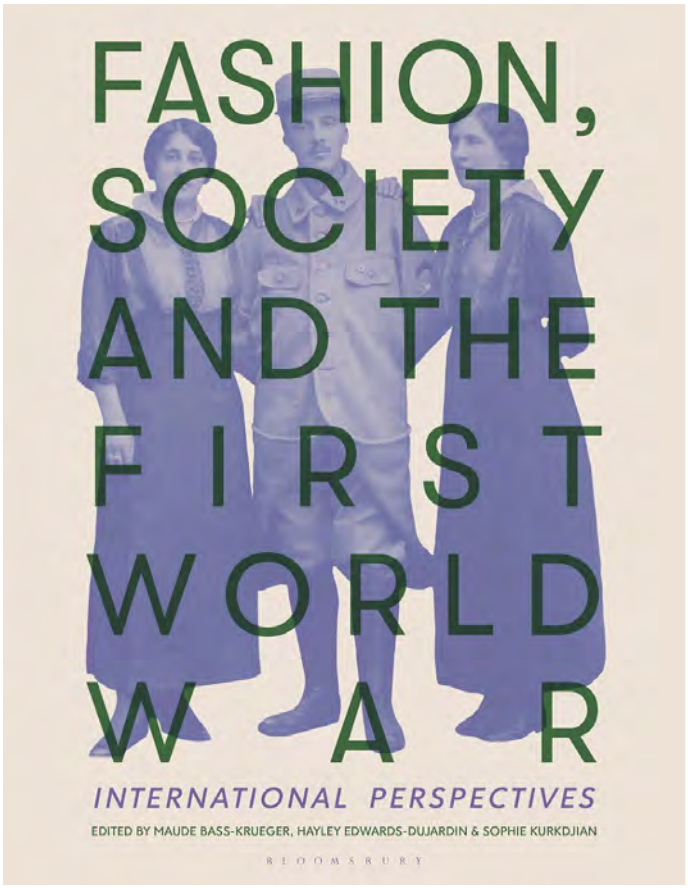

***Fashion, Society, and the First World War: International Perspectives*, Maude Bass-Krueger, Hayley Edwards-Dujardin, and Sophie Kurkdjian, Editors, Bloomsbury, London, England, 2021, A Note on Translation, Timeline, Notes, References, Index, 63 Colour Illustrations, 352 pages, Hardback, £85.00.**

Fashion, Society, and the First World War provides a collection of papers originally presented at the conference titled *Fashion, Dress and Society in Europe during World War I,* organised by Maude-Bass-Krueger and Sophie Kurkdjian as part of the seminar *Histoire et Mode* at the Institut d'histoire du temps present (IHTP-CNRS). The conference was held in Paris on 12 and 13 December 2014 and co-hosted by Dominique Veillon, Lou Taylor, and Adelheid Rasche.

While the garment and textile trade in the context of the First World War is the core element of the book, the papers included also shed light on fashion as an expression of personal identity in periods of crisis. This is a step forward in introducing fashion as a key theme of sociocultural histories of the Great War, as recognised by Bass-Krueger and Kurkdjian. The editors also point out that in conjunction the essays collected in this volume may "broaden our understanding of the international networks of wartime fashion trade and dress practices, while also significantly adding to our knowledge of how fashion operated on national levels during a period of complex political alliances" and would thus be filling an important gap in a field that has otherwise been well-explored (p. 1). The wide range of sources consulted throughout illustrate the strength of fashion history in telling stories from different angles. Although the collection of papers is western-

centric in focus, the editors emphasise that the Great War was a total war and recognise that this potential thematic limitation serves to prompt further discussions (p. 2).

Addressing fashion in the context of the well-known horrors of the war is not only original but necessary especially in the context of cultural history. The themes of the essays are varied but ultimately tied together by addressing the role of fashion as a vehicle of nationalism and identity during the war on an international scale. The theme of gender is also addressed in multiple papers in this collection, revealing the impact of the war on emotions as well as gender identities. The inclusion of a dual timeline of social and political events and fashion and women's history across the period explored is a useful element that facilitates the understanding of the topics presented. The volume is divided in four parts, focusing on the international couture industry, materiality, uniforms and gender in the context of print media. The editors specify in detail the reasons behind the specific arrangement of the papers, suggesting an intent for the reader to "connect the dots" (p. 5). The high level of quality of research throughout this collection is noteworthy.

In part one, the authors shed light on how Paris maintained influence of its own couture industry throughout the war, despite international efforts to create fashion industries elsewhere. In "Wartime Marketing of Parisian Haute Couture in the United States, 1914–1917," for example, Mary Lynn Stewart examines the Parisian couturiers organised in associations and syndicate and how some of them focused on marketing to American clients after 1914. In Georgina Ripley's paper, the author explores the practices of London-based designer Lady Duff Gordon aka "Lucile" as an example of transatlantic relationships furthered by marketing for clientele abroad. Birgit Haase looks at the curious phenomenon of the war crinoline, the fashionable silhouette from 1914–1917 which expressed the ambivalent position of women in the war, reinforcing gender norms while also allowing for mobility. Nele Bernheim concludes this section with her essay on Belgian fashion in the war, with a focus of the position of Belgium's fashion industry in the sphere of German, Austrian and French influence – occupied by Germany and dependent on foreign charity. The case study of Norine Couture as the first Belgian fashion house also illustrates this.

Part two is centred on the materiality of wartime fashion and textile industries. The authors provide a particularly compelling narrative of wartime culture within the framework of material culture studies. It sheds light on industries that are connected to, but not necessarily oriented towards, couture. In "Dressed to Quill," Emily Brayshaw introduces the reader to the feathered showgirl in wartime Paris and how this particular costume impacted fashion off the stage as well. In a paper on the dress practices in Alsace during the First World War, Sarah Hume demonstrates effectively how both populations in the contested region – the French and Germans – shaped their own modes of dress, with France adopting the style in propaganda imagery to serve its agenda. Marguerite Coppens' paper on the Belgian and Dutch lacemaking industry provides a compelling insight into how handmade lace production was financially subsidised in occupied Belgium. Marta Kargól's essay on industrial and homemade clothing production in the Netherlands reveals how handmade clothing became fashionable in the Netherlands, with an industry that attempted to carve out its own identity. The papers in this section demonstrate the interesting dynamic between nationalism and fashion, providing valuable insights into the importance of the fashion industry for cultural identities.

The third part of the book focuses on the gendered experiences associated with the use of uniforms as well as the "afterlife" of a garment most relevant in wartimes. Amy de la Haye introduces the topic with her piece on the uniforms worn by the women of the British Land Army between 1917–1919. On a similar note, Jérémie Brucker interrogates female workwear in France between 1914 and 1919. Both authors note the change in gender dynamics and roles at the time. Guillaume de Syon reviews the French military aviation and its unique uniforms and identity while Manuel Charpy explores the use and role of secondhand uniforms and their transition into "civilian life."

The fourth and final section is focused on the print media and magazines published during the Great War. Used for information and propaganda, this medium became especially relevant. Zsolt Mészáros interrogates the presence of menswear in the Hungarian press while Burcu Dogramaci analyses the political nature of German fashion as an industry that aimed towards national independence and distinctive design. In contrast, the seventh paper in this collection by Enrica Morini focuses on the origins of the "Moda Italiana." Nigel

Lezama contributes an analysis of the fashion column of the French magazine *Le Flambeau* and how it expanded during the war while revealing details about the relationship between femininity and fashion. The concluding paper of this collection by Andrea Kollnitz addresses beauty, gender and British wartime society as reflected in cartoons published in the satirical magazine *Punch*, which both celebrated and ridiculed fashionable women in the context of the war.

Fashion, Society, and the First World War provides a compelling and diverse insight into the fashion and textile industry in the context of the Great War and is highly recommended for historians of fashion and war and those in between. Remarkable is the wide–ranging inclusion of national and international case studies and perspectives, revealing the power of fashion in communicating identity as well as its impact on morale in times of crisis. The attention paid to the relationship between gender and fashion proves to be highly relevant and timely. In short, this collection effectively demonstrates why fashion matters.

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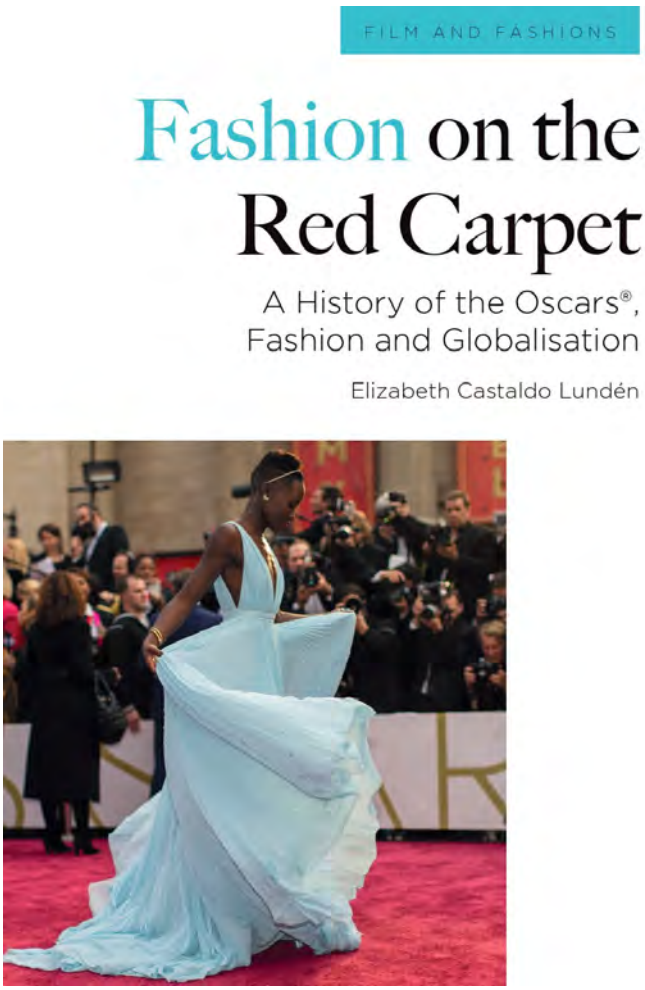
Dilara Scholz is a final year PhD Student and visiting tutor at Royal Holloway University of London and holds an MA in Public History, also from Royal Holloway. Dilara's current research investigates the material culture of death and mourning in Victorian England. With her project she explores the commercialisation of funerary culture as well as the impact material culture had on the bereaved. Using these findings, she would like to raise awareness for the importance of the cultural expression of grief and rituals of mourning.



***Fashion on the Red Carpet: A History of the Oscars®, Fashion and Globalization*, Elizabeth Castaldo Lundén, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2021, Notes, Appendix, Archives, Bibliography, Index, 16 Black-and-White Illustrations, 9 Colour Illustrations, 272 pages, Hardback, £85.00.**

American consumer culture and Hollywood are so deeply connected that it becomes easy to forget the many ways in which films act "as a global display window" (p. 57) where the "stars" become "mannequins" (p. 118). Perhaps that is not surprising since the film industry is rooted in magic and imagination, rather than truth and transparency. Today, as the Academy Awards ceremony (popularly known as the Oscars) and the red carpet pre-show reach millions of viewers around the world in real time, Hollywood has a fast and global reach. Only recently has scholarship begun to explore the business of glamour, from production and promotion to the image and consumption of fashion and audience-star dynamics.

Combining film, fashion, and business histories Elizabeth Castaldo Lunden's inaugural book *Fashion on the Red Carpet: A History of the Oscars®, Fashion and Globalization* offers an analysis of the ways Hollywood has informed fashion choices. Focused primarily on the forty year span from the 1920s to the 1960s, the book adds to an emergent body of literature and joins a short-list of publications like *Glamour: A History* by Stephen Gundle (Oxford University Press, 2009), *Fashion and Celebrity Culture* by Pamela Church Gibson, (Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), and *Hollywood before Glamour: Fashion in*

American Silent Film by Michelle Tolini Finamore (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) that analyse of the relationship between fashion and film during the twentieth and twenty–first centuries.

Lundén is an Assistant Professor of Fashion Studies at the Department of Media Studies at Stockholm University in Sweden. This publication was edited by the author and lecturer Pamela Church Gibson and evolved from Lundén's dissertation titled *Oscar Night in Hollywood: Fashioning the Red–Carpet from the Roosevelt Hotel to International Media* (Stockholm University, 2018). Lundén's extensive research on Hollywood brought her to archives across the United States, from the J. Walter Thompson Company's collection at Duke University in North Carolina to the Margaret Herrick Library of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in California.

In nine chapters, this book examines the history of fashion at the Academy Awards ceremony. Begun as an intimate affair to celebrate the annual accomplishments of the film industry, at the time geographically centred in Los Angeles, the Academy Awards has grown into a global media frenzy. Lundén has drawn from magazines, archival papers, films, television, newspapers, books, and even law to weave together the story of Hollywood's impact on fashion. The analysis takes readers from the glamour of the red carpet to the many connected stories of advertising campaigns, media partnerships, consumer practices, shopping experiences, and the role of style arbiters like Edith Head and Eleanor Lambert. Lundén disputes longstanding myths about who has dressed actresses for award ceremonies and offers histories that are otherwise surprisingly hard to come by, like where the red carpet came from and how it evolved to its current day use.

With a distinctly twenty–first century lens, Lundén's research reveals how much has changed since these earlier books were written and offers a perspective that acknowledges the lack of diversity in Hollywood, the way actresses are celebrated for their fashion choices rather than their professional accolades, and the intensive power dynamics at work on the red carpet. Giving nod to the #AskHerMore and #MeToo movements, she makes connections between past and present practices while maintaining her central theme, weaving together a

narrative that demonstrates the power fashion achieves when worn by famous actresses to the annual Oscar ceremony, and the way that trickles down to affect the everyday buying practices of consumers.

This book offers a framework for understanding fashion at the Oscars and precise details that establish fashion as one part of a complex system. It can be enjoyed cover–to–cover, but is equally important as a reference tool for anyone conducting interdisciplinary research in the fields of fashion, film and media studies, or advertising.

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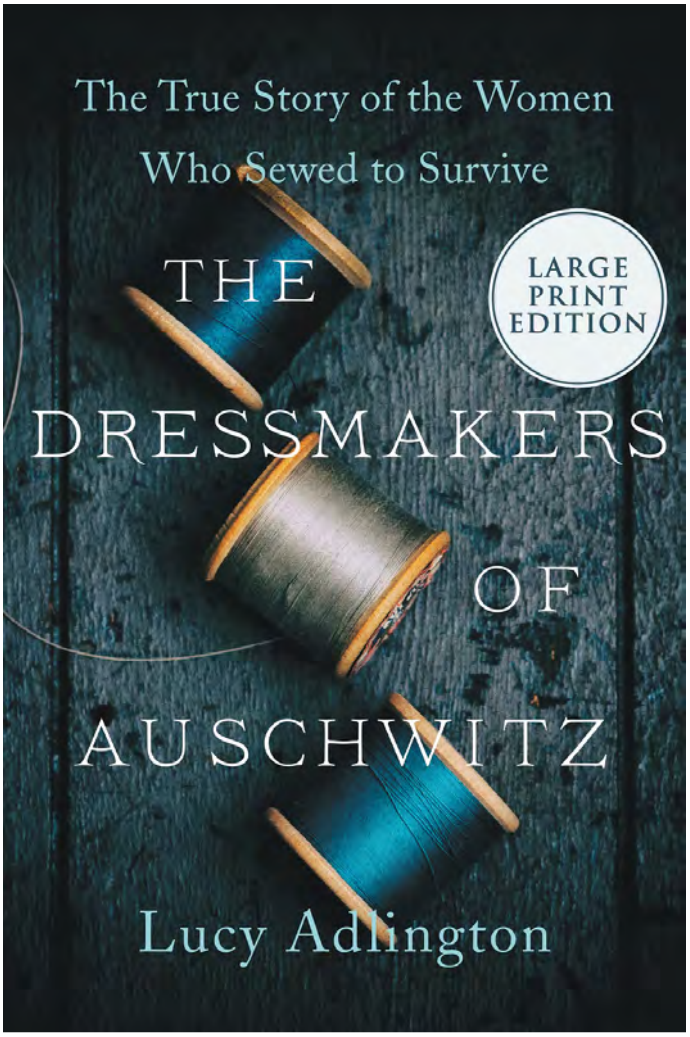
Emily Stoehrer, PhD, is the Rita J. Kaplan and Susan B. Kaplan Curator of Jewellery at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Her scholarly research focuses on jewellery worn by Hollywood actresses. In 2014, Stoehrer co–curated *Hollywood Glamour: Fashion & Jewellery from the Silver Screen* with Michelle Tolini Finamore and she recently published an article, titled, "The Evolution of Vintage Jewellery on the Hollywood Red Carpet, 1995–2005," in the Spring 2021 issue of The Journal of Dress History. This article examines how actresses publicized vintage styles at the Academy Awards and Golden Globe ceremonies during the Millennium and was drawn from her doctoral dissertation *Hollywood Tastemaker: Jeweling the Red Carpet: The Neil Lane Collection, 1995–2010* (Salve Regina University, 2016) that investigated how the fashion industry, media, and celebrity culture intersected during this period to inform the aesthetic of jewellery which was subsequently designed, made, and retailed in America during the early twenty–first century.



***The Dressmakers of Auschwitz: The True Story of the Women Who Sewed to Survive*, Lucy Adlington, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England, 2021, Bibliography, 52 Black-and-White Illustrations, 381 pages, Hardback, £20.00.**

This book recounts the lives of a group of 23 young, Jewish women mostly from Slovakia and Bohemia. They were friends from school days or from working as dressmakers mostly in Bratislava during the 1930s. Lucy Adlington traces their childhoods and then the consequences of the imposition of Nazi anti-Semitic legislation in Hitler's Germany and annexed/occupied Europe. She tracks their 1942–1943 deportation from Bratislava in annexed Slovakia and from Germany to the extermination camp and slave labour industrial complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Their dressmaking skills and their profound loyalty and love for each other enabled their survival. Leading protagonists in this story are Marta Fuchs, Borishka Zobel, (both skilled cutters), Bracha and Katka Berkovič, Hunya Volkmann, Käthe Kohút, Olga Kovácz, Renée Ungar, Irene Reichenberg and two French, non-Jewish, Resistant dressmakers, Alida Delasalle and Marilou Colombain, deported from Paris. Adlington shows how they all witnessed the non-ending murders in the gas chambers and the systematic recycling of the victims' clothes, shoes, jewellery, hair, teeth and ashes for the profit of the SS.

Central to so much of the work of the dressmakers was Kanada – the vast mountain of clothes looted from the contents of millions of suitcases and from

the garments left outside the gas chambers. Adlington describes, over 20 pages, the work of the Kommando group charged by the SS with controlling the valuable contents of Kanada. She identifies the links between the dump and the sewing establishments in Auschwitz, from one factory mass recycling military uniforms to the huge industrial Clothing Workshop and finally to the elite couture Upper Tailoring Studio which worked with high quality garments and fashionable fabrics from the mountain. This salon was initially set up in 1942 in the private house of the ambitious, opportunistic, fashion–conscious Hedwig, wife of the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss (eventually publicly hanged in Auschwitz by the Polish authorities in 1947 for war crimes). The salon was run by Marta Fuchs even when it moved to the camp Administration block. Here, enlarged and with fitting rooms, Marta protected all the dressmakers from the SS as best she could. Clients were mostly the wives of the camp's SS officers, though orders were received "from the heart of the Third Reich" (p. 224) – names remain unknown because the order book disappeared. The cleanliness of the salon kept the dressmakers alive – away from the camp's filth, lice and deadly slave labour. Adlington finally follows the dressmakers' survival once the camp was liberated and their post war lives in Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Israel and the USA.

Lucy Adlington is a successful populariser of dress history – a well–known author of novels and non–fiction books. She brings the past of fashion to life through the period dress presentations of her company, History Wardrobe, using examples from her own dress collection, including *Bad Girls and Bonnets* – the scandalous links between clothes and crime in Jane Austen. Dressed and coiffed in period style, she presents to museums, literary festivals, historical societies and more. For her virtual lectures on this book to the prestigious Weiner Library in London and the Boston Historical Society, she lectured wearing a pretty 1930s dress with a modest late 1930s hairstyle, with props of battered suitcases. She is a fluent, astute and appealing speaker.

Adlington clarifies that following the publication of her 2017 novel for young readers, *The Red Ribbon*, in which, unable to find specific evidence, she largely imagined the Auschwitz salon, she was contacted by Bracha Kohút, then aged 98 (who died in February 2021) and by relatives of other dressmakers. Adlington's consequent oral testimony interviews and her contextual investigations using autobiographies and Holocaust/Second World War archives are testimony to the

seriousness and depth of her research. Sad to say, even with that in place, the book's idiosyncratic footnoting system is a problem, weakening the academic value of this book. Whilst every on-line source is fully given, many other references are not given. Often, to reach a complete source, the reader has to create a trail from an incomplete footnote through 10 pages of bibliography to try to track the reference. Further unease sets in as Adlington creates conversations between her protagonists all through the book. The penny finally drops. This is a faction book not a history book.

Based on Adlington's well-established reputation, it will be read by a far greater audience than the usual "history" text and surely that must be a good thing? We know that "histories" are constructed following established methodological standards set in place to formally verify the validity of our sources. Faction writing is a different genre altogether, not yet generally accepted in academic circles. Toni Bruce, an American-New Zealand sociology academic, is an exception. She noted in 2019 that faction writing is embedded in serious research and that it seeks to turn history for the general reader into engaging, lively text, blurring distinctions between factual and fictional elements, as indeed this book does. Faction, Bruce explains, probes the feelings and emotions of protagonists who are actual people taking part in real events. Through faction, their lives become subject to "imaginative interpretation." The voices and thoughts of the leading characters are used to create emotional empathy in the readers' hearts, which indeed this text certainly does. Adlington's evident fury leads to further, frequent injections of angry adjectives, though her words speak clearly for themselves without the need for this. Despite this, there is no doubt that Adlington has made a major contribution here to our understanding of the systems set in place by the SS to make financial profit from the bodies and clothes of the slaughtered millions through recycling garments, jewellery, hair, teeth and even their ashes.

Does this issue of weak referencing really matter at all? Is this criticism simply academic snobbery? Examples of why, yes, this does matter, include Adlington's disrespect for Primo Levi (p. 174) by giving no source for his description of the use of human ashes to cover the pathways in the SS village in Auschwitz taken from his 1986 book *The Drowned and the Saved*. Adlington also notes without reference that the Hugo Boss company used slave labour to make NSDAP uniforms and SS garments (p. 80). This company commissioned research by

Roman Köster in 2011, published as *Hugo Boss, 1924–1945. A Clothing Factory During the Weimar Republic and Third Reich.* The company has apologised publicly for its war time behaviour, a fact that deserves to be footnoted. One may balk too at Adlington's declaration that "there is no record of which international haute couture labels were seen in the Kanada warehouses – Chanel, Lanvin, Worth, Molyneux...all were coveted names in the pre–war fashion world" (p. 223). Adlington has no evidence that clothes by these haute couturiers, or indeed any others, were found in the Kanada mountain, yet she still drops these four names into her text. She offers one reference to the wardrobe of Irma Grese, a beautiful SS auxiliary whose wardrobes were "crammed with couture clothes from Paris, Vienna and Prague" (p. 183). This is referenced, minus page number, to a second–hand story in the memoirs of Olga Lengel *Five Chimneys* of 1947. The danger here is that unproven assertions and weak referencing plays into the hands of Holocaust deniers who can rightly ask: "Where is the proof of that?" These problems may also confuse young scholars, possibly resulting in undergraduate essays on fashion in the Second World War claiming that Chanel dresses were found in Auschwitz. That matters.

Where should this book be placed within university libraries – under Dewey 949 History or 823 Literature? Brighton Public Library describes it as Fact/Fiction. Manchester Public Library lists it under History 949. For this reviewer, it could usefully be used in BA/MA dress history teaching sessions to discuss the value, or not, of faction in history research. Though it will haunt them forever, dress historians are encouraged to read this book and decide for themselves. Is it Faction or History?

Finally, and most importantly, despite such concerns, Adlington must be congratulated because she has here rescued the names, memories and experiences of these brave and talented dressmakers from oblivion in the hell on earth of Auschwitz.

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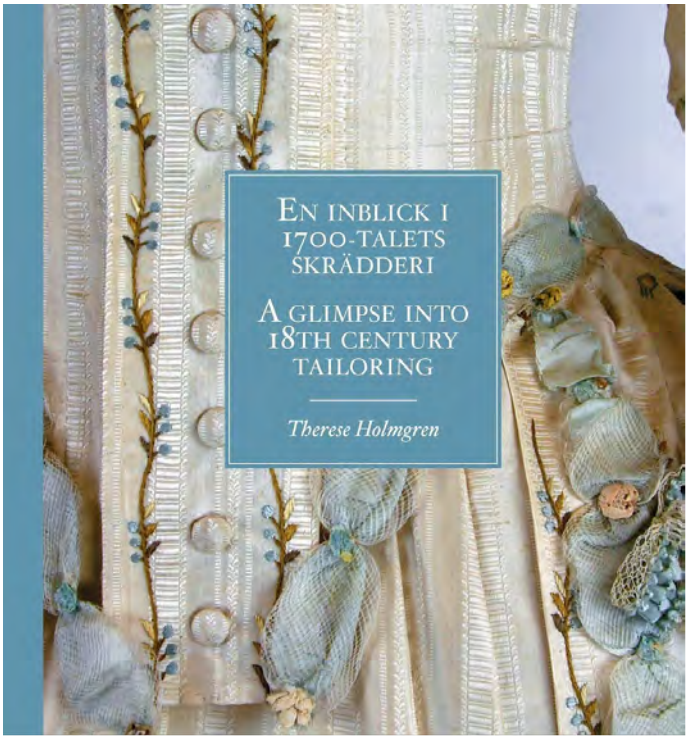
Lou Taylor is a Professor Emerita in Dress History from the University of Brighton, where she taught for many years. Her publications include the co-editing (with Marie McLoughlin) of *Paris Fashion and World War Two: Global Diffusion and Nazi Control* (2020) and *The Study of Dress History* (2002) and *Establishing Dress History* (2004).



En inblick i 1700-talets skrädderi / A Glimpse into 18th Century Tailoring, **Therese Holmgren, Lokrantz Förlag, Lidköping, Sweden, 2021, Acknowledgement, Forward, Introduction, Glossary, About the Museums, Map, Endnotes, References, About the Author, Quotes, 13 Black-and-White Illustrations, 152 Colour Illustrations, 179 pages, Hardback, £55.40.**

Therese Holmgren is a graduate student at the University of Gothenburg. This is her first book. She holds a Bachelor's degree from the University of Gothenburg and has worked as a maker and consultant on a variety of projects for Swedish museums and film.

In, *En inblick i 1700-talets skrädderi / A Glimpse into 18th Century Tailoring,* Therese Holmgren puts objects and the construction of Swedish garments as the focus. She brings out of the archive some of the many dress and textile treasures held in several Sweden's museums. Holmgren's Swedish focus provides a sense of place and regional specificity. This gives the reader a chance to explore a variety of cold weather garments, high-end garments and national costumes. It should be noted that the content is unfortunately limited to that of upper-class Swedish society because of those garments' survival. Throughout this book, each garment is detailed formulaically. Each description begins with cursory and locational data such as garment type, museum collection, and probable age. Holmgren then discusses each garment's condition, materials, and construction, the latter begins more generally, but continues with examining the various elements of each article of clothing. Each object is also accompanied by a scaled pattern. Interestingly, this book is not divided into numbered chapters as each

object study stands alone. Instead, it is organized thematically. The book is written in Swedish and in English with the Swedish on the left side of the page and the English on the right side. It is a good example of prioritizing an author's first language while making it accessible to English speaking readers.

Holmgren's frank analysis of the chosen garments is intermittently divided by discussions that give the objects deeper context. Following her examination of two pairs of jumps, Holmgren gives the reader a greater understanding to this type of garment in her deeper discussion "Alternatives to Stays" (pp. 28–29). Among the first grouping of objects, the reader will also find "Quilting and Heat–Sustaining Clothes" (pp. 45–47). Here, Holmgren explains the process of quilting in the eighteenth century, and she discusses the nuance and socio–economic universality of quilted petticoats. The author closes out this first section of quilted garments by informing the reader about the silk weaving mill of Mariestad (pp. 57–58).

The next grouping of objects begins with the examination of a banyan with false waistcoat fronts followed by "Comfort in the Home" (pp. 67–70). Here, she discusses some relaxed garments that were available to Europeans that afforded both men and women additional comfort while "being dressed in...an informal way" (p. 69). Next, Holmgren introduces the reader to Metta Magdalena Lillie (pp. 83–86) and discusses the diary that she produced in the early and mid eighteenth century. Throughout those pages, Lillie remarks on many subjects, but the most significant are her remarks that give a "peek into the fashions of eighteenth century Västergötland" (p. 84). The section titled "In the World of Alströmer" (pp. 93–97) looks at the career of Jonas Alströmer, a textile manufacturer centred in Alingsås.

In "Painted Silk" (pp. 104–105) and "Pre–Embroidered Panels and Other Embroidery Techniques" (pp.112–115), Holmgren shifts her focus back to material culture. She discusses the Chinese painted silk market and the counterfeiting centres of England and Germany. This discussion is anchored by a beautiful painted silk jacket. Although there are examples of embroidery spaced throughout this book, the discussion about embroidery panels and techniques is

placed between two particularly lovely waistcoats. Here, Holmgren describes the arduous process of producing embroidered clothing in the eighteenth century.

Perhaps the most important objects examined were the examples of Swedish national costume. Unlike the other objects which have regional counterparts throughout most European countries, these examples of national costume are in their very essence uniquely Swedish and therein lies their importance. It would have been helpful for Holmgren to dive a little deeper into the analyses of these garments. There are a few statements about the men's garments that could have used further explanation. One example is the straps at the centre back of the waistband and the leg band or garter of the breeches (p. 151). For those new to eighteenth century fashion, it would have been nice to include that these features are made to accept buckles that create adjustability in the waist and hem. Holmgren continues by adding further context to these clothes in "The Implementation of the National Costume" (pp. 155–159). She explains that the efforts to create a national costume would not only make a form of dress that was uniquely Swedish but would also bolster the nation's textile industry. In "Repurposing" (pp. 160–162), Holmgren discusses how, because of cost, some garments made in the eighteenth century were often altered or remade later to extend their use.

It should be noted that the reviewers of this book do not read or speak Swedish and as such this review only considers the English portions. To that end, there are a few grammatical and editorial errors in the English translation, but they do not deter from the content of this work. Also, the generic title is misleading. This book does not include "Swedish" in the title despite keeping the content confined to that country. It is important to mark the work and sense of place so that European dress is not the default to scholars and enthusiasts of eighteenth–century dress.

Overall, this book is a necessary addition to this field of study. This book is accessible for newcomers to the study of dress history, but will probably be most enjoyable for costume designers, curators, makers and material culturalists. So often the written word is prioritized, but this work's focus on construction is important because it allows for the making to take centre stage. This book's

focused attention on stitching and fabrics brings significance to objects being their own document and standing alone as a communication tool. This is a fantastic reference book, and it provides a good template for examining region-specific garments. *En inblick i 1700-talets skrädderi / A Glimpse into 18th Century Tailoring* should be a staple for any fashion historian or maker interested in eighteenth century European fashion.

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Sarah Woodyard is an independent scholar and maker, researching free and enslaved mantua-makers and their products from the long eighteenth century. Sarah is the owner of Sewn Company and is committed to hand-sewing preservation as a teacher and practitioner. With Sewn, she seeks to reconnect people with themselves and their past through hand-sewing to "remember what their hands can do." Sarah became a Journeywoman Milliner and Mantua-maker in 2015 after completing her seven-year apprenticeship at the Margaret Hunter Millinery Shop in Colonial Williamsburg, where she worked for ten years. She earned an MA from The University of Alberta, Canada.

Michael Ballard Ramsey is an Accessories Craftsperson at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's (CWF) Costume Design Center. There, he researches clothing and textile common to the Chesapeake region of eighteenth-century Virginia and Maryland and builds and maintains recreations of eighteenth-century dress and accessories. In addition to his work at CWF, he privately makes museum-quality reproductions and recreations, circa 1740-1820. Michael is currently serving as an Editor for the Journal of Dress History. His research foci are material culture, cultural exchange and appropriation in colonial society, and the ambiguity of identity through dress and textiles in North America. He holds a BS in History from Austin Peay State University.

Exhibition Reviews

Exhibition reviews are an important part of The Journal of Dress History. From dress to accessories to textile themes, hosted by small or large venues, the journal provides an inclusive range of exhibition reviews, written by students, early career scholars, and established professionals.

If you have a comment about a published exhibition review—or a suggestion for a new exhibition that should be reviewed in The Journal of Dress History—please contact exhibitions@dresshistorians.org.

Noel Coward: Art & Style, Curated by Brad Rosenstein for the Guildhall Art Gallery, London, England, 14 June 2021 to 23 December 2021, Tickets free (pre-book).

Noel Coward: Art & Style is on display at the Guildhall Art Gallery, London and jointly produced by the Noël Coward Foundation, the Noël Coward Archive Trust and the City of London Corporation. Curated by Brad Rosenstein, Program Producer for the Presidio Trust in San Francisco and an independent curator, speaker, and writer, Rosenstein previously curated *Star Quality: The World of Noël Coward* at New York's Lincoln centre in 2012. A digital guide to the exhibition is available on the Guildhall Art Gallery website.

Noel Coward: Art & Style draws on extensive archive material from public and private sources related to Cowards' life and work. Actor, playwright, songwriter, painter and bon viveur he was debonaire, witty and extraordinarily well connected in the world of theatre, film, music, art and high society. To many he was the epitome of carefree elegance and bohemian lifestyle throughout a large part of the 20th century. What has been less well chronicled is the astonishing range and variety of his artistic endeavours, his eye for design and the individuals with whom he collaborated to bring his ideas to life.

The exhibition is broken up into four separate sections that reference the scale and extent of Cowards' creative output across the seventy odd decades of his professional and private life: *London Calling*, *Ways and Means*, *Design for Living* and *Marvellous Party*. Mood enhancing music plays in the background and grey, maroon and cream painted walls in the galleries assist in helping us to image scenes of theatrical gossip, glamorous nightlife and dazzling houses. Visitors to this exhibition expecting to see original scripts, sketches for set designs and stage costumes will not be disappointed. There are an abundance of artefacts and objects that Rosenstein has gathered and contextualised in relation to Coward's professional, artistic and personal life that reveal his considerable and long-lasting influence as a tastemaker and design leader. Photographs, home movies and publicity material allow us a glimpse of the profound impact that Coward had on the social and cultural mores of the 20th and 21st century.

A silk dressing gown belonging to Coward – a signature look he adopted in the early part of his career – is the first item of clothing that welcomes visitors into *London Calling.* It is just one of the many examples of male and female apparel presented to great visual effect throughout the exhibition. Vintage pieces sit alongside immaculate reconstructions of several theatre costumes, the staging and

labelling of the garments offers in-depth information that visitors with an interest in fashion history will find comprehensive and enlightening.

Dresses, shoes, hats, formal and informal outfits are scattered throughout the galleries and items displayed outside of glass cases allow for close inspection of the textiles, stitching, and construction. Coward worked closely with influential fashion designers, and the *Ways and Means* section introduces us to the couturiers who expertly created costumes for the actresses and actors, including Victor Stiebel (1907-1976) and Norman Hartnell (1901-1979). Great attention was paid to the way the fabrics would shimmer under the lights and move with the body of the performer as they proceeded across the stage. Coward collaborated for many years with British designer Edward Molyneux (1891-1974) and on display is an exquisite reconstruction of a white satin, bias-cut dress worn by actress Gertrude Lawrence (1898-1952), in *Tonight at 8.30* (1930), which became a seminal design for Molyneux and sartorial calling card for Lawrence. The stage outfits designed for Coward's leading ladies, in particular his muse Lawrence, were not just featured in the theatrical press; fashion magazines were swift to pick up on the styles. The Molyneux dress was featured in *Harper's Bazaar* some weeks after the staging of *Tonight at 8.30* and variations of this garment were adopted by fashionable women in Britain and beyond.

Coward had a keen eye for artists and creative practitioners that would bring his ideas to life. Many of his key collaborators were women who were often excluded from the theatre design professions because of their gender. Gladys Calthrop (1894-1980) created multiple sets and costumes for Coward and Doris Zinkeisen (1898-1991) was responsible for the look and staging of several of his shows. The Winter 2021 issue of The Journal of Dress History (Volume 5, Issue 6) features an article on Doris Zinkeisen by Alice Fine which gives an excellent account of her work for stage and film.

Coward's design eye was not just confined to stage shows, film sets and his own fashion taste: his sartorial choices were breathlessly followed by the press from the earliest days of his fame. He owned properties in England, Switzerland and Jamaica and British interior designer Syrie Maugham (1879-1955) was one of his early collaborators. *Design for Living* discusses the interiors of Cowards' homes which reflected his flair as a trend setter. A collection of furniture, paintings and ornaments can be seen in recreations of several of the interiors which reflect his private, domestic life. His 'Hamlet Chair', re-upholstered in cream leather is displayed beneath the vast and magnificent 'Wings of Time'; a pair of Cornish tin, gilded wings that Coward cherished and was photographed alongside on numerous occasions.

The exhibition concludes with *Marvellous Party* which demonstrates how Coward's influence is felt almost fifty years after his death with examples of contemporary designers taking cues from his legacy. It is not just historians reflecting on the social and cultural history of Britain in pre- and post-war life who will find a wealth of material that may lead them down new pathways. Theatre lovers will be rewarded by the meticulous visual chronicling of the stage and film works and their journey from script to reality. Visitors with an interest in fashion will pay close attention to the fabrics, hemlines and detailing of the male and female garments on show and interior design aficionados may well take inspiration from the staging of elegant living spaces from the 1940s, fifties and sixties. It is a dazzling and glamorous treat and worthy of multiple visits.

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Alice Naylor is an AHRC–funded Collaborative Doctoral Researcher at The University of Portsmouth, England, and the Science Museum Group. She was awarded a Master's in the History of Design in Material Culture from The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A)/Royal College of Art, London in February 2020 where she wrote on subjects including the journey of a Regency wedding dress from the V&A archives and the transition of the boiler suit from functional to fashionable. She is in the second year of PhD research on a thesis, titled, Eye Appeal is Buy Appeal: the Design, Mediation and Consumption of Kenwood Appliances, 1947–2020.

Recent PhD Theses in Dress History

The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) is proud to support scholarship in dress history through its international conferences, events such as ADH members' tours, and publication of The Journal of Dress History. We are passionate about sharing our knowledge with you. Our mission is to start conversations, encourage the exchange of ideas, and expose new and exciting research in the field to all who appreciate the discipline. To that end, the following is a recurring article, which includes an updated selection of recently completed PhD theses titles and abstracts in dress history. This list is important as it illustrates new, cutting-edge research in dress history that is currently being executed by PhD candidates, listed in this article in alphabetical order per surname.

This list of recent PhD theses titles and abstracts includes theses in dress history that are registered at The British Library, London, England, the official theses repository of the region in which The Journal of Dress History is published. The titles and abstracts were taken directly from the published thesis entry on The British Library website. Most of these theses are available for immediate download, in full and for free, through The British Library portal, http://ethos.bl.uk.

Additionally, this article includes those PhD theses titles and abstracts of ADH members whose theses are not registered at The British Library. If you are an ADH member and would like your PhD thesis title and abstract included in the next issue of The Journal of Dress History, please contact journal@dresshistorians.org.

The Evolution of Rigans' Fashion Costumes (13th–18th Century) in the Context of the History of European Fashion, Edīte Parute, Art Academy of Latvia, Riga, Latvia, 2021.

Abstract

This research represents an interdisciplinary study—the very first history of Rigans' fashion costume, which additionally includes its most challenging periods (according to the local historical development of art style and cultural processes) to acquire—the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The fundamental question of the research: how during a particular time period the local fashion costume has changed in the center of the Eastern Baltic region, and in the important transit trade hub, which combined the influences of an extensive network of cultural contacts. The complexity of the research material, and the fragmentary, as well as the limited number of sources, prompted the additional use of the conceptual history research method (Begriffsgeschichte) invented by the German historian Reinhart Koselleck. Following this method, the author of the thesis went in pursuit of showing the formation of a non-contemporaneous cultural space in a particular era and a particular society. The author tended to reveal how the speed of development of one cultural group differs from other groups. Contextualizing the origin and reasons of such a process, and the influence of various social and economic factors, the author of the research showed a complicated picture of the historical dress of Rigans. The chronological framework, outlined in the thesis envisaged starting an overview of the preconditions that were important for the formation of the Medieval fashions in Riga, drawing the line from the foundation year of the city (1201) to the full development and implementation of the Western European fashion phenomena among urban society. This process, according to historical sources and visual evidence, was completed during the 18th century. The work outlined the chronological stages of the Western European fashion trends adapted in Riga, the involvement of certain ideas and directions in the context of political, religious, social, and economic factors of different eras. Not only local traditions and manifestation of wealth, but also the congruence of conquerors and missionaries, changes in the religious background, the development of crafts, trade, and international relations, as well as the diverse social and ethnic background of the city determined the transformations of Rigans' fashion costumes over time. In spite of the pronounced responsiveness to Western and Eastern European fashion trends, as time passed, some local characteristics remained unchanged. Ever since ancient times, the concept of simplicity and functionality has been part of the local tradition of dressing. Functionality was given the key role dictated by local climatic conditions.

The Editorial Board

The following biographies represent the members of The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History.

Georgina Chappell, Commissioning Editor

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

Valerio Zanetti, Managing Editor

Valerio Zanetti completed a PhD in History at The University of Cambridge, England, where his project on female equestrianism in seventeenth century France was funded by the AHRC and the Cambridge Trust. He currently holds a Postdoctoral Fellowship with the Society for Renaissance Studies and continues teaching at Cambridge. His research and publications investigate various aspects of women's athletic culture in the Early Modern period, with a particular focus on horseback riding and hunting. During his doctorate, Valerio cultivated a strong interest in the study of fashion, embodiment, and material culture. During 2017–2019, he co-convened the "Things" and "Interdisciplinary Performance Network" seminar series at CRASSH. His 2018 conference "Fashioning the Early

Modern Courtier" fostered a dialogue between the fields of dress history and court studies.

Benjamin Linley Wild, Editor

Dr. Benjamin Linley Wild, FRHistS, is a cultural historian and currently Lecturer in Contextual Studies (Fashion) at The Fashion Institute, Manchester Metropolitan University, England. Interested in the dress and appearance of a society's leaders and elite, his research also considers the self- and group-presentation of people marginalised by their community. Specific areas of research interest and publishing include: history of clothing and fashion, fancy dress costume, royal dress and appearance, menswear, and masculinities. Benjamin's most recent book, *Carnival to Catwalk: Global Reflections on Fancy Dress Costume,* was published by Bloomsbury in February 2020.

Michael Ballard Ramsey, Associate Editor

Michael Ballard Ramsey is an Accessories Craftsperson at the Costume Design Center for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF) in Virginia, United States. There, he researches clothing and textiles common to the Chesapeake region of eighteenth century Virginia and Maryland, builds and maintains recreations of eighteenth century dress and accessories, and contributes to the Colonial Williamsburg Blog. In addition to his work at Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, he privately makes museum-quality reproductions and recreations for museums, film/stage, and private collectors. His research focuses on the ambiguity of identity through dress, and textiles in North America, circa 1740-1820. He holds a BS in History from Austin Peay State University in Clarksville, Tennessee.

Alicia Mihalić, Book Reviews Editor

Alicia Mihalić holds an MA in Theory and Culture of Fashion from The University of Zagreb, Croatia. For the past four years, she has been employed at the same graduate study programme as an Assistant Lecturer responsible for courses related to history and ethnology of dress and textiles. Her research explores the intersection of dress history, fashion theory, and material culture studies, and establishes connections between clothing and its socio-cultural representation in visual media. She is mainly interested in the phenomenon of nostalgia, trend mechanisms, and the revival of former dress styles through the development of marginal clothing discourses during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Her most recent research focuses on principles and practical implications of historical dress reconstruction within the museum environment.

Emma Treleaven, Exhibition Reviews Editor

Emma Treleaven is the Assistant Curator at the Charles Dickens Museum, London. She previously worked as the Research Assistant for the exhibition, *Christian Dior: Designer of Dreams,* at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and at Bletchley Park as Exhibitions Assistant. Emma has a Master's degree in Museum Studies from University College London, and an Undergraduate degree in Fashion History and Theory from Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London. Emma's publications include the articles, "Dressed to Disappear: Fashion as Camouflage during the Second World War" in the Spring 2018 issue of The Journal of Dress History, and "Standard and Supremely Smart: Luxury and Women's Service Uniforms in WWII" in the journal, Luxury: History, Culture, Consumption.

The Editorial Board would like to thank the following Editorial Assistants whose time and dedication were appreciated during the production of this issue.

Giulia Mangone, Editorial Assistant

Giulia Mangone is an art historian, formerly curatorial assistant at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Austria), specializing in Old Masters painting. She completed her Master's degree in Art History at "La Sapienza" University in Rome in 2017, with a dissertation about the influence of Metastasio's poetry on Gregorio Guglielmi's frescoes (1761–1763) in Schönbrunn palace, Vienna. She became passionate about dress history especially by participating in historical re-enactment events (Italian Risorgimento, Napoleonic Wars), as an educator and re-enactor. Her current interests include dress history from the late fifteenth to the nineteenth century, with special attention to the pictorial sources in the former Habsburg painting collections, and the Victorian era.

Cassandra Milani, Editorial Assistant

Originally from Boston, Massachusetts, United States, and now residing in Glasgow, Scotland, Cassandra Milani began her studies and career as a fashion designer in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She later decided to change careers—pivoting from designing clothing to studying its history—and returned to school, earning her Master of Letters degree (with Distinction) in Dress and Textile Histories from The University of Glasgow in 2018. Since 2009, Cassandra has volunteered and worked in curatorial departments and textile collections across

the United States and United Kingdom; namely in Philadelphia, Salem, and San Francisco (United States) and Paisley (Scotland). Her current research interests centre on knitwear (mainly handknitting in the North Atlantic region), as well as the intersections between western and non-western design traditions in the West.

The Advisory Board

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

Kevin Almond, The University of Leeds, Leeds, England

Dr. Kevin Almond is a lecturer in fashion at The University of Leeds. He is a Master's graduate in Fashion Womenswear from The Royal College of Art Fashion School, London. He gained a PhD from The University of Huddersfield with a thesis, titled, *Suffering in Fashion: Relationships between Suffering, the Production of Garments and their Appropriation as Fashionable Items.* He has held various posts in academia and the fashion industry and has published widely. He organised and chaired The International Conferences for Creative Pattern Cutting in 2013 and 2016 at The University of Huddersfield. These events were an opportunity for academics and industrialists to present current research about pattern cutting and to network. Selected articles from the conference were published in two special editions of *The International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education,* titled, *Creative Cut.* He is a former trustee of The Costume Society and an anonymous peer reviewer for numerous academic journals.

Anne Bissonnette, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Dr. Anne Bissonnette is an Associate Professor of Material Culture and Curatorship at The University of Alberta and the Curator of the Anne Lambert Clothing and Textiles Collection. She researches fashion from the late eighteenth century to the present day, with a special interest for the cut and construction of clothing. She obtained degrees in sciences, fashion design, and art history in Montreal before doing an MA in museum studies of costume and textiles in New York and a PhD in museum studies and history in Ohio where she served as

Curator of the Kent State University Museum for fourteen years. She has curated or co-curated 55 exhibitions, two of which received a Costume Society of America's Richard Martin Award. She continues to create garments and is currently working on "A Revolutionary Decade: Fashion & Material Culture in the 1790s" funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Elizabeth Castaldo Lundén, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

Dr. Elizabeth Castaldo Lundén is Senior Lecturer in Fashion Studies at the Department of Media Studies at Stockholm University, Sweden. Her research focuses on the historical liaisons between Hollywood and the fashion industry. Her most recent book, *Fashion on the Red Carpet: A History of the Oscars, Fashion and Globalisation,* was published by Edinburgh University Press in 2021. Castaldo Lundén is currently working on a research project to study fashion newsfilms in collaboration with the Media Ecology Project.

Suchitra Choudhury, Independent Scholar, Carlisle, England

Dr. Suchitra Choudhury is a literary scholar focussing on British imperialism and the social history of dress and textiles. Awarded the 2020 University of Glasgow Visiting Research Fellowship, she is currently completing a monograph, *Cashmere and Paisley Shawls in British Literature and Culture,* to be published by Ohio University Press. Choudhury is also working on an invited curation of "Shawls in Literature" for permanent display at Paisley Museum, Scotland. She has spoken at a variety of venues on the cultural history of Indian/Paisley shawls and has recently assisted and advised The Victoria and Albert Museum's Dundee, Scotland project to "decolonise" their collections.

Daniel James Cole, New York University, New York, United States

Daniel James Cole is co-author, with Nancy Deihl, of *The History of Modern Fashion* (2015), and contributed to *The Hidden History of American Fashion* (2018), and *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion* (2018 edition). Areas of expertise include dress since 1850, religiously motivated dress, and dress and textiles of the Malay archipelago. Speaking engagements have included Fujen University, L'ecole de la mode, RMIT, FIDM-LA, Dallas Museum of Art, Smithsonian NMAI, and the Jane Austen Society of North America. Daniel sits on the editorial board of *Dressed,* the journal of the Costume Society of America. As a costume designer, his work has been seen in film, off-Broadway, and at opera

companies including Seattle Opera, New York Chamber Opera, and Wolf Trap Opera. He curated two exhibitions for Opera America: *Martin Pakledinaz: A Tribute* (2013) and *Divas of the Gilded Age* (2015). He teaches at New York University (Graduate Costume Studies) and The Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York (Fashion Design).

Nancy Deihl, New York University, New York, New York, United States

Nancy Deihl is a historian of fashion who specializes in the American fashion industry, circa 1850–2021. She is Chair of the Department of Art and Art Professions at New York University and has been with the art department since 2003 as Director of Costume Studies. Deihl co-authored, with Daniel James Cole, *The History of Modern Fashion* (Laurence King, 2015) and is the editor of *The Hidden Histories of American Fashion: Rediscovering 20th-century Women Designers* (Bloomsbury, 2018). Her chapter on modernist fashion of the 1920s appeared in *Charles Sheeler: Fashion, Photography, and Sculptural Form* (James A. Michener Art Museum, 2017). "Slippery Slopes: Skiing, Fashion, and Intrigue in 1960s Film," co-authored with Marilyn Cohen, appeared in *Leisure Cultures and the Making of Modern Ski Resorts* (Palgrave, 2019). Deihl contributed a chapter on the American fashion designer Wesley Tann to *Black Designers in American Fashion* (Bloomsbury, 2021). Deihl received her MA in Costume Studies from New York University in 2002.

Chiara Faggella, Politecnico di Milano, Milan, Italy

Dr. Chiara Faggella is a fashion historian focusing on the postwar developments of the Italian fashion industry and its relationship with handicrafts and industrial design. She received her doctoral degree from The University of Stockholm, Sweden in 2019 with a thesis revolving around Tuscan fashion entrepreneur Giovanni Battista Giorgini. Her work historicizes Giorgini's contribution in the larger context of those intermediaries that, immediately after the Second World War, struggled to establish a market for Italian fashion in the United States. She collaborates with universities in Sweden and Italy, teaching and conducting seminars in fashion studies, and supervising Master's students.

Alison Fairhurst, Independent Scholar, Newark, Nottinghamshire, England

Alison Fairhurst gained her PhD in England for her research into the materials, construction, and conservation of women's shoes during 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 1500–1800.

Alison L. Goodrum, Norwich University of the Arts, Norwich, England

Professor Alison L. Goodrum, PhD is both an interdisciplinary researcher, traversing dress history, cultural geography, and the creative arts, and an international scholar, with some 20 years of experience in universities spanning the United Kingdom, the United States, and New Zealand. Currently, she is Professor and Director of Research Development at Norwich University of the Arts, England. Common to all her research projects is the relationship between dress and identity. Alison employs a mix of ethnographic, creative, and archival approaches to pursue a range of subjects relating to the Interwar years, sportswear, millinery, weather/ing, and the American designer, writer and activist, Elizabeth Hawes (1903–1971). She sits on numerous academic editorial boards and regularly commentates on dress and popular culture in the press and media. For additional information, visit www.nua.ac.uk/about-nua/meet-our-staff/professor-alison-goodrum and www.stylestakesproject.wordpress.com.

Fiona Hackney, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, England

Fiona Hackney is currently Professor Fashion Cultures at Manchester Metropolitan University, England. Her research focuses on sustainability in dress and fashion culture, the wider value of amateur crafts, heritage and making, interwar print media and women's magazines, co-creation, and social design. Recent publications include "The Power of Quiet: Re-Making Amateur and Professional Textiles Agencies" (2017), "Stitching a Sensibility for Sustainable Clothing: Quiet Activism, Affect and Community Agency" (2020) and the co-edited collection: *Edinburgh Companion to British Women's Print Culture between the Wars* (2018). Her monograph *Women's Magazines and the Feminine Imagination: Opening-Up a New World for Women in Interwar Britain* will be published by Bloomsbury in 2022. She has led many Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded projects, most recently as Co-Investigator on S4S: Designing a Sensibility for Sustainable Clothing Choices, which explores the value of co-creative making and reflection for promoting pro-environmental behaviour change.

Vicki Karaminas, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand
Dr. Vicki Karaminas is Professor of Fashion and Director of Doctoral Studies for the School of Design at Massey University, New Zealand. Her book publications (with Adam Geczy) include *Fashion and Art* (2012), *The End of Fashion: Clothing and Dress in the Age of Globalization* (2018), *Queer Style* (2013), *Fashion's Double: Representations of Fashion in Painting, Photography and Film* (2015), *Critical Fashion Practice from Westwood to Van Beirendonck* (2017), *Fashion and Masculinities in Popular Culture* (2017), *Fashion Installation: Body, Space and Performance* (2018), and *Libertine Fashion, Sexual Rebellion and Style* (2020). She is the founding editor of *The Australasian Journal of Popular Culture* and the *Journal of Asia-Pacific Pop Culture*. Professor Karaminas is a member of the advisory and editorial boards of a number of associations and international journals, including *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress and the Body; Film, Fashion and Consumption;* the *International Journal of Fashion Studies;* and *Zone Moda* Journal.

Marta Kargól, Independent Scholar, The Hague, The Netherlands
Marta Kargól, PhD, received her MA in History (2007) and History of Art (2009) from Jagielloński University in Cracow, Poland. In 2013, she obtained her PhD in Cultural Anthropology for the dissertation, titled, *Tradition in Fashion: Dutch Regional Dress in Various Contexts of the Contemporary Culture* (written in Polish), published in 2015. Dr. Kargól is also the author of two catalogues for the exhibitions, *Contemporary Fashion: Klederdracht in een nieuwe jas* at Klederdrachtmuseum in Amsterdam, and *Groninger Dracht Meets Fashion Tech* at Museum Landhoed Verhildersum in Leens. Furthermore, she worked as assistant curator for the exhibition *Women of Rotterdam* (Museum of Rotterdam, 2017). Since 2016, she has been writing regularly about contemporary textile art for the Dutch periodical *Textiel Plus*. Her research interests include the history of women's clothing and identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, heritage of regional costumes, economic and gender aspects of homemade clothing, and socially engaged fibre art.

Ned Lazaro, Historic Deerfield, Deerfield, Massachusetts, United States
David E. (Ned) Lazaro is the Curator of Textiles at Historic Deerfield in Deerfield, Massachusetts, United States. He is responsible for the care, research, exhibition and interpretation of approximately 8000 historic textiles and clothing artefacts ranging in date circa 1600–2000. Ned holds a Master's degree in fashion

and textile history from The University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He has researched, lectured, published, and taught on various aspects of western clothing and textiles from the seventeenth through twentieth centuries, focusing on design history, the aesthetics of fashion, and identity formation.

Amy L. Montz, The University of Southern Indiana, Evansville, Indiana, United States

Dr. Amy L. Montz is Associate Professor of English at The University of Southern Indiana, where she teaches British literatures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Her research focuses on material culture in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as contemporary young adult and Neo-Victorian novels. She has published articles on corsetry in young adult novels and the fashions of the British Suffragettes, and chapters on fashion and nationalism in *Vanity Fair* and dress in *The Hunger Games*. She is currently at work on her manuscript, *Dressing for England: Fashion and Nationalism in Victorian Novels*. She has worked extensively in the archives at The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), The Museum of London, The Fashion Museum in Bath, and other archives, examining clothing and accessories of the nineteenth century. She reads textiles and literature together in her work, seeing both as texts to be interpreted.

Alden O'Brien, Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, Washington, DC, United States

Alden O'Brien received her Bachelor's degree in Art History at Barnard College (Columbia University) and her Master's in Museum Studies: Costume and Textiles at The Fashion Institute of Technology, New York. As curator of costume at the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum in Washington, DC since 1990 (and toys, 1991; quilts, 2003; needlework, 2016) she has curated exhibitions on American dress history such as *Costume Myths and Mysteries, Fashioning the New Woman, 'An Agreeable Tyrant:' Fashion after the Revolution* [also online]; on the material culture of childhood (*The Stuff of Childhood)*; and on quilts (e.g., *A Piece of Her Mind: Culture and Technology in American Quilts* [also online]). She has written and edited several exhibition catalogues and books on the collection. Alden's next exhibition (2024) will look at sewing, gender roles, and embedded meanings; it will incorporate clothing, quilts, and other domestic textiles, and needlework and sewing and patternmaking tools.

Lauren Downing Peters, Columbia College Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, United States

Lauren Downing Peters is Assistant Professor of Fashion Studies and Director of the Fashion Study Collection at Columbia College Chicago. She holds a PhD from the Centre for Fashion Studies at Stockholm University, Sweden and was among the first graduating cohort of the MA Fashion Studies programme at Parsons School of Design, New York. Her research, which investigates the history of plus-size fashion, the lived experience of fat sartorial embodiment, and transformed fashion pedagogies, has been published in the peer-reviewed journals *Fashion Theory, Design Issues, Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty, International Journal of Fashion Studies, and the Journal of Curatorial Studies,* among others. She is also a co-founder of *The Fashion Studies Journal* and The Fashion Studies Alliance. She is currently finalizing her first book manuscript, *Fashion Before Plus-Size: Bodies, Beauty and the Birth of an Industry* (Bloomsbury, In Contract).

Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, United States

Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, PhD is a historian whose research examines the connections between fashion, politics, and modernity, particularly how visual and material culture have shaped and reflected class, gender, and racial identities. Her book, *Dressed for Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism* explores women's political uses of clothing and appearance to promote feminist agendas during the long twentieth century. Her writing has been published in the *Journal of Women's History,* the *International Journal of Fashion Studies, American Journalism: Journal of Media History* as well as *The Washington Post, The Conversation, Public Seminar,* and *Dismantle Magazine*. You can follow her on twitter @DrEinavRFox.

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

Professor Emeritus Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by an MA and PhD at The Courtauld Institute of Art. She was Head of The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art from 1975 to 2009. She lectures widely and has acted as costume consultant/contributor to many major museum exhibitions in Great Britain, Europe, and North America. Professor Emeritus Ribeiro has published many books and articles on various aspects of the history of dress, including *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820* (1995); *Dress and Morality* (2003); *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2006); *Facing Beauty: Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (2011); *A Portrait of Fashion: Six Centuries of Dress*

at the National Portrait Gallery (with Cally Blackman) (2015); and *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600–1914* (2017).

Annamarie V. Sandecki, Tiffany & Co., New York, New York, United States

Annamarie V. Sandecki has been the Head Archivist/Chief Curator at Tiffany & Co. for nearly 30 years. She is responsible for managing both a wide-ranging collection of several thousand objects and the historic paper records of the 184-year-old American jeweler. Drawing on the company's Heritage Collection, Annamarie organizes several exhibitions each year highlighting specific aspects of Tiffany's history. She regularly presents at conferences as well as writes for academic journals. Her latest research has been on jewelry illustrated in prints by the nineteenth century American lithograph firm of Currier & Ives. Her other research interests are the effect of social customs on the wearing and giving of jewelry, the influence of Japan on nineteenth century American fashion, and jewelry exhibited at World Fairs. Annamarie is a board member of ICOM's International Committee of Museums and Collections of Decorative Arts and Design.

Joana Sequeira, The University of Minho, Braga, Portugal

Dr. Joana Sequeira holds a PhD in History from The University of Porto, Portugal and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, with a thesis on Medieval Portuguese textile production (O Pano da Terra, University of Porto Press, 2014). A specialist in Medieval economic history, she has published papers on textile production, trade, and consumption. In 2019, she organized the international seminar, Dress and Textiles of Multicultural Medieval Iberia. She is currently an Assistant Researcher (2020.02528.CEECIND) in Medieval History based at the Landscape, Heritage, and Territory Laboratory at The University of Minho, Braga, Portugal and Co-PI of the collective project MedCrafts: "Crafts Regulation in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages, 14th-15th Centuries" (PTDC/HAR-HIS/31427/2017).

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

Dr. Katarina Nina Simončič earned her doctorate from The Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, The University of Zagreb, Croatia, with the thesis, titled, *Kultura odijevanja u Zagrebu na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće* [The Culture of Dress in Zagreb at the End of the Nineteenth and the Beginning of Twentieth Century]. Dr. Simončič is currently an Associate

Professor of Fashion History at The Department of Textile and Clothing Design, Faculty of Textile Technology, The University of Zagreb, Croatia. Her teaching areas include fashion and design history, with research strengths that address the relationships between the genres of portrait painting, printmaking, photography, and fashion artefacts, circa 1500–2000. She is the author of several publications related to the cultural history of fashion and its connection with tradition.

Ruby Kashyap Sood, National Institute of Fashion Technology, New Delhi, India

Ruby Kashyap Sood is a Professor in the Textile Design department at National Institute of Fashion Technology, New Delhi, India. She has nearly two decades of teaching experience. Her areas of specialisation include surface design, yarn craft, fabric and costume studies. A Master's in Textiles and Clothing from Delhi University, she has done extensive research on traditional Indian textiles and costumes. Her Master's dissertation was a detailed study on the traditional costumes of the Gaddi tribe in Himachal Pradesh, India. Ruby has also co-authored a book, titled, *Celebrating Dreams: Weddings in India,* that covers the traditional bridal costumes of different regions of India. Her doctoral thesis, titled, *A Study on the Metamorphosis of the Indian "Choli" Blouse and the Development of a Readymade Sari Blouse,* is an extensive body of work on the Indian blouse. She has presented research papers on the Indian sari and choli at prestigious international conferences.

Anne M. Toewe, The University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, Colorado, United States

Dr. Anne M. Toewe is the professor of costume design in the School of Theatre Arts and Dance at The University of Northern Colorado in Greeley, Colorado, United States. She holds an MFA in Costume Design from Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, and a PhD in Theatre Literature and Criticism from The University of Colorado at Boulder. Her Bachelor's degree is in Biology from The College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia and it was at William and Mary that she gained her passion for dress history. Dr. Toewe has written and presented on Victorian Mourning for Men and on Steampunk as a Rejection of Victorian Fashion mores for numerous conferences and journals. In addition to Victorian fashion, Dr. Toewe is researching dress as identity in the queer community. She is a member of the Costume Society of America and the American Design Union, United Scenic Artists.

Kirsten Toftegaard, Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen, Denmark

Kirsten Toftegaard, curator at Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen, is the keeper of the museum's Dress and Textile Collection. She has arranged several exhibitions at Designmuseum Danmark, including *Rokoko-mania* (2012), *British Post-War Textiles* (2013), the permanent exhibition *Fashion and Fabric* (2014), *Marie Gudme Leth: Pioneer of Print* (2016), and *I am Black Velvet: Erik Mortensen Haute Couture* (2017). In 2015, she curated an exhibition on Modern Danish Tapestry at the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia. Her research field has, in recent years, focused on twentieth century Danish fashion and textiles. Another main research area is eighteenth century textiles and fashion. From 2005 onwards, Kirsten has been a member of the Conseil du CIETA (Centre Internationale d'Études des Textiles Anciens), representing Denmark. In 2016, Kirsten received a positive evaluation at the PhD level by the research committee under the Danish Agency for Culture.

Igor Uria, Cristóbal Balenciaga Museum, Getaria, Spain

Igor Uria has been the Collection Director at the Cristóbal Balenciaga Museum since May 2014. He previously served as head of the Cristóbal Balenciaga Museum's Conservation and Register Department (2004–2014). With 15 years of experience as a manager of and researcher into the collection, which has been reinforced since the founding of the Cristóbal Balenciaga Foundation, Uria has curated a number of different exhibitions. He holds a Bachelor of Fine Arts from The University of the Basque Country, specialising in conservation and restoration, and has completed numerous specialised courses at the universities of Deusto and Alcalá de Hernares, and Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens (CIETA) in Lyon, France. He studied Fashion Curation and Dress at The Victoria and Albert Museum's international training course in London and is currently a PhD student in Architecture, Design, Fashion, and Society at the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.

Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, Textile Research Centre, Leiden, Netherlands

Dr. Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood is a textile and dress historian, focussing on the Middle East. She has a PhD from the Department of Archaeology, Manchester University on the theme of weft-faced compound weave textiles from the Roman period in Egypt, and worked for many years as a textile archaeologist in the Middle East. Dr. Vogelsang-Eastwood has written numerous books and articles on the subject of textiles and dress, including *Tutankhamen's Wardrobe* (1999)

and *Covering the Moon: An Introduction to Middle Eastern Faceveils* (2008), as well as being the editor of the Bloomsbury series of encyclopaedias of world embroidery. In particular, she wrote the *Encyclopaedia of Embroidery from the Arab World* (2016), which received various international awards including the Dartmouth Medal (2017). She is currently the Director of the Textile Research Centre, Leiden, Netherlands (www.trc-leiden.nl), an international centre for the study of textiles and dress from pre–history to the present day with no geographical boundaries.

ADH Membership, Conferences, and Calls For Papers

If you enjoy reading The Journal of Dress History, please consider becoming a member of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH). Your support is appreciated.

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Please visit our website, www.dresshistorians.org, for the most up-to-date information about our association.

ADH Conferences

For additional information about the following conferences of The Association of Dress Historians, please visit www.dresshistorians.org.

27 May 2022:

This is the date for our annual New Research in Dress History Conference, to be held at National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh, Scotland. The Call For Papers submission deadline was 31 January 2022.

30 September–1 October 2022:

This is the date for our International Conference of Dress Historians, titled, Fashioning the Body for Sport and Leisure: A History of Dress and Textiles, which will be held at the historic Art Workers Guild, 6 Queen Square, London, WC1N 3AT, England. The Call For Papers submission deadline was 1 September 2021.

7–8 October 2024:

This is the date for our International Conference of Dress Historians, titled, Dress and Art: Clothing and Textiles in Painting and Portraiture, which will be held at the National Portrait Gallery in London, England. The Call For Paper (CFP) for this conference will be published soon at www.dresshistorians.org/cfp.

The Journal of Dress History CFPs

The Journal of Dress History welcomes articles that feature new research into the history of dress, textiles, or accessories of any culture or region of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Articles of any theme can be submitted to journal@dresshistorians.org on any day of the year. However, please note the following deadlines for the special themed issues of The Journal of Dress History.

Fashioning the Body for Sport and Leisure: A History of Dress and Textiles

Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2022

Topics of potential articles could include (but are not limited to) dress/textiles for sport activities, such as archery, cricket, cycling, football, golf, hiking, mountaineering, Olympic sports, riding, soccer, tennis, winter sports; or leisure activities, such as camping, dancing, fishing, gardening, holidays, hunting, photography, playing a musical instrument, roller-skating, shopping, sunbathing, water sports.

Marginalized Dress Histories: Exploring the "Other" in Dress, Textiles, and Accessories

Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2023

All dress history topics of marginalized histories are welcomed for this special issue.

Dress and Art: Clothing and Textiles in Painting and Portraiture

Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2024

Topics of potential articles could include (but are not limited to) clothing and textiles in painting and portraiture, including any culture or region of the world from before classical antiquity to the present day.

THE ASSOCIATION OF DRESS HISTORIANS