**Front Cover Image:**


This print was published in a souvenir booklet printed by Alf Cooke in Leeds, England, featuring costumes made by theatrical costumier Charles Alias from designs by Lucian Besche.
The Journal of Dress History

Volume 5, Issue 6, Winter 2021

Special Themed Issue

Costume Drama:
A History of Clothes for Stage and Screen

Editor-in-Chief
Jennifer Daley
Guest Editor
Janet Mayo
Managing Editor
Valerio Zanetti
Commissioning Editor
Georgina Chappell
Editor
Benjamin Linley Wild
Associate Editor
Michael Ballard Ramsey
Book Reviews Editor
Alicia Mihalić
Exhibition Reviews Editor
Emma Treleaven
Editorial Assistant
Giulia Mangone
Editorial Assistant
Cassandra Milani

Published By
The Association of Dress Historians
journal@dresshistorians.org
www.dresshistorians.org/journal
The Journal of Dress History
Volume 5, Issue 6, Winter 2021

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

Copyright © 2021 The Association of Dress Historians
ISSN 2515-0995, registered at The British Library, London, England
Online Computer Library Centre (OCLC) Accession #988749854

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

Founded in 2016, The Journal of Dress History is circulated solely for educational purposes and is non-commercial: journal issues are not for sale or profit. The Journal of Dress History is run by a team of unpaid volunteers and is published on an Open Access platform distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is cited properly. Complete issues of The Journal of Dress History are freely available at www.dresshistorians.org/journal.

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History encourages submissions for publication consideration from students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals. If you would like to discuss an idea for an article, book review, or exhibition review, please contact Dr. Jennifer Daley at journal@dresshistorians.org.

The Journal of Dress History is designed on European standard A4 size paper (8.27 x 11.69 inches) and is intended to be read electronically, in consideration of the environment. The graphic design utilises the font, Baskerville, a serif typeface designed in 1754 by John Baskerville (1706–1775) in Birmingham, England. The logo of The Association of Dress Historians is a monogram of three letters, ADH, interwoven to represent the interdisciplinarity of our membership, committed to scholarship in dress history. The logo was designed in 2017 by Janet Mayo, longstanding ADH member.
The Advisory Board

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

Kevin Almond, The University of Leeds, Leeds, England
Anne Bissonnette, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada
Elizabeth Castaldo Lundén, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden
Suchitra Choudhury, Independent Scholar, Carlisle, England
Daniel James Cole, New York University, New York, United States
Vicki Karaminas, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand
Ned Lazaro, Historic Deerfield, Deerfield, Massachusetts, United States
Jane Malcolm-Davies, The University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark
Janet Mayo, Independent Scholar, Bristol, England
Amy L. Montz, University of Southern Indiana, Evansville, Indiana, United States
Anna Reynolds, Royal Collection Trust, London, England
Aileen Ribeiro, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London England
Georgina Ripley, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland
Annamarie V. Sandecki, Tiffany & Co., New York, New York, United States
Joana Sequeira, The University of Minho, Braga, Portugal
Katarina Nina Simončič, The University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia
Ruby Sood, National Institute of Fashion Technology, New Delhi, India
Anne M. Toewe, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, Colorado, United States
Kirsten Tøftegaard, Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen, Denmark
Igor Uria, Cristóbal Balenciaga Museum, Getaria, Spain
Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, Textile Research Centre, Leiden, Netherlands
Contents

Articles

Making the Invisible Visible: 
Tracing Maria Bjørnson’s 1986 Costume Design for 
The Phantom of the Opera
Janne Helene Arnesen

A Pageant of Famous Women: 
Fashion and Historic Costume in British Suffrage Theatre, 
1909–1914
Dylan Leah Brekka

Doris Zinkeisen (1898–1991), British Costume Designer
Alice Fine

The Lonesome Lovers’ Dance: 
Yona Lesger

The Fabric of Theatre, from Period to Pantomime: 
An Examination of the Stock Held at The York Theatre Royal 
Costume Hire Department, York, England in 2020
Claire Spooner
Book Reviews

Adornment:
What Self-Decoration Tells Us About Who We Are
Stephen Davies
Reviewed by Faryal Arif 163

Shoe Reels:
The History and Philosophy of Footwear in Film
Elizabeth Ezra and Catherine Wheatley
Reviewed by Kerry Bechtel 167

Dressed:
Fashionable Dress in Aotearoa New Zealand 1840 to 1910
Claire Regnault
Reviewed by Jennifer Daley 170

The Cinema of Sofia Coppola:
Fashion, Culture, Celebrity
Suzanne Ferriss
Reviewed by Carlota Hernández 173

Fashion and Family History:
Interpreting How Your Ancestors Dressed
Jayne Shrimpton
Reviewed by Helen Kempton 177

Shakespearean Wig Styling:
A Practical Guide to Wig Making for the 1500s–1600s
Brenda Leedham and Lizzee Leedham
Reviewed by Yuko Kobayashi 180

Clothing and Queer Style in Early Modern English Drama
James M. Bromley
Reviewed by Luise Kocaurek 183

Fashion in Film
Christopher Laverty
Reviewed by Skye Murie 187
Clothes Make the Character:
The Role of Wardrobe in Early Motion Pictures
Lora Ann Sigler
Reviewed by Amelia O’Mahony-Brady
190

Fashion, Dress and Post-Postmodernism
José Blanco F. and Andrew Reilly
Reviewed by Rachel Gets Salomon
194

Dress and Clothing in the Hebrew Bible:
“For All Her Household Are Clothed in Crimson”
Antonios Finitsis
Reviewed by Hendrik van Rooijen
197

American Milliners and Their World:
Women’s Work from Revolution to Rock and Roll
Nadine Stewart
Reviewed by Sarah White
200

Exhibition Reviews

Fashion in Japan 1945–2020
Curated by Yayoi Motohashi, Natsu Onodera,
Nagisa Sugimoto, Miki Nammoku, and Risa Hirota
National Art Center, Tokyo, Japan
Reviewed by Ayaka Sano Iida
204

La Belle Epoque: Fashions of the 1870s to 1910s
Curated by Charlotte Reynolds and Eliza McKee
Ulster Museum, Belfast, Northern Ireland
Reviewed by Rachel Sayers
208

Additional Sections

Recent PhD Theses in Dress History
212

A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research
214

The Editorial Board
243
The Advisory Board

ADH Membership, Conferences, and Calls For Papers
Welcome

Dear ADH Members and Friends,

Welcome to this special themed issue of The Journal of Dress History, titled, Costume Drama: A History of Clothes for Stage and Screen. Thank you to our guest editor, Janet Mayo, and everyone who contributed to this issue. Five dress history articles on the topic of “stage and screen” are included in this issue, along with 12 book reviews and two exhibition reviews.

This is the twentieth journal issue on which I have worked—and the last issue on which I will be working. This is my ninth year working at The Association of Dress Historians (ADH), and it’s been a full-time job with my many volunteer positions as chairman, trustee, conference and events organizer, website editor, and editor-in-chief of The Journal of Dress History. I am resigning from all of my roles at the ADH Annual General Meeting on 6 December 2021. It has been an honour to contribute to the international dress history community. I have truly enjoyed meeting so many people over the years and collaborating on various projects, including our international dress history conferences twice a year.

The Journal of Dress History has grown significantly since I founded the publication in 2016. The Journal of Dress History is the oldest, largest, most widely circulated Open Access dress history journal in the world. The Open Access nature of the journal was a key commitment from inception: inclusive of this issue, 95 academic articles, 257 book reviews, and 11 exhibition reviews have been published—all articles and reviews of which are completely free for everyone on our journal webpage. Open Access (free of charge) ensures inclusivity for both authors and readers. All articles are double blind peer reviewed, and we welcome educators and students to use our journal issues inside and outside the classroom. In this way, The Journal of Dress History is constantly participating in (and adding to) the academic discipline of dress history.

A great editorial team has been assembled to continue the publication of The Journal of Dress History into 2022 and beyond. We actively encourage the submission of new articles, book reviews, and exhibition reviews. If you are interested in potentially publishing in The Journal of Dress History, please contact the journal team via the emails listed on our website. Thank you!

Best regards,

Jennifer

Dr. Jennifer Daley, PhD, FHEA, MA, MA, BTEC, BA
Editor-in-Chief, The Journal of Dress History
Chairman and Trustee, The Association of Dress Historians (ADH)
journal@dresshistorians.org
www.dresshistorians.org/journal
Making the Invisible Visible:  
Tracing Maria Bjørnson’s 1986 Costume Design for *The Phantom of the Opera*  

Janne Helene Arnesen  

Abstract  

In 1986, Maria Bjørnson designed the sets and costumes for Andrew Lloyd Webber’s musical *The Phantom of the Opera*. Her design quickly became iconic, from the Phantom’s half-mask to the grandeur of the scenography. Bjørnson made the costume design for *The Phantom of the Opera* within a few weeks. This was not a straightforward process. One reason why is that the musical has never really closed, and the creative material has hence been closely guarded. Information about the costume design is also typically presented in a promotional context. Three decades later, Bjørnson’s design is attracting increasing academic interest. This article maps out key aspects of her design process by looking closely at books and sources the designer used as inspiration.
Introduction

The aim of this article is to trace the costume design process and plausible sources Maria Bjørnson (1949–2002) turned to when designing *The Phantom of the Opera*, as well as how she adapted it to the task in hand: designing a musical consisting of five different eras, an underground lair and a fancy dress ball. A starting point was to get an overview of how and when the work started, and some of the chief sources to which the designer turned. The approach is similar to archival studies, using written sources and the original design to contextualize the design process. Bjørnson’s books and sources have been suggested by various professionals working on the musical. Furthermore, interviews and press coverage where Bjørnson comments on the design have been used to contextualize the sources.

The following are the main hypothesis: the task Bjørnson faced was huge, and she finished the costume design in a fairly short time span. It points to having a variety of sources in hand and also a solid experience to draw upon. With this established, the finished costume design—as it first appeared on stage in 1986—will be discussed through two main costume features: The Phantom’s white mask, which was worn throughout the show, and the masquerade ball at the beginning of Act Two. To begin, let us now take a closer look at Bjørnson and her career around the time she was approached to do the design for *The Phantom of the Opera*.

Designer Maria Bjørnson

Maria Elena Viviane Eva Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson came from a stage-influenced family. Her mother, Romanian Maria “Mia” Prodan de Kisbunn (1917–2004), was the granddaughter of Paul Prodan de Kisbunn, director of the Romanian National Theatre. Bjørnson’s estranged father, Norwegian Bjørn Albert Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1899–1986), was the grandson of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832–1910), who was an author, playwright, and winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1903. Maria Bjørnson’s father was also the nephew of Bjørn Bjørnson (1859–1942), the director of the Norwegian National Theatre.

---

1 The birthyear and deathyear of Paul Prodan de Kisbunn are unknown.
Maria Bjørnson was born in Paris and grew up in London. She was educated at the Central School of Art and Design and was to become one of the most productive and celebrated stage designers of her era. She worked on operas and plays, with a handful of musicals in between, and was involved in approximately 125 productions in 30 years. She was in all ways productive, and also praised.

The Phantom’s Designer

Bjørnson had mainly designed for opera and plays when she was approached to design *The Phantom of the Opera*, a new musical about a deformed genius. The producer Cameron Mackintosh (1946–) had seen Bjørnson’s work several times before, but it was her take on the sinking ship in the Royal Shakespeare Company’s 1982 production of *The Tempest* that appears to have piqued Mackintosh’s interest. The ship (Figure 1) sank into the floor by simple means——some sails, a bit of rope, wooden remains of a boat——and yet these simple means created the production’s own universe. Bjørnson said, “I later asked him what it was that made him approach me to do *Phantom*. He said it was the *Tempest* shipwreck—I had the boat sink into the floor of the stage, and the sail washed up into the sky. That became Prospero’s island.”2 Mackintosh was to produce *The Phantom of the Opera*, and this was the sort of cinematic flow needed for the musical.

---

Bjørnson was not, however, the only designer considered. When Hal Prince (1928–2019) was hired as the director for *The Phantom of the Opera*, Mackintosh recommended five designers to him. Prince said of the designers, “One stood out. Considering the assignment—a flamboyant Victorian melodrama—it must seem strange that I was especially impressed with a single-set design—almost minimalist—of an Ibsen play. A rectangle, wooden louvers, beautiful furniture, architecturally spare: an inviting space to tell a powerful story.” The Ibsen play was likely *Hedda Gabler*, which Bjørnson designed in 1977 and which was directed by Keith Hack⁴ at Duke of York’s Theatre, London. Having impressed both the director and the producer of *Phantom*, Bjørnson was hired as the designer in 1985.

---


¹ The birthyear and deathyear of Keith Hack are unknown.
Bjørnson had worked on approximately 100 operas, plays, and ballets prior to *The Phantom of the Opera*. She usually designed both sets and costumes for the productions. Interestingly, her costumes often double as a set piece, with ornamental details and layers, creating a sculptural effect. This was also done for *The Phantom of the Opera*, where sets and costumes are co-dependent. An example of this is the set design bordering a black box where only part of a large stage piece is introduced—a corner of a staircase, half a dressing room, or a drape and two pieces of furniture suggesting a Victorian office. The rest of the stage is dim. Against this “black box,” the costumes are like exclamation points, “as much the scenery as the scenery itself.” For this reason, the set design must be considered when discussing Bjørnson costume design.

Prince had picked Bjørnson because of her ability to create “black box” moods, even in elaborate designs. His instructions for her *Phantom* design were simple: “I hear the thud of heavy drapes, and I see dark Turkish corners.” Bjørnson mentioned a Zeffirelli production of *Don Giovanni* in Vienna as inspiration: “The set seemed to exist beyond the frame of the stage. I understood then that a realistic set that is planted firmly in the boundary of what can be understood can have a deadening effect. If you make the audience feel as if there’s something happening just offstage, they keep their eyes and ears open.” This was an approach both director and designer would implement in *The Phantom of the Opera*. Things are suggested, felt, indicated, just out of view.

Such a suggestive notion comes to view in the opulent golden proscenium, with satyrs and maidens twisting and turning in repressed erotic poses. The proscenium hints towards something both director Prince and designer Bjørnson felt was of importance for the tone of the musical: people with deformities and physical disabilities also have sexual desires. More than a mere decoration, the proscenium thus sets the mood and underlines the erotic elements of the show.

---

1 Felici, op cit.
2 Ibid.
3 Winer, op cit.
4 Ibid.
The creative team did not want their new musical to depend on existing interpretations of the Phantom in popular culture, where the story often differed substantially from the original. Instead, they went back to the very roots. “We have gone back to the book which, paradoxically, has provided a lot of freshness,” lyricist Charles Hart (1961–) said just before the 1986 premiere in London.\(^{10}\) It provided the creative team with a starting point.

Director Prince flew back and forth between London and New York, with many in–process talks with Bjørnson. Prince said, “We’d be in her studio, and then a lot of evolving, a lot of talk until the design happening. A lot.”\(^{11}\) As it were, the talks were a part of Bjørnson’s design process. To her it was all about “…finding out what the problems are by asking the right questions.”\(^{12}\) She did not start with the visuals, but sought to find answers to the questions, the challenges. From there the visuals became the response. Still, her deadline was fast approaching. The sets were done, but the costumes had to be designed and sewn.

A few weeks later, the costume design was ready. Bjørnson had worked non–stop, designing not just a handful, but 10, 20, maybe 25 new costumes a day.\(^{13}\) Around 230 intricate costumes, complete with a wide range of accessories and suggestions for materials, were created in a few weeks. Thirty–five costume makers were ready to begin the process of transforming sketches into fabric.\(^{14}\) To get an idea of this design process, it may be helpful to look at some of the sources Bjørnson used, as well as those she excluded.

**Printed Sources**

The task Bjørnson faced was to design sets and costumes for a musical covering five different eras, a masked ball, and a dark underground fantasy world. In a discussion on the musical’s official website in the 1990s,\(^{15}\) the designer was asked how she started on this task. Bjørnson replied, “First there are in–depth discussions with the director about the text/music and our response to that. In this case the

---

12 Felici, op cit.
13 Ibid.
14 Sue Willmington interviewed in the BBC documentary *Behind the Mask* (2005).
15 This Q&A is no longer on the official Phanton of the Opera website but was retrieved through user despiteyourdestination on the blog platform Tumblr in 2012.
Paris Opera House was a major player as it is here that the original Phantom named Erik lived...When we visited the Opera House for two days, we took 350 photos of the building, there was so much to see.”

To another person asking what kind of research she did beforehand, Bjørnson replied, “I did have extensive research on drapes from the Victoria and Albert Museum. The tassels and fringes I made up myself. As I had done a bit of designing for opera, I was very familiar with the period and already had a lot of costume references. The Degas drawings of girls at the Paris Opera House and etchings of the famous opera balls were also of huge inspiration.” Bjørnson thus started out with a solid portfolio and extensive reference material already in her collection. She also researched the Palais Garnier first hand, to become familiar with the building where the story takes place, as well as the original novel. No less important were her discussions with director Prince on what he envisioned for the musical.

When the composer Andrew Lloyd Webber (1948–) first explored the possibilities of making The Phantom of the Opera into a musical, he did look into existing versions. Of particular interest were the 1925 film with Lon Chaney (1883–1930) and the original 1984 stage version of Phantom of the Opera by Ken Hill (1937–1995). It was not until early 1985, when Lloyd Webber came across an English translation of the novel at a secondhand store in New York that his interest in the original story was sparked. Of special interest was the more pronounced romantic thread of the novel. In July 1985, an early draft of the first act of Lloyd Webber’s version was presented at the annual festival on his Sydmonton estate, complete with a love triangle and a falling chandelier.

---

16 According to assistant Jonathan Allen, interviewed in the BBC documentary Behind the Mask (2005), the visit to the Palais Garnier in Paris took place in November 1985.
17 This Q&A is no longer on the official Phantom of the Opera website but was retrieved through user despiteyourdestination on the blog platform Tumblr in 2012. Many of the patterns and ornaments Bjørnson designed for the musical can definitely be matched to this book:
18 Perry, op cit., p. 67.
19 Ibid., p. 68.
Bjørnson’s set design is firmly based in the Palais Garnier in Paris. In the novel the Palais Garnier almost becomes a character in its own right, and architectural elements like the grand staircase, the rooftop’s dome, the underground lake, and specific doors made it into Bjørnson’s design. The 2006 Las Vegas version helmed by Hal Prince also introduced the royal boxes and the opera facade.

Interestingly, neither Bjørnson’s Sydmonton design nor the finished costume design picks up many clues from the original 1909 novel by Gaston Leroux (1868–1927). A much-cited example is that Leroux’s Christine is blonde, while Bjørnson designed Christine as a brunette with large curls. That may be a homage to the Christine in the 1925 film, played by Mary Philbin (1902–1993), considered by many the original Christine.20 It could also have been in reference to the appearance of soprano Sarah Brightman (1960–) at the time she assumed the role of Christine in 1986.

The novel’s Raoul is a young aristocrat in the navy, eagerly awaiting a trip to the Arctic. But the only military presentation he gets in the stage version is when appearing in a Hussar uniform—the uniform of a light cavalry—at the masked ball. Meanwhile, the Phantom is described in the novel as more skeleton than man, with waxy yellow skin. He wears different masks, hereunder horizontal half-masks with and without a barbe, a fabric drape in front of the mouth. But for reasons later explained, the stage mask is a vertical half-mask. The Phantom himself, albeit still deformed, was made more human, even with a touch of the sleek look of the silent film star Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926).

Thus, the inspiration for Bjørnson’s costumes did not come from Leroux’s novel. Michael Lee of the Maria Bjørnson Archive describes how she instead “…started with intense research, spending weeks in Paris…and in libraries hunting out the costumes and decor of the Belle Époque.”21 This corroborates Bjørnson’s own words on the process. These different sources were then filtered and absorbed into her own design, following her own vision.

---

20 The first to portray Christine was Norwegian actress, Aud Egede-Nissen (1893–1974), in a German 1916 silent movie. The movie is considered lost, and no visuals known. Thus, Mary Philbin’s portrayal is the first available version.
For the main characters, the designer used croquis—main sketches of a character where the costumes are altered for the different scenes (Figure 2). Bjørnson made some 12 sketches of costumes worn by leading character Christine Daaé, spread out over five main croquis. The repeated croquis are present in the second act. If she designed the costumes chronologically this would suggest that time was of essence towards the end of the design period.

Figure 2:
Bjørnson’s 1986 Design for the Phantom (left) and Raoul de Chagny (right), Using the Same Croquis for Both, Images Used by Kind Permission of The Maria Bjørnson Archive.
Bjørnson used the same croquis for the Phantom and for Raoul de Chagny, the two male leads in the show. It gives a sense of her wanting to underline their similarities as much as their differences. This process was kept for all costumes except the Phantom’s impressive Red Death attire. For this, the designer went back to the 1925 Lon Chaney film, as will be addressed later.

For minor roles and ensemble costumes, Bjørnson used historical fashion plates, photos of historical opera and film stars, and etchings from the Garnier balls. Her designs were to be firmly based in history. If Bjørnson found depictions she wanted to incorporate, the overall look might be kept, but with small or large details redesigned to make the attires unique to the musical. Bjørnson also spent time choosing the appropriate materials and colours. The original silhouette was however often kept, which makes it easier to identify sources when illustrations are compared with her designs.

One such example can be found in The Complete Phantom of the Opera by George Perry. This includes an engraving of a late nineteenth century Bal Masqué in the Opéra Garnier, likely one of the engravings the designer referred to in the Q&A. The motif shows a masked ball in the auditorium of the Palais Garnier. At least three of the figures seen in the foreground made it into Bjørnson’s design for the Masquerade scene.

Another example is Bjørnson’s design for the “Butterfly” in masquerade (Figure 3). This one is a definitive match to a costume from scenic designer Wilhelm’s 1915 sketch for the ballet A Dream of Butterflies and Roses. Other singular costume and dress renderings used for the musical lead to works found in The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), London, archives. It is unclear whether this stems from books Bjørnson had at her disposal, or visits she made to the museum.

---

22 Perry, op cit.
Neither artist nor year is mentioned in the book, but the opera house opened to the public in 1875.
23 The birthyear and deathyear of Wilhelm (William John Charles Pitcher) are unknown.
This match was discovered by user comtessedechagny on the blog platform, Tumblr.
A book Bjørnson did have in her collection is one featuring Harper’s Bazaar fashion plates, possibly from the 1974 book edition. The book features a purplish-blue seaside dress at the cover. The dress, in this very shade, appears on the character Wardrobe Mistress, designed by Bjørnson, but with some details added. Other fashion plates from this book also made it into the design for ensemble costumes, including a Victorian travel dress in the Sitzprobe scene and Victorian day dresses for the musical’s dress rehearsal of the mock opera Hannibal.

---

Another book of interest is *The Great Opera Stars in Historic Photographs*. The book was mentioned by associate designer Sam Fleming in a costume meet-and-greet in Las Vegas in 2009. Few of the costumes in this book were copied directly, but elements of poses and overall lines made it into Bjørnson’s design. Of particular interest is the photograph of Albert Niemann (1831–1917) as Tristan. Niemann’s image was translated into both the soldiers and the slave-master in the musical’s scene, Hannibal, with Niemann’s face even appearing in Bjørnson’s design (Figure 4). Browsing through the book reveals that several of the photos were filtered and used. Historical opera costumes played a vital part in establishing a believable Victorian opera world in the musical.

---

*Figure 4:*
Left, Closeup of Opera Singer Albert Niemann as Tristan, circa 1895, Right, Bjørnson’s 1986 Design for a Soldier in the Scene Hannibal, Image Used by Kind Permission of The Maria Bjørnson Archive.

---

A final printed source to mention is one not directly related to the costume design but that still reflects on Bjørnson’s work with textiles; namely, the *Historic Ornament: A Pictorial Archive*. Some of the historic patterns sketched in this book reappear in Bjørnson’s rich drapes and curtains throughout the show. These printed sources give an idea of the richness and diversity of the material used in the design process, which has so far been traced through the expressed intentions of the original creative team, and through various printed sources. These are sources the designer and her team has mentioned, or sources to which specific Bjørnson designs can be visually matched. They offer a context to the design process, and points towards some of Bjørnson’s aims when designing. With that established, there is another source that needs to be examined: the silver screen.

**Echoes from the Silver Screen**

Early Bjørnson sketches for *Phantom of the Opera* are conceptual and expressionistic, but her later costume and set designs for the musical are historical in flair and highly sketched out. Michael Lee, archivist of The Maria Bjørnson Archive, describes the costume design as “…lovely things in their own right, as well as excellent working drawings.” There is a high level of detail even in the jewellery, trimming and fabric samples. Along with written instructions, it leaves little doubt as to the designer’s intentions. As touched upon earlier, some poses and outlines from her inspirational pieces have been kept. Earlier, these have been matched to printed sources. Others took a cue from films.

A vital source is the 1925 Lon Chaney film, *Phantom of the Opera*, which appears to have been studied carefully. Overall moments and specific costumes were translated into the 1986 musical. The ballet opening of the film is a close match to the *Il Muto* ballet of the stage version. The main visuals of a cloaked Phantom and a curly brunette Christine may have originally occurred in the Chaney film, but were cemented through Bjørnson’s design and are frequently copied today. The most striking example, however, is how Bjørnson thoroughly adapted Lon Chaney’s Red Death costume (Figure 5).

---

28 Griesbach, op cit.
In the 1909 novel, the Phantom makes a shocking appearance at a fancy dress ball. He is dressed as a death figure clad in crimson and carrying a skull staff. First interpreted in the 1925 Lon Chaney film, this figure is adapted in Bjørnson’s 1986 design to become larger than life: a chevalier dressed figure in red and gold, with a death skull instead of a face, a matching death skull cane, and a long red train. Bjørnson made two designs for this costume. The first is a definite match to stills from the Lon Chaney film. This indicates Bjørnson wanted to draw on an established image for this specific moment.

More fragmented inspiration can be seen in the use of past and present film stars. Archivist Michael Lee revealed in 2011 that: “Faces in the costume designs are often photographs collaged in. Maria enjoyed the tease of using famous faces, like Errol Flynn in her designs for Raoul, for instance, or Kenneth Williams’ face on a
female costume design.”\(^{30}\) The example of Errol Flynn (1909–1959) is a striking one, as the Australian actor’s face is recognisable in Bjørnson’s design (Figure 6). Furthermore, Errol Flynn wore a Hussar costume in the 1941 film *They Died With Their Boots On*, as the character George Armstrong Custer. Comparing a still of Flynn from that film corresponds well with the costume design of Raoul de Chagny in Hussar uniform for the Masquerade scene. It might very well be that the designer went further than just adding Flynn’s *face* to the design.

---

\(^{30}\) Ibid.
The character of Madame Giry is another that probably owes her look to a film: The character, Mrs. Danvers, in the 1940 version of *Rebecca*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980). Madame Giry’s black dress and black braided hair seem like a visual nod to Mrs. Danvers. In the *The Phantom of the Opera* novel, Madame Giry is described as a slightly distressed opera worker, who no one takes seriously but who has been in the service of the Phantom whenever he appears in his opera box. In the musical, she is the respected ballet mistress, and a key figure to the mystery of the Phantom. Rather than recreating Leroux’s Madame Giry, the stage equivalent seems like an amalgamation of different characters from the novel. Giving her some of the attributes of the secretive Mrs. Danvers, an established mysterious woman of the silver screen, could in this context underline the role Madame Giry was meant to have in the new stage musical.

Individual costumes can thus be traced to specific sources. Sometimes the exact outlines and details have been kept, other times there is just the essence of a style. This should not lessen the interpretation of the design. Each garment has been extensively worked on, where choice of materials, accessories, and colours has been given great care. Rather, it is interesting to see how Bjørnson absorbed the amount of available material and made it her own.

**The Costumes**

Bjørnson’s costumes in *The Phantom of the Opera* have often been described in terms of their opulence: “costing as much as a medium sportscar” (Broadway, 1988), “takes 18 metres of silk” (Hong Kong, 1995) and “over 200 yards of trim” (U.S. Tour, 2007). Texts in costume displays may also present the role and scene. Costume exhibitions have primarily been to promote the show, and the opulence of the costumes is a selling point, a promise of a grand spectacle and a fun night out. Discussing Bjørnson’s designs in an academic context may add some insights to the questions she set out to answer through her set and costume design. A key piece in this aspect is the Phantom’s mask.

---

31 These quotations are from text accompanying costumes on display.
“A Mask, My First Unfeeling Scrap of Clothing”

Perhaps the most iconic costume piece in the musical is the Phantom’s white half-mask. Prior to the 1986 musical, the traditional Phantom masks divided the face horizontally. The original Leroux novel describes horizontal masks, sometimes with the addition of the veiled front, the barbe. This is also what appears in the early film versions of the story. The original creative team of the musical was concerned that a horizontal half-mask would hinder the acting of the original Phantom, Michael Crawford (1942–), as the mask concealed many of his facial expressions.32 The solution was as simple as it was ground-breaking. The mask was turned to split the face vertically instead. This has since become the one piece most associated with the figure of the Phantom, copied in other musicals, parodies, school productions, book covers, and in popular culture in general. That makes the question of its origin all the more interesting.

The director, Hal Prince, discussed the mask early on. He had this idea of the Phantom being “Janus faced.” When you saw him from one angle you would see his good side and from another angle you saw his bad side. This was further underlined by Michael Crawford wearing contact lenses: a dark brown one for his “good” eye and a white and a pale blue one for the “bad” eye, making this eye look blinded. Thus, the character could switch personality just by moving his head. In this he would also retain his expressiveness.

Bjørnson’s assistant Jonathan Allen has elaborated on Prince’s story. When they were pondering how to let Michael Crawford keep at least a minimum of facial expressions when wearing a mask, Allen made a suggestion: “I reminded her of a hat she had once worn to a fancy dress ball at the Lloyd Webber’s house. It covered one half of her face and only one eye and crescendoed on top of her head with a long feather. This became the basis for the mask she eventually designed. When she showed it to Hal, she remembered to say that I had reminded her of the hat.”33

32 In the book, The Complete Phantom of the Opera, Perry discussed how a horizontal half-mask similar to that in the logo was briefly tried out. Perry stated the following, with the reaction of Michael Crawford, who was the original Phantom in 1986:
“...A Lon Chaney approach, with cheek padding on the inside, would have made singing impossible. ‘We tried it, but I sounded like Marlon Brando in The Godfather, and I can’t have anything in my ears because I must hear the music.’”
Perry, op cit., p. 78.
33 Winer, op cit.
Bjørnson confirmed this story in a Q&A from the musical’s official website: “When we discussed the Phantom’s costume, I was concerned that he would be stuck behind a mask all evening. My assistant reminded me of a half mask I wore to a fancy dress costume ball given by Sarah Brightman and Andrew Lloyd Webber. This enabled the actor to have a facial contact with his audience. I also looked at World War I victims who had parts of their faces remodelled in China and then painted with glass eyes to blend in with their own faces” (Figure 7).

Figure 7:
Three Masks Made by American Sculptor Anna Coleman Ladd (1878–1939) for First World War Soldiers Who Suffered Face Injuries, 1918.

34 This Q&A is no longer on the official Phantom of the Opera website but was retrieved through user despiteyourdestination on the blog platform Tumblr in 2012.
The parallel between the Phantom’s mask and First World War soldiers who had their face mutilated is particularly interesting. Some soldiers had their faces reconstructed through ground-breaking surgery in London, performed by surgeon Harold Gilles (1882–1960).36 Those who did not obtain surgery often suffered the stigma of society. The market for masks grew immensely, with masks painted to mimic their faces, often with highly elaborate eye details (Figure 8). Such masks can still be found in museums around the world.37

![Image](Image Used by Kind Permission of The Maria Bjørnson Archive.)

Figure 8:
Detail, Bjørnson’s Original 1986 Design for the Phantom, with a Note:
“Mask to look like porcelain with a ‘false’ glass eye,”

36 Artist Paddy Hartley has done fascinating work on the subject, examining the surgeon’s archive.
37 Of special interest is the “tin-faces” of sculptor Anna Coleman Ladd (1878–1939).
In this context, it is interesting to notice a detail in Bjørnson’s design: the blue, “blinded” eye in the design is described as “a ‘false’ glass eye.” As mentioned earlier, this damaged eye was created by using multiple contact lenses—a tradition discontinued in 1988, but occasionally picked up by individual actors. Nonetheless, in the early days of the musical it was an important part of the good side/bad side philosophy and contributed to the blocking on stage that Phantom actors still follow today.

Foreshadowing and Mirroring in Masquerade

The Masquerade scene that opens Act Two is one of the highlights of the show. At first glance it appears a jolly scene with glittering costumes, roaring dancing, and grandeur. Yet something lurks beneath the surface. The director Hal Prince had a vision of making the audience uneasy. His instructions to the original West End cast were clear: “This whole play is designed to keep the audience always, always on the alert, and you must contribute to that.” Bjørnson confirmed that one of her goals was to give the audience a feeling of something happening beyond the frame of the stage. In both staging and design there is an intended dissonance.

In the Masquerade scene, each costume has its own story, in the shape of allegories or embodying an animal or character. Some of these costumes are also used to mirror the main story. The monkey girl playing cymbals is a visual quotation of the monkey music box, which has a top ornament of a monkey figure playing the cymbals. The music box can be seen in the opening scene, sparking old Raoul’s memories, and it is omnipresent in the Phantom’s lair—always while playing the main tune from the Masquerade (Figure 9).

---

38 Blocking is a term used to describe the precise staging or movement of stage actors.
Another costume connecting the Masquerade scene and the Phantom’s lair is the Mandarin robe. The Phantom is seen composing in a Mandarin robe, or a dragon robe, in his lair. It is made of rich Chinese brocades, often with antique embroideries and fringes. The colours are typically black, indigo, and gold. A corresponding costume appears in Masquerade, on the Mandarin Man. He is wearing a fitted Mandarin suit with exaggerated lines, but the silks and the hat are similar to what the Phantom wears in his lair.

The Masquerade scene also features a grand staircase, just a corner of it, but closely modelled after the grand staircase in the Palais Garnier. Partly to make the scene appear more crowded, and partly to create a safety rail where the staircase abruptly ends, some 20 dummies in ornate costumes adorn the edge of the stairs. They are attached to the steps in a way that makes them move slightly when actors walk on the staircase, thus making it appear as if the dummies move.
Some of the dummy costumes reflect costumes worn by the cast members, both in Masquerade and other parts of the musical. For example, a clown dummy in the staircase is similar to that of the whiteface clown worn by an actor. A skeleton dummy in the upper staircase echoes the skeleton costume worn by the opera manager André. A dummy wearing a golden mask and a feathered hoop skirt is a nod to the Fan Lady ensemble costume. This blurs the boundaries of fantasy and reality.

An interesting foreshadowing is the Phantom’s appearance at the end of the Masquerade. He makes his entrance as the Red Death, in a seventeenth century chevalier style, with doublet and breeches, a large plumed hat, and high-heeled shoes. As discussed previously, this is a visual nod to the 1925 Lon Chaney film. Bjørnson adapted this design. The Red Death figure that she designed presents his masterpiece, the mock opera *Don Juan Triumphant*. He instructs the opera company to perform it, and the opera appears later in Act Two. He sings his command to a tune later heard in the mock opera.

To visually underline the ties between the Red Death figure and the mock opera, the same style of costume is used. The tenor Piangi sings the lead role Don Juan, wearing a red chevalier costume with doublet, breeches, a plumed hat and high-heeled shoes—in every way similar to the Red Death. Later in the scene Piangi is found dead. The Red Death’s appearance can thus be read as a foreshadowing of the mock opera itself, as well as the death of Piangi. Thus, the Masquerade costumes are utilized to give messages on a subconscious level. The design binds the story together, giving the audience elements of things already seen, and elements of scenes to come. Parts of the design are deliberately suggestive, which allows the audience to fill in the rest.

**The Aftermath**

Bjørnson’s work with *The Phantom of the Opera* costumes did not end when the show premiered in October 1986. With the West End premiere in London, Bjørnson had taken notes of necessary changes. Both leading ladies were given a new costume during this period, and a handful of costumes were redesigned prior to the January 1988 Broadway premiere in New York. It is likely that the movement of the dancers and actors was also taken into account.
The original Raoul de Chagny, Steve Barton (1954–2001), wanted easier movements for the Masquerade scene, where he did a lot of dancing. He complained that the fur-trimmed Hussar pelisse pulled and tugged when dancing. In response to this, the overall costume was simplified. The grand cloak seen in one of the designs for his Hussar costume never came to be, his black half mask did not survive many performances, and neither did the gloves. The uniform’s pelisse was fitted with a fur trim rather than a full fur lining, to make it lighter. It is an example of gentle revision, where the overall visuals remained the same.

By contrast, some costumes were made grander in later years. Comparing the original stage costumes to later incarnations shows larger skirts, more drapes, more gold, bigger feathers, bolder colours—in large, a more theatrical flair. Yet, Bjørnson was usually present at each cast change in West End up until her death in 2002. This was to ensure her design was maintained, and that costumes were fitted according to her visions.

The Legacy

Even if changes can be pinpointed, the designs used today are still unmistakably Bjørnson’s. Even some of her chosen fabric is still in use. The stripy blue silk she chose for Christine Daaé’s blue second-act dress (Figure 10) was created by the Hopkins, who are popular in the business for their range of antique and specially designed materials. Although the silk has later appeared in other films and shows, it was once unique to The Phantom of the Opera and has become something of a trademark. Similarly, the black diamond-patterned silk featured for the Phantom’s tailcoat in 1986 remains in use around the world.

40 “The jacket was rather heavy to say the least and would pull terribly at his neck when dancing. He used to refuse putting it on until the very last moment. Raouls since have had their costume made from far lighter material.” Marcus Tylor, Phantom of the Opera: The First Year Backstage, Marcus Tylor, London, England, 2007, p. 67.

41 The Hopkins are a husband-and-wife team, Vanessa Hopkins and Alan Hopkins, based in England. The Hopkins made the blue silk that all productions later used for the specific costume, but they did not make the costume itself.

42 Sue Willmington, interviewed in the BBC documentary, Behind the Mask (2005), visiting Dege & Skinner in Savile Row, London.
Figure 10:
The Phantom of the Opera was a success from the moment it opened in London in October 1986. A New York production followed in January 1988. Prior to its opening, a year’s worth of tickets had been sold. Worldwide productions followed swiftly, and the musical has been performed on all continents except Antarctica. Most productions have replicated Bjørnson’s original design.

Hal Prince’s opulent Phantom: The Las Vegas Spectacular production also used Bjørnson’s original design but expanded on it. The production opened in June 2006, in a purpose-built theatre with an 80-foot diameter dome, and a $75 million budget. Some of the special effects were updated, most noticeably the chandelier, the mirrors, and stunt tricks. The main design remained Bjørnson’s: her design but grander. Her assistant Jonathan Allen and costume supervisor Sue Wilmington were involved to maintain the design’s original spirit.

The first non-replica production of The Phantom of the Opera to be approved by the rights holders was staged in Hungary in 2003, using a different design and staging. Other non-replica productions were to follow. The London and New York productions appear unstoppable, only kneeling for the Covid-19 pandemic during 2020. Yet, The Phantom of the Opera remained the only musical with a continuous run through 2020 and 2021, in a world tour visiting South Korea and Taiwan, as well as a new Japanese production. Some 35 years after the original was designed, Bjørnson’s version is still staged across the globe, still featuring Hal Prince’s direction, Gillian Lynne’s choreography and Andrew Lloyd Webber’s music. Christine Rowland has supervised the costumes to maintain the integrity of the designs.\footnote{The role of the Costume Supervisor is very important as they are the person who does all the buying of fabric, the ordering of braids, tassels, and trims, the liaison with the milliners, jewelers, dressmakers, tailors, haberdashery, cobblers, et al.}

\footnote{Christine Rowland worked to ensure that the designs stayed true to Maria Bjørnson’s vision after the designer met an untimely death in 2002.}
Conclusion

Looking at Bjørnson’s designs in the context of the suggested printed and visual sources has allowed a glimpse into the hectic weeks of designing the Phantom. It offers a timeline and contextualises some of the design choices. It might also have contributed some nuance to the view of *The Phantom of the Opera* as a glittering spectacle. The musical relies just as much on what is not there, what is not seen, through the black box approach of the scenography and the foreshadowing and small visual hints added to the costume design. This shows the design went well beyond merely copying sources at hand. Each costume that made it into the musical serves a purpose and is a part of a bigger dialogue between the audience and the stage, and between the costumes and the sets. Thirty-five years after the musical premiered, audiences still respond to a design aimed at the subconscious; a design that only gives audiences elements and allows their brain to fill in the blanks; a design whose costumes draw upon familiar imagery and yet create a magical universe. Thus, the design itself lives up to the etymology of the word, phantom: making the invisible visible.
Bibliography

Secondary Sources: Articles


Secondary Sources: Books


Secondary Sources: Other Printed Sources


Copyright © 2021 Janne Helene Arnesen
Email: janne.arnesen@nasjonalmuseet.no

Janne Helene Arnesen is a Norwegian art historian, with dress history as her main field. She received her MA in Art History in 2018 at The University of Oslo. She works with dress, textile and design at The National Museum in Oslo, Norway as a Collection Registrar. She also conducts lectures and guided tours, and appears frequently in national radio broadcasting to discuss dress history specific themes. Her latest projects include clothing and fashion in Norway during the Second World War, and the origins of the national costume worn in 1906 by Queen Maud (1869–1938). Janne’s Instagram page is www.instagram.com/aneacostumes.
Abstract

This article examines the costuming for the 1909 play *A Pageant of Famous Women*, which was created by Cecily Hamilton and Edith Craig, well-known members of the theatre movement in London, England and supporters of the suffrage cause. *A Pageant of Famous Women* was one of many so-called “Suffrage Plays” from this era, which were created with the sole purpose of showing wider audiences the benefits of allowing women the right to vote. Among these plays, *A Pageant of Famous Women* was unique in its use of historic costuming to argue the merit of women’s suffrage by emphasizing past female figures who exemplified the characteristics deemed necessary for the women to obtain the right to vote. This article analyzes the influences and accuracy of these costumes, while situating the play in a larger conversation on the importance of clothing and fashion for the British suffrage movement.
Introduction

On the afternoon of 9 November 1909, a series of prominent writers and actresses from the Women’s Suffrage Political Union launched a fund-raising event at the Scala Theatre in London. The highlight of the event was the launch of a new play, *The Pageant of Famous Women*, written by well-known playwright Cicely Hamilton (1872–1952) and directed by Edith Craig (1869–1947). The production featured over 50 characters representing famous and influential women from history and was an instant sensation, traveling throughout the country over the next two years. While the play certainly was of interest due to its subject, focusing on the merits of women’s suffrage, it is the costumes and the evocation of historical imagery that allowed it to become an influential asset for the suffrage cause. In a movement that was keenly aware of its image and the way its members were perceived by the media and society, *A Pageant of Famous Women* went beyond the idea of fashion as it featured historically accurate costumes created with an attention to detail that was uncommon for suffragette theatre at the time. Through the costuming and execution of this production, *A Pageant of Famous Women* became known as “the finest piece of political propaganda” in the suffrage movement.¹

This article will discuss *A Pageant of Famous Women* in the context of the phenomenon of plays produced by members of the Women’s Social and Political Union during the pre-war period of the suffrage movement. In doing so, it will examine how the costuming of *A Pageant of Famous Women*, which did not feature contemporary fashion, operated in dialogue with a movement that was keenly aware of the impact of fashion and appearances. Through its emphasis on the accurate historical representation of women such as nurse Florence Nightingale (1820–1910), soldier Christian Davies (1667–1739), and Empress Catherine the Great (1729–1796), this play conveyed a strong message about the merits of women’s suffrage through its emphasis on a history illustrated by strong women. It will argue that it is the attention to detail in the historic costuming that set this play apart, allowing it to be lauded as one of the most effective pieces of theatrical publicity created for the suffrage movement.

¹ Initially billed as *A Pageant of Famous Women*, this play began to be referred to as *A Pageant of Great Women* beginning in 1910. In press surrounding the initial production and subsequent tour of the play, it was referred to by both names interchangeably. For the purpose of this paper, it will be referred to as *A Pageant of Famous Women*.

The Theatre and the Suffrage Movement

In the years preceding the production of *A Pageant of Famous Women*, many actresses and playwrights were galvanised into action and turned towards their profession in order to further the cause of women’s suffrage. Beginning in 1907, female writers and activists were producing plays such as Elizabeth Robins’ *Votes for Women!* which focused on telling the history of the movement itself. These plays offered women in the theatre the opportunity to actively participate in politics while giving the cause a literal stage on which they could project their views and expand their audience. Suffrage-oriented organisations such as the Actresses’ Franchise League and the Women Writers Suffrage League were formed to support the production and proliferation of this type of play within a year of the initial run of *Votes for Women!* It is in this climate that *A Pageant of Famous Women* was created.

The Actresses’ Franchise League (AFL) was established in 1908 by a series of influential actresses as well as other members of the theatre world, including Ellen Terry (1847–1928), Madge Kendall (1848–1935), and Violet Vanbrugh (1867–1942). This organisation was loosely connected to the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), a militant group of suffragettes that was led by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst. In this manner, the AFL operated as the faction of the WSPU that focused on creating plays that furthered the goal of the WSPU. In producing plays that supported the suffrage movement, the AFL often joined with another similar group, the Women Writers’ Suffrage League (WWSL), in order to create new plays that touched upon the subject of women’s rights.

---

6 Ibid.
The other organisation integral to the creation of suffrage plays was the Women Writer’s Suffrage League, which was also founded in 1908 by a group of women including Cicely Hamilton, who would go on to write *A Pageant of Famous Women* (Figure 1). This organisation was created with the intention of unifying a group of writers who supported the suffrage movement and inspiring them to create works that would help the cause. While it was not a requirement for the members to be playwrights, the group primarily comprised women like Hamilton, who had begun her career as an actress and transitioned to writing at the turn of the century. Because its aims were also directly aligned with the work of the AFL, the WWSL was considered a sister organisation and frequently worked with the AFL to co-produce theatrical productions.

Figure 1:

---

It is this collaboration that facilitated the production *A Pageant of Famous Women*, through a co-production by the AFL and the WWSL but also through the work of two women who were active in both groups. The original idea for the play came from the theatrical director and costume designer Edith Craig; however, Cicely Hamilton was enlisted to produce the script. This is acknowledged in the play’s printed edition, which credits Hamilton as the author but is dedicated to Craig, “whose ideas these lines were written to illustrate.” This collaboration between the two women, assisted by both the AFL and the WWSL, allowed *A Pageant of Famous Women* to be created.

*A Pageant of Famous Women*

In 1910, AFL member Christopher St. John (1871–1960) wrote that “the idea of the *Pageant of Great Women* originated with Miss Edith Craig, who was fortunate in being able to find in miss Cicely Hamilton a sympathetic and able literary coadjutor.” *A Pageant of Famous Women* began with an idea sparked by a need to solve a problem within the suffrage movement. This problem centred around the popular argument that there was no merit in giving women the vote. It was often stated by men in power that women were not intelligent enough nor emotionally strong enough to handle the responsibility of voting. With this in mind, Edith Craig sought to present a series of women from history whose existence refuted this argument. Her idea was that the play would show that women had participated in history in a way that entirely repudiated the idea that women were undeserving of the vote.

---

10 Born Christabel Gertrude Marshall, she was known professionally as Christopher St. John.
The play opened with an allegorical scene featuring the figures of Justice, Woman, and Prejudice (Figure 2). Notably, the character of Prejudice is the only one that was represented by a man in the original production. This casting suited the subject well, and it was not the first time that the suffrage movement or the WSPU specifically employed this imagery. Earlier that year, artist and friend to the movement W.H. Margetson created an image depicting Justice, Woman and Prejudice in a similar arrangement (Figure 3). This image showed Justice as a blind woman, standing at the top of a set of stairs holding both a set of scales and a sword. Dressed in a classically influenced gown, Woman kneels at the feet of Justice while the male Prejudice, dressed in a more primitive brown sheath of cloth, pulls on Woman’s sash in an attempt to drag her down from the feet of Justice. This image, which was displayed on the programme for the first production of *A Pageant of Famous Women*, went on to be produced as a postcard sold to support the Women Writers’ Suffrage League.

---

13 This character would be represented by a man in most of the traveling productions, with few exceptions. See: Cockin, 2005, op cit., p. 531.

14 Ibid.
Figure 2:
“Well-Known Actresses Appear as Famous Women in a Pageant Advocating the Cause of Votes for Women,”

Figure 3:
Women Writers’ Suffrage League Postcard,
W.H. Margetson, 1909,
Beginning with the characters of Woman, Justice, and Prejudice, *A Pageant of Famous Women* proceeded through a series of groupings that were designed to counter the argument that women did not deserve the vote. As Justice enters the stage, Woman clings to the bottom of her robes and states that she is not truly free without the vote. Prejudice enters, pushing Woman aside and stating to Justice that Woman “weeps for what she is not fit to have.” With this statement, the play continues as Woman introduces a series of influential women from history who show that, indeed, women do deserve the vote.

The main goal of this production led to the play’s structure featuring six groupings of women that addressed different aspects of the argument against women’s suffrage, primarily that women could not handle power or that they did not possess the necessary intelligence. The groupings were The Learned Women, The Artists, The Saintly Women, The Heroic Women, The Rulers, and The Warriors. Craig and Hamilton selected women throughout history, not limited to Europe, who embodied the virtues that they saw as testimony to women’s merit. As these women proceeded across the stage, they sought to convince the allegorical character of Prejudice of their claims.

In the development of the play, Craig and Hamilton enlisted members of the AFL and WWFL to assist in their research into historic women who would best illustrate the merits of female suffrage. Craig and Hamilton selected a total of 44 women who exemplified the attributes of intelligence, artistic merit, piety, leadership, and strength. This list of women, which included figures such as Queen Elizabeth I, Madame Curie, and Joan of Arc, served as the base cast of characters who could have been included in the play. As the pageant went on to be produced throughout the country, the roster increased to over ninety women as local historic female figures were added at different locations on the tour. For example, when the play traveled to Cambridge, notable female graduates of Cambridge were represented amongst the group of Learned Women, which was “not only striking and effective, but naturally very popular with the audience.” In this way, the production’s customisations served to further the importance of the play for each specific crowd.

---

15 Hamilton, op cit., p. 23.
16 Ibid., p. 17.
In the play, as each individual crossed the stage, the character of Woman described how each female figure contributed to history and changed her society. As a pageant format, these historic individuals did not speak but rather paraded across the stage in their costume, with Woman stating their names and their contributions to history. Without lines to distinguish each figure, their costumes served as markers for each character’s integrity and role in history. In this way, the costuming of this production was integral to its central message. For, if the costuming was perceived as inaccurate and did not effectively reflect the time period of each character, the impact of its historic significance would not have resonated with the audience. Consequently, there follows a discussion of fashion in the suffrage movement and how this focus on clothing contributed to the production of *A Pageant of Famous Women*.

**Fashion in the Suffrage Movement**

In her 1935 autobiography on her life in the theatre and the suffrage movement, Cicely Hamilton wrote,

> A curious characteristic of the militant suffragette movement was the importance it attached to dress and appearance, and its insistence on the feminine note...all suggestion of masculine was carefully avoided, and the outfit of a militant setting forth to smash windows would probably include a picture hat. This taboo of the severer forms of garment was due, in part, to a dislike of the legendary idea of the suffragette, as masculine in manner and appearance.¹⁸

This quote illustrates the thinking of women in the WSPU, and by extension those in the AFL and the WWFL, regarding the clothing they wore while actively supporting the movement in the public eye. Indeed, suffragettes faced a high degree of scrutiny in their dress as it was directly connected to their imagery in the press and society as a whole. While these women took to the streets, the leaders of the movement emphasized the need to appear both proper and fashionable in order to assuage the image of the suffragette as “that extremely unpleasant person, a ‘frump.’”¹⁹

---


Another issue that faced suffragettes regarding their dress was the equating of their dress to their bodily autonomy. In papers that criticised the suffrage movement, women were often referred to as pieces of skirt, or a petticoat.\textsuperscript{20} The male writers of these commentaries along with vocal anti-suffragists lamented the possibility of a “petticoat-elected cabinet,” and discussed suffrage demonstrations as “processions of petticoats.”\textsuperscript{21} As these women invaded the public sphere of men, often in a violent manner through their adamant demonstrations and destruction of property, it became paramount for them to exude a level of civility and femininity that countered their actions.\textsuperscript{22}

Throughout the period in question, during which the AFL and WWFL were active and produced \textit{A Pageant of Famous Women}, leaders of the WSPU encouraged every member to be “dainty and precise in her dress.”\textsuperscript{23} In a 1908 article in the WSPU’s newspaper \textit{Votes for Women}, the writer describes how a suffragette of the time must dress, stating “she has a feeling that, for the honour or the cause she represents, she must ‘live up to’ her highest ideals in all respects. Dress with her, therefore is at all times a matter of importance.”\textsuperscript{24} For the militant suffrage movement, dress was just one other piece of propaganda that worked to establish the merits of the cause.

As fashion was certainly on the mind of the creators of \textit{A Pageant of Famous Women}, it is interesting to examine how they translated this value to historic costume. While women in the suffrage movement followed fashion of the time in order to emphasize their own intelligence and individuality while facing stereotyped imagery of the suffragette as an unattractive “frump,” Craig and Hamilton needed to translate this approach to historic dress. With this in mind, the costumes of \textit{A Pageant of Famous Women} successfully transposed this attention to fashion into a historic sphere.

\textsuperscript{20} Rolley, op cit., p. 48.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Votes for Women}, 30 July 1908, op cit., p. 348.
\textsuperscript{22} Rolley, op cit., p. 48.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 51.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Votes for Women}, 30 July 1908, op cit., p. 348.
Costuming Design in *A Pageant of Famous Women*

Edith Craig was well positioned as a costume designer to create the ensembles that accurately represented the time periods of the characters in *A Pageant of Famous Women*. As the daughter of the actress Ellen Terry, Craig had been involved in the theatre world from a very early age. Although she did not take to acting, Craig began designing costumes for her mother’s productions beginning in 1899.\(^\text{25}\) Craig gained popularity as one of the premier costume designers in London after the turn of the century, as she created costumes for her mother’s American tour in addition to many productions in London. Craig’s attention to detail can be seen in her sketchbooks from this era, which feature fabric swatches alongside drawings of each character’s costume, with notes on accessories or ribbon placements surrounding each sketch (Figure 4). In 1901, the women’s column in the newspaper the *Free Lance* lauded Craig’s work, stating “I wonder when an era will dawn upon stage dressing, and we shall value the sublime artistic genius of women like Miss Ailsa (Edith) Craig, the daughter of Miss Ellen Terry, as it deserves to be valued?”\(^\text{26}\) In addition to creating costumes for plays throughout the London’s West End, Craig wrote columns on the subject for papers such as the *Fortnightly Review*, which titled her the “Mistress of the Robes.”\(^\text{27}\)

\(^{25}\) Melville, op cit., p. 171.

\(^{26}\) Quoted in Cockin, 1998, op cit., p. 53.

Figure 4:
Detail, *Scrapbook of Designs for Shock Headed Peter Shown at the Garrick Theatre*,
Edith Craig, 1900, Paper and Fabric,
By the time *A Pageant of Famous Women* was produced, Craig had experience designing historic costumes for plays such as *Robespierre* as well as many others produced at the Lyceum Theatre. In addition to designing historic costumes for these plays, Craig created ensembles for historic balls as well as for previous historic pageants including a 1901 production featuring characters such as Elizabeth I and Queen Victoria, who both appeared in *A Pageant of Famous Women*. It was due to her attention to detail and historic accuracy, particularly in *Robespierre*, that its producer Henry Irving wrote, “She is a tremendous Organizer, and a first-rate worker. She’s a duck!” Outside of this praise, Craig was lauded by critics who described her costuming as “wonderful in its variety and the harmony of the general effect.”

In addition, Craig was credited for her ability to utilise materials available at each theatre and alter them to suit the costumes needed for each play. Actors she worked with knew that she wanted to give the costumes in historic productions a sense of authenticity, as she requested costumes not be washed throughout the production in order to simulate aged fabrics. For Craig, costumes in historic productions should not reflect contemporary fashion in any way. Rather, each piece of the ensemble should reference the desired period through the construction of the clothing to the way each actor wore his or her hair. In addition, she insisted on actors wearing correct undergarments whether that be stays, crinoline, or petticoats.

---

30 Quoted in Melville, op cit., p. 171.
32 Melville, op cit., p. 211.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
This commitment to accuracy also extended to the research she undertook when producing historic costumes. For years preceding the production of *Robespierre*, Craig collected fashion prints from England and France, which she utilised in her designs.  

There also were books on the history of fashion that would have been available to Craig during the course of her career in costume design, such as Florence Mary Gardiner’s *The Evolution of Fashion* from 1897. Craig also gathered photographs, prints and paintings of the historic figures featured in *A Pageant of Famous Women* in order to aid in the costume design. Out of the dozens of women who were included in the production, almost all of them were featured in imagery that could have been consulted at institutions such as the British Library, National Portrait Gallery, and British Museum by the turn of the century. Whilst this article cannot analyze all of the costumes in the show, both for lack of photographic evidence of every single character in addition to a need for brevity, it will nevertheless examine a selection of costumes and the possible sources that Craig consulted in her work as designer for the show.

**Dress in *A Pageant of Famous Women***

In the 1910 publication of the script for *A Pageant of Famous Women* that was sold to raise funds for the AFL and WWFL, Hamilton and Craig included 15 photographs that featured over 30 of the performers from the initial production at the Scala Theatre in 1909. The published copy of the play was illustrated with photographs taken by Marie Leon and Lena Connell of the WSPU along with images produced for a front-page feature in *The Daily Mirror*. The photographs

---

35 Ibid., p. 171.
37 Cockin, 2005, op cit., p. 529.
38 For the purpose of this article, characters who were photographed individually for the play’s printed edition have been examined. The play features 44 historic figures in total, and out of those characters only 11 were photographed individually. A majority of these individually photographed characters are part of the group described as “The Warriors.” The text also includes two group photos, the “Group of Rulers” and “Group of Warriors.”
40 In the published version of the play, the publishers thanked the *Daily Mail* and Miss Lena Connell for allowing them to republish their images. The publishers did not mention their connection to the woman only referred to as “Miss Leon” in the book, but through a search of the address provided alongside Miss Leon’s name in the publication, her first name was determined to be Marie. See:
featured primarily women who were part of the “Warriors” section of the play, emphasizing the importance Hamilton and Craig placed on these roles. Among the featured images were characters such as Florence Nightingale played by Marion Terry (1853–1930), Christian Davies played by Cicely Hamilton, Hannah Snell (1723–1792) played by Christopher St. John, Catherine the Great played by Suzanne Sheldon (1872–1924), and Madame Manon Roland (1753–1793) played by Maud Hoffman, all of which will be focused on in analyzing the play’s costuming.

One of the most recognisable figures from *A Pageant of Famous Women* is Florence Nightingale. At the time of the production, Nightingale was well-known for her work as a nurse during the Crimean War (1853–56) and as the first woman to be awarded the Order of Merit, which she received two years prior to the play’s production. In the image produced of Nightingale, taken by the *Daily Mirror*, she is shown wearing a long-sleeved gown most likely of silk, and holding a lantern (Figure 5).

---


40 The birthyear and deathyear of Maud Hoffman are unknown.

41 Hamilton, 1910, op cit., p. 69.
Figure 5:


By the time of this play’s production, there were a significant number of photographs at museums in London such as the National Portrait Gallery that could have been accessed to inform the design for this costume. In particular, a series of photographs taken around 1856 show Nightingale wearing a dress and hairpiece that are similar to the costume created by Craig for *A Pageant of Famous Women* (Figure 6 and Figure 7). In these photos as well as in the play, Nightingale and Terry both wear a dark-coloured dress that appears to be made of silk, with a white lace collar and matching hairpiece. In addition, Terry’s hair is worn pulled back from a middle parting, similar to Nightingale’s hairstyle seen in the well-circulated photographs.

Figure 6: 
*Florence Nightingale*, 
William Edward Kilburn, 
Albumen Carte-de-visite, circa 1856, 
© National Portrait Gallery, 
Photographs Collection, 
London, England, 
NPG Ax27595.

Figure 7: 
*Florence Nightingale*, 
Printed by Henry Lenthall, 
after William Edward Kilburn, 
Albumen Carte-de-visite, 
circa 1864-1877, © National Portrait 
Gallery, Photographs Collection, 
While it is certain that Craig gave a great deal of attention to this costume, there are a few differences between the costume created for the pageant and the historical dress worn by Nightingale in these photos that must be noted. In particular, despite Craig’s apparent insistence on accurate undergarments for her costumes, this particular dress does not appear to be worn over the proper amount of crinoline that would have been worn by Nightingale, who was notoriously strict about how she dressed.\(^4\) While the material and silhouette of the dress certainly recall the outfit worn by Nightingale in her photographs, it is inaccurate in its construction of the sleeves and bodice, as sleeves in the 1850s were attached lower on the shoulder and the bodice would not have been cinched at the waist with a piece of fabric as is shown in Terry’s costume. Despite these irregularities, the execution of this costume recalled the period as well as the character of Florence Nightingale in a sufficient manner for the purpose of this play.

The figure of Christian Davies, played by Cicely Hamilton in the initial production, offered a different challenge for Craig as Davies was known for dressing up as a man in order to serve in the British Army in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\(^4\) In the image reproduced for the book, Hamilton is shown wearing what appears to be a seventeenth century British army uniform composed of a knee-length wool coat worn over a lighter-color waistcoat (Figure 8).\(^5\) Similar detailing can be seen in a coat dating to this era now in the collections of the Museum of London (Figure 9). Davies’ costume is completed with period-appropriate breeches, boots, and a tricorn hat.


\(^{44}\) Hamilton, op cit., p. 69.


In addition, it should be noted that Davies was not the only female soldier depicted in the pageant. However, these other characters were dressed in slightly different uniforms, reflecting their position in society as well as their differing time periods. One example is the figure of Hannah Snell, who was played by actress Christopher St. John (Figure 10 Figure 11). Snell, unlike Davies, was in the navy and served over 50 years later than Davies. Therefore, Craig was able to highlight slight differences in their uniforms to distinguish between the characters—such as the different style cravat and exaggerated cuffs seen on Snell’s sleeves.\(^6\)

\[\text{Christopher St. John as Hannah Snell,}\]

Photographed by Marie Leon,

\textit{A Pageant of Great Women},

Cicely Hamilton, 1910,

The Suffrage Shop,


\(^6\) It is likely that Davies and Snell were costumed in red and blue uniforms, respectively. However, this cannot be confirmed because only black-and-white images of the costumes exist.
Figure 11:

Hannah Snell, John Farber, 1750,
Mezzotint, after a Painting by Richard Phelps,
The emphasis placed on militaristic characters in the play continues with the figure of Catherine the Great. Despite being categorised as one of the “Rulers” in the play, the character was costumed in what appears to be a uniform complete with tricorn hat and sword (Figure 12).

Figure 12:
Suzanne Sheldon as Catherine the Great, Photographed by Marie Leon,
A Pageant of Great Women, Cicely Hamilton, 1910,
The image reproduced in the published version of the play shows actress Suzanne Sheldon standing in profile, highlighting the fact she is wearing what could be described as men’s clothing and appears to be carrying at least one weapon. Although there are few examples of paintings or engravings that depict Catherine in men’s clothing or military uniforms, it is difficult to determine whether or not Craig would have had access to these images.\footnote{One famous portrait of Catherine the Great in military regalia is Vigilius Eriksen’s \textit{Equestrian Portrait of Catherine II}, after 1762. This portrait is now at the Hermitage Museum, and at the time of the play’s production it was located in the Romanov Gallery of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, Russia. There is no indication that Craig saw this painting or any reproduction prior to the staging of \textit{A Pageant of Great Women}.} It is likely that Craig was aware of Catherine’s life and legacy and chose to dress this character in an adapted military uniform that references the era, similar to the costume worn by the character Hannah Snell, who was active during the same time period. Either way, it remains an interesting choice to portray this character as more of a military leader than solely a female ruler. In comparison, the figure of Madame Manon Roland (1754–1793), a participant in the French Revolution and one of the “Learned Women” in \textit{A Pageant of Famous Women}, is shown in a long-sleeved \textit{robe à l’anglaise} (Figure 13).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{manon_roland_photo.jpg}
\end{figure}
This costume was probably influenced by the many published engravings depicting Madame Roland that Craig could have consulted in preparation for this production (Figure 14 and Figure 15). In these engravings, Roland is shown wearing this type of dress with the only difference being variations on how low-cut the neckline appears in the images compared to the costume. What remains consistent between these depictions and the costume is the mull fichu, which wraps around the front of Roland’s bodice. The inclusion of this detail in Roland’s costume further solidifies its evocation of historic dress.

Figure 14:
Figure 15:

*Portrait of Madame Roland*, Charles State, circa 1850–1900, Wood Engraving, after an Original Painting by Johann Ernst Heinsius, 1792,

While the bodice of this dress certainly evokes the period, again the silhouette is not strictly authentic, as Roland would most likely have worn more undergarments that allowed the skirt to extend further than it does in Craig’s costuming. This is difficult to discern in some fashion plates of the era, given the stylised depiction of women’s bodies, but the discrepancy between the silhouettes can certainly be seen by looking at an existing robe à l’anglaise (Figure 16). In addition to the costume’s historically inaccurate silhouette, the dress has a piece of fabric that falls from the left hip and is tied on the lower right of the skirt that does not appear to have any purpose or historic significance.

Figure 16:
The decision to portray the character of Madame Roland without any type of headdress may also have been influenced by Craig’s design references. In the engravings produced of Roland in the years after her death, she is often shown with her hair down around her shoulders. This would not have been consistent with fashion at the time of Roland’s death in the early 1790s, when women would don more elaborate headdresses complete with ribbons, feathers, and sculpted fabric (Figure 17). Despite these small historical inconsistencies, it is likely that this ensemble was not difficult for Craig to conceive, given her experience with costuming in Henry Irving’s production of Robespierre almost 10 years earlier.

![Figure 17: Fashion Plate, Journal de la Mode et du Goût, ou Amusemens du Salon et de la Toilette, Paris, France, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 15 February 1791, p. 9.](image)
While this has only been a limited analysis of the many ensembles exhibited in *A Pageant of Famous Women*, they offer insight into the larger practice of costuming in this production. Although there are aspects of the costumes that do not coincide with actual historic dress, the effort that Craig put into the costuming can be seen through attention to detail in the fabrics, completion of ensembles with period-appropriate props, and knowledge of representations of the women she sought to depict. Through this attention to detail not only in the costuming but also with casting, audiences viewing *A Pageant of Famous Women* were struck by the poignancy of these costumes, as “white-robed poetesses, women warriors in mailed armour and steel helmets, eighteenth-century celebrities in powder and patches throng the stage.”

**Conclusion**

Cicely Hamilton and Edith Craig’s *A Pageant of Famous Women* went on to be performed throughout Britain for three years following its 1909 opening. Praised as one of the most effective pieces ever created by the AFL and the WWFL, the pageant continued to be reviewed in widely circulated newspapers like the *London Times* and smaller publications such as the *Cambridge Independent Press*. As writers congratulated Hamilton and Craig for their effective argument, stating that this play was possibly the most educational piece developed by the WSPU, they often mentioned the costuming as one of the most important aspects of the play. One such review of the play states, “It is impossible to describe in detail the beautiful costumes of the various characters,” while other reviews analyzed both the props and the colours of the gowns worn by each character. Despite criticism of the suffrage movement at the time, the press primarily heralded *A Pageant of Great Women* as a convincing and well-produced argument of the merits of women’s suffrage in the form of popular entertainment, a “spectacular procession, admirably staged...hailed with enthusiastic applause.”

---

Within the suffrage movement, the play and its costuming went beyond the field of historic significance as some women sympathetic to the suffrage cause began imitating the costume worn by Edith Craig in her role as Rosa Bonheur, a nineteenth century French artist known for her paintings of animals.\(^\text{52}\) For this role, Craig dressed herself in an artist’s smock and a black cravat (Figure 18). Though this ensemble was not unique in its association to Bonheur, it took on a new significance after the play as young suffragettes began to emulate the artist by wearing black bows resembling the cravat which were sold at the Suffrage Atelier in London.\(^\text{53}\) Women working at the store also dressed in a “bright blue workman–like coat, a black skirt, and a big black bow like that beloved of artists who dwell near Luxembourg,”\(^\text{54}\) referring to Bonheur and other painters. In this way, *A Pageant of Famous Women*’s influence extended beyond the theatrical world into the world of fashion within the suffrage movement.

\(\text{Figure 18:}\)

*Edith Craig as Rosa Bonheur*,
Published by
Marie Leon,
*A Pageant of Great Women*,
Cicely Hamilton, 1910,
The Suffrage Shop,

---

\(^\text{52}\) Cockin, 1998, op cit., p. 130.


\(^\text{54}\) Ibid.
In the years that followed the initial production and touring of *A Pageant of Famous Women*, Hamilton and Craig continued to work in the suffrage theatre world and produced several other plays together until the start of the First World War. While the AFL and WWSL went on to sponsor many other plays, *A Pageant of Famous Women* remained one of the most respected productions created within this movement. In particular, it was the attention to the historic detail in the costuming and creation of characters that set this play apart from other one-act productions created at the time. While the costuming was inaccurate in some aspects of its historic representation, it conveyed the time in a way that allowed each character to resonate with the audience, giving merit to the argument that women deserved the vote. As such, the attention to fashion in the suffrage movement was translated to the stage through Craig’s work as a historic costumer, facilitating the creation of an impactful and well-received production.
Bibliography

Primary Sources: Articles


Primary Sources: Books and Plays


Nightingale, Florence, Florence Nightingale to Her Nurses: A Selection from Miss Nightingale’s Addresses to Probationers and Nurses of the Nightingale School at St. Thomas’s Hospital, Macmillan, London, England, 1914.


Secondary Sources: Articles


**Secondary Sources: Books**


Copyright © 2021 Dylan Leah Brekka
Email: dylan.leah95@gmail.com

Dylan Leah Brekka received her MA at the Bard Graduate Center, New York, New York, United States, where she focused her studies on the role of fashion in portraiture of the late eighteenth through early twentieth centuries. This research culminated with her Qualifying Paper, titled *Dressing the Strange Artist: Fashion and Fame in George Clairin’s Portrait de Sarah Bernhardt*, which examined actress Sarah Bernhardt’s choice to wear a form of nightgown rather than formal dress for her large-scale portrait exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1876. While at Bard Graduate Center, Dylan also interned at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in the European Sculpture and Decorative Art Department, where she studied the influence of architectural prints on fan designs in eighteenth century England. Currently, she works as the Curatorial Administrator for a Private Art Collection based in New York.
Doris Zinkeisen (1898–1991),
British Costume Designer

Alice Fine

Abstract

Doris Zinkeisen (1898–1991) was a British costume designer and artist who made her mark on British theatre and film in the early twentieth century. While Zinkeisen has gained some recognition for her interior design, painting and other artistic pursuits, she is less known within theatre and costume studies. This article examines a selection of her theatre costume designs for *The Insect Play* (1924) and Cochran Revue “Champagne Time” (1927) and film costumes from Zinkeisen’s tenure working with British film producer Herbert Wilcox. By putting her design sketches, publicity photos, and film stills into the spotlight, this article calls attention to Zinkeisen’s contribution to British fashion and costume design, thus opening the way for further study and analysis.
Introduction

Room 31 “The Interwar Years: 1920s and 1930s” in the National Portrait Gallery in London displays many faces of notable figures from British history. Recognizable people from varying sectors of public life are represented; royalty (Kings George V and VI), political figures (Emmeline Pankhurst and Sir Winston Churchill), writers (Dylan Thomas and James Joyce), and artists (Vanessa Hall and Dame Gladys Cooper) among others. Barely an inch of empty wall space is visible. Scanning clockwise around the room, a striking face and slight body becomes visible. Tucked into the top right corner of the room, Doris Zinkeisen looks out over visitors (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Doris Zinkeisen, Doris Zinkeisen, 1929, Oil on Canvas, 1072 mm x 866 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London, England, NPG 6487.
In this self-portrait first exhibited in 1929, Zinkeisen stands out due to the painting’s glamour, fine detail, and vivid colour (Figure 2).

Figure 2:
*Gallery 31, “The Interwar Years: 1920s and 1930s,”*
National Portrait Gallery, London, England,
Photographed by Alice Fine, 10 January 2020.

Positioned high on the wall, out of viewers’ direct sight line, the painting could be easily missed. The information plaque reads:

Painter and stage designer. With her sister Anna, Doris Zinkeisen was a familiar figure in the artistic world from the 1920s. Her realist style led to success as a painter of society portraits, horse paintings, and murals for RMS Queen Mary (1935) and RMS Queen Elizabeth (1940). She also produced posters for several railway companies. She is best known, however, for the numerous stage designs that she produced during the 1920s–30s. During the Second World War, she worked for the St John Ambulance Brigade, and as a war artist made drawings of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp after its liberation.¹

Constrained by space limitation, the plaque distils Zinkeisen’s contribution to British culture to only a few lines. However, the claim that she is “best known...for her numerous stage designs” leaves room for discussion, considering that Zinkeisen’s work in British interwar theatre and film has been historically neglected by academia and cultural institutions.

**Modernist British Costume Designer**

For the purposes of this article, the use of the terms “Modernism” or “Modernist” refer to the Art Deco aesthetic enormously popular throughout western culture during the 1920s and 1930s. In opposition to the previous decade’s romantic Art Nouveau style, the Art Deco movement ushered in a new aesthetic that celebrated clean lines, metallic surfaces, and new technologies. Art Deco dominated the interwar period, influencing most design fields and leaving a lasting impression on architecture, fashion, and film.

The Modernist movement took hold in Britain around the turn of the twentieth century for various reasons; the influence of émigré designers from Europe due to the rise of fascism, the distribution of glamorous Hollywood films, the rise of internationally circulated image-heavy magazines such as *Vogue* or *Vanity Fair*, and the spread of feminist ideologies. In clothing from this period, some prominent trends were geometric shapes, bias cut fabrics that draped over the body, and use of materials that enhanced the wearer’s movement, such as beads, rhinestones, and feathers. While the majority of fashion influences in Britain came from Europe and Hollywood, the examples in this article suggest that more academic attention should turn towards examining British designers’ involvement in Modernist fashion in their own country.

---

This article stems from the author’s interest in Zinkeisen’s involvement in the British theatre and film industries. Motivated by Britta C. Dwyer’s remarks that Zinkeisen’s “extensive and pioneering contribution to theatre production deserves a paper of its own,” this article begins to fill the gap in knowledge of Zinkeisen’s theatre and film work, which has not yet been the subject of sustained study.  

Generally, costume designers are required to encapsulate different styles of fashion and dress, and have a vast knowledge of historic clothing, and Zinkeisen is no exception. However, most studies that consider Zinkeisen’s alignment with the Modernist movement focus on her fine art rather than her costume design. Additionally, while existing literature notes Zinkeisen’s significant professional reputation during her career as a costume designer, few authors critically analyze the designs themselves. A generally prolific artist, Zinkeisen realised a great volume of work for theatre and film between the 1920s to 1940s, the period considered in this article. The author examined several hundred sketches in British archives and located several hundred more in international archives; auction catalogue records suggest that hundreds more could be in private hands.  

Here only a small selection of designs will be examined and the costumes themselves will be given more attention than their productions to illustrate the aesthetic features of Zinkeisen’s costume designs and their relation to the Modernist movement. This article is divided into three sections. First, it presents a brief biography of Zinkeisen and an overview of her career trajectory. It then analyzes a selection of Zinkeisen’s costume designs for the stage using sketches and publicity photographs. Finally, it discusses Zinkeisen’s contribution to British film through a selection of her costume designs and considers why her work has been historically overlooked.

---

Dwyer, op cit., p. 117.
3 Zinkeisen costume design sketches were identified in the following collections:
The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), Theatre and Performance Archive, London, England; V&A, Prints and Drawings Department, London, England; The University of Bristol, Theatre Collection, Bristol, England; The University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre, Austin, Texas, United States; The University of Glasgow, Scottish Theatre Archive, Glasgow, Scotland; Private Collection at The Vineyard Hotel, Newbury, England.
Additionally, Zinkeisen costume design sketches appear in British auctions periodically.

72
Setting to Work Undaunted

Doris Zinkeisen was born in Scotland in 1898. While her mother was Welsh-born, her paternal family had European origins.\textsuperscript{6} After moving to England with her family as a child, Zinkeisen was awarded a scholarship to the Royal Academy in 1917 where she trained in painting and went on to win several awards at the Paris Salon.\textsuperscript{7} Zinkeisen then worked on stage production as a scene and costume designer in the mid 1920s, before venturing into the film industry in the 1930s. Zinkeisen married naval officer Edward Graham Johnstone in 1927 and continued to work whilst raising three children. When the Second World War broke out, Zinkeisen worked as a nurse in England then travelled to Europe as a war artist documenting the British liberation of the Bergen–Belsen concentration camp.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{6} Zinkeisen’s grandfather is said to have been born in Germany and emigrated to Scotland as a timber merchant in the mid 1800s. However, the family had previously moved from Belgium to Bohemia. See: Donald Fullerton, “Peninsula Sisters Found Art Fame,” Helensburgh Heritage Trust, 11 February 2014, http://www.helensburgh-heritage.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1137:sisters-found-art-fame&catid=81:the-arts&Itemid=458, Accessed 13 December 2019.


Other accounts state that the Zinkeisen family settled in Scotland for 200 years: Rideal, op cit., p. 66.

\textsuperscript{7} Zinkeisen was awarded Bronze (1929), Silver (1930), and Gold (1934) Paris Salon medals. Rideal, op cit.

Dwyer, op cit., p. 118.

\textsuperscript{8} Zinkeisen was commissioned by the War Artists Advisory Committee to capture the British liberation of the Bergen–Belsen concentration camp in 1945. Zinkeisen produced approximately 14 paintings during her tenure as a war artist, and three paintings of the concentration camp, which are held by the Imperial War Museum in London: \textit{April 1945}, \textit{Human Laundry}, and \textit{The Burning of Belsen}. For more information on Zinkeisen’s work as a war artist and analysis of her work as examples of British nationalism, see: Rebecka A. Black, \textit{Britain’s Camp: The British Nationalist Narrative of Bergen–Belsen by Doris Zinkeisen}, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, United States, 2012.
Zinkeisen scaled back designing for stage and screen after the war, moved out of London with her family, which she was able to support through auction sales of her paintings after the death of her husband in 1946. Zinkeisen continued to paint until the end of her life in 1991, at the age of 92.

There are varying accounts of how Zinkeisen actually secured employment with notable theatre producer Nigel Playfair (1874–1934) during his tenure as director of the Liverpool Repertory Company. Their initial meeting, as described in Playfair’s autobiography, took place while Zinkeisen was still a student and she arrived to see Playfair “unannounced with a portfolio of drawings under her arm.” Playfair initially employed Zinkeisen to oversee scenery design at the Liverpool Repertory Company, where he claimed she was talented but needed experience and simultaneously admitted he had given her a task that “was no easy undertaking.” However, Playfair acknowledges that Zinkeisen “set to work undaunted,” indicating that she was a workhorse from the beginning of her career.

The Insect Play

Zinkeisen’s costume designs for the 1923 Playfair-produced play, *The Insect Play*, provide key examples of her early style which seems to be deeply influenced by Modernism and contemporary fashions. An English language translation of a play by Czech brothers Karel Čapek (1890–1938) and Josef Čapek (1887–1945), *The Insect Play* is a satirical commentary of 1920s society where the characters are not human but, as the title suggests, insects. Unfortunately for Playfair, the play was not a commercial success; however, “Zinkeisen’s outrageous design of the show was a triumph.”

---

10 Playfair, op cit., p. 164.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Kelleway, op cit., p. 28.
The costume sketches from *The Insect Play* show characteristically Modernist fashion aesthetics; the butterfly character’s costume features a sleek, fitted sequined drop-waist bodice with rhinestone straps and a red velvet draped skirt, highlighting a large brooch at the front (Figure 3). The drop-waist silhouette and choice of fabric textures is in line with avant-garde fashion at this time. Additionally, in the costume for another butterfly character it is possible to see a yellow fitted dress with spaghetti straps, most likely cut on the bias, with two front slits and floral accents on the hips (Figure 4). In both sketches, the makeup reflects the contemporary fashion of the 1920s: thin, arched eyebrows, dark eye makeup, and red lipstick.

Figure 3:
*Butterfly Character from The Insect Play,*
Doris Zinkeisen, 1923, 36 x 26 cm,
© The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England,
Prints and Drawing Department, E. 1037–1935.
Figure 4:
*Butterfly Character from* The Insect Play,
Doris Zinkeisen, 1923, 36 x 26 cm,
© The Victoria and Albert Museum,
London, England,
Prints and Drawing Department, E. 1036–1935.
The costume for Mrs. Cricket depicts a less youthful character, but still exudes Art Deco style with geometric lines, metallic materials, and hints of the mechanical (Figure 5).

Figure 5:  
*Mrs. Cricket Character from* The Insect Play,  
Doris Zinkeisen, 1923, 36 x 26 cm,  
© The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England,  
Prints and Drawing Department, E. 1033–1935.
Zinkeisen’s sketches for *The Insect Play* are not only interesting because of the production’s subject matter, but also because they likely portray well known British actors at the beginning of their careers, including Elsa Lanchester (1902–1986), John Gielgud (1904–2000), and Claude Rains (1889–1967). The name of the actor corresponding to each character is not noted on the sketches. However, it is possible to pair the costume designs with the actors by cross-referencing the sketches with descriptions of the characters in a biography of James Whale (1889–1957), the British film director who was romantically involved with Zinkeisen around the time of the production, as well as by comparing the sketches’ likenesses to other artworks.

For example, Elsa Lanchester could possibly be identified as the actor playing a butterfly, as seen in Figure 3, given the red hair colour and the hairstyle rendered in the illustration. Zinkeisen also painted a portrait of Lanchester in the early 1920s featuring her distinctive red hair (Figure 6). This portrait provides an eloquent visual testimony that the sketch depicts Lanchester’s character in *The Insect Play*.

![Figure 6: Elsa Lanchester, Doris Zinkeisen, 1925, Oil on Canvas, 91.6 x 71.2 cm, © National Portrait Gallery, London, England, NPG 6488.](image)

---

15 Ibid., p. 31.
Male costumes were not excluded from Zinkeisen’s contemporary aesthetic. In a costume design for the character Felix, it is possible to see a representation of a 1920s sporting outfit: the all-white ensemble with brogue shoes is a style often associated with contemporary fashion for upper-class men in the 1920s (Figure 7).

Figure 7:
*Felix Character from The Insect Play,* Doris Zinkeisen, 1923, 36 x 26 cm,
© The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England,
Prints and Drawing Department, E. 1032–1935.
John Gielgud’s character in *The Insect Play*, Felix, is described as “a ‘cabbage white’ butterfly: white flannels, pumps, a silk shirt, a green laurel wreath, and a golden battledore and shuttlecock.”\(^{16}\) Zinkeisen’s costume design for Felix, held in The Victoria and Albert Museum’s collection, fits that description, indicating that this sketch depicts Gielgud’s character (Figure 7). Both Lanchester and Gielgud were considered Bright Young Things, young and fashionable members of the society set in London during this period. Some evidence suggests that Zinkeisen was also involved in this social circle, and collaborating and networking with other creative individuals only added to her involvement in British Modernism.\(^{17}\) The costume sketch examples show that a lack of unmistakable provenance to “other more famous figures” could have affected Zinkeisen’s subsequent professional legacy.\(^{18}\)

**“Champagne Time”**

Overlapping with her work for Nigel Playfair, Zinkeisen caught the attention of the successful British theatre impresario, Charles B. Cochran (1872–1951). After Playfair’s retirement in 1923, Zinkeisen primarily, but not exclusively, designed for Cochran’s Revue productions.\(^{19}\) Through collaborations with Cochran, Zinkeisen developed her craft as a sceneographer, a role that is, according to art historian Britta C. Dwyer, “part of the *mise en scène*, express[es] through colour and composition the *écriture* scénique——the stage space, the visual image of the production.”\(^{20}\) Zinkeisen worked with Cochran consistently through the 1930s and was praised for her “strikingly effective” and sometimes “decidedly daring” costume designs.\(^{21}\)

---

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 32.
\(^{17}\) Ibid., pp. 30–33.
\(^{18}\) Kate Dorney, “Female Networks: Collecting Contacts with Gabrielle Enthoven,” in *Stage Women 1900–50: Female Theatre Workers and Professional Practice*, Maggie B. Gale and Kate Dorney, Editors, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2019, p. 43.
\(^{19}\) Dwyer, op cit., p. 122.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 119.
The majority of Zinkeisen’s theatre design work was produced during her tenure working for Cochran, one of Britain’s most significant theatre producers from the late 1920s to the late 1930s. Cochran gained prestige through his Revue productions, which were a form of popular theatre similar to a variety show in structure (consisting of short sketches, dance numbers, and comic interludes) and a cabaret with the “emphasis...on wit and style rather than music and spectacle.” Zinkeisen was considered a “principle” designer on the “famous Cochran team,” which included such established designers as Oliver Messel (1904–1978) and Rex Whistler (1905–1944). As British film historian Sue Harper notes, Zinkeisen, however, “specialized in avant-garde stage décor” for Cochran, signalling that her aesthetic was more modern and edgy than her colleagues.

An example of Zinkeisen’s contribution to the “wit and style” of Cochran Revues, is her work for a show called “Champagne Time” in 1927. A review in *Dancing Times* raved about the production:

“Champagne Time” is the title of C.B. Cochran’s new show at the Trocadero, and no better title could have been chosen. It is a bubbling, sparkling little show lasting a bare twenty minutes, and when the curtain fell I for one would like to have seen it all over again. Its success is due to three factors. First, the brilliant dresses designed by Doris Zinkeisen, especially those in the opening number which represent “Caviar,” “Oysters” and other dainties of the table...
The designs for “Champagne Time” reveal that Zinkeisen was notably skilled at “blend[ing] the playful and decorative,” as Dwyer remarks. Dwyer, op cit., p. 122. Figure 8 shows actresses as a group wearing their “exceedingly clever costumes” designed by Zinkeisen, who believed in the importance of Revue as a theatrical endeavour, saying it “should be the epitome of beauty, charm and comedy.” Ibid. A multipage insert from the publication London Life features full-page black and white images of several “Champagne Time” costumes in better detail, giving an indication of how the costumes were constructed, what kinds of materials were used and how the design concept was interpreted.

Figure 8:
Promotional Photograph, “Champagne Time,”
Photographer Unknown, Dancing Times, 1927,
Cochran Scrapbook, Volume 42,
© The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England,
Theatre and Performance Archive, GB 71 THM/97/42.

28 Dwyer, op cit., p. 122.
29 Ibid.
The costume for “Caviar” consists of a bodysuit covered in small, semi-opaque balls to emulate shiny, oil-like caviar pearls and is complete with a bracelet and headdress, adorned with the same balls and finished with a large lemon wedge (Figure 9).  

Figure 9:  

The main body of the costume for “Lobster” features panels of sheer fabric to give the illusion of a lobster’s anatomical structure and also features a headdress and wristlets to emulate a lobster’s head and front claws (Figure 10). The skirt appears to be made from dyed ostrich feathers, which were often used in costumes during the 1920s and 1930s because of how they moved while the wearer danced.


Zinkeisen’s design for “Salmon Mayonnaise” demonstrates the cohesive visual language throughout the “Champagne Time” costumes (Figure 11): the body of this costume has similar lines to “Lobster,” emulating fish scales, and also features a headdress representing a cucumber garnish atop a salmon mayonnaise canapé.


The costumes from “Champagne Time” not only demonstrate Zinkeisen’s design wit, but also highlight trends within Art Deco fashion. While the silhouettes of these costumes are not necessarily quintessentially Modernist due to the theme of the production, their materiality reinforces their modernity for the times. The use of feathers, figure-hugging materials, skin-bearing silhouettes, and nude-illusion fabrics to create trompe-l’oeil garments are all elements of Modernist fashion. Additionally, the absurdity of these costumes points to potential inspiration from the Surrealist movement, which influenced fashion considerably during this time. For example, designer Elsa Schiaparelli (1890–1973) collaborated with Salvador Dali (1904–1989) and wove elements of Surrealism into their creations through garment construction techniques and print design. It is conceivable that Zinkeisen similarly channelled these ideas into her designs for “Champagne Time.”

An Overriding Passion for Glamour

Often overshadowed by Hollywood, the history of British film industry and British film costume more specifically are yet to be thoroughly explored by scholars. Within British costume history, more focus has been placed on period film or costume drama, most likely due to the box office success achieved by these productions. Historically, British films with contemporary themes and settings found difficulty competing with powerhouses of glitz and glamour offered by Hollywood studios. However, the examples in this section will illustrate that British film costume design broadly, and Zinkeisen’s work specifically, deserve recognition as much as their American counterparts.

34 Some notable Schiaparelli pieces that offer parallels to Zinkeisen’s work are The Tears Dress (1938), The Skeleton Dress (1938), and The Lobster Dress (1937). To read more about Schiaparelli’s links to Surrealism and collaborations with Dali, see: Robyn Gibson, “Schiaparelli, Surrealism and the Desk Suit,” Dress, Costume Society of America, New York, New York, United States, Volume 30, Issue 1, 2003, pp. 48–58.
With the rise in popularity of cinema and the subsequent growth of the British film industry during the late 1920s, many theatre professionals took up work in this new industry, including Zinkeisen, who, according to film historian Sue Harper, was the only female film costume designer in the early British film industry.35 Zinkeisen worked primarily with British producer and director Herbert Wilcox (1890–1977) and together they found success through several films released in the mid 1930s about Queen Victoria starring Anna Neagle (1904–1986).36 While Wilcox’s reputation rested on these historical films, he also directed several stylish films set in contemporary England and employed Zinkeisen to design the costumes.37 As Zinkeisen’s biographer, Phillip Kelleway, explains, “[Wilcox’s] overriding passion was for glamour in the late 1920s and 1930s it was Doris to whom he often turned, in order to cast her artistic spell on his production and generate beautiful, colourful, exotic, and imaginative illusions.”38

Through her work with Wilcox, Kelleway continues, Zinkeisen gained a reputation as a “personality creator,” meaning she would “give young and talented starlets an image boost” by “changing the actresses’ style of dress, speech, hair, makeup, and general deportment” to enhance their star-appeal, glamour, and marketability.39 Kelleway even claims that her “role giving film stars makeovers is a most significant aspect of her artistic output and generated a great deal of additional interest in her and her work.”40 However arguable, this judgement again indicates something of Zinkeisen’s importance to British film.

---

35 Harper writes, “In the 1930s film industry...all the costume designers were men, except for Doris Zinkeisen.” However, this is not necessarily true. Gordon Conway was another female film costume designer working in British film during the 1930s. Nevertheless, the general sentiment remains that the majority of film costume designers were male, and certainly the most historically well-known British film costume designers such as Oliver Messel and Cecil Beaton were male. Harper, op cit., p. 214.
36 These are Victoria the Great (1937) and Sixty Glorious Year (1938).
37 Zinkeisen’s Filmography: Nell Gwyn (1926), Autoinette/ The Love Contract (1931), Carnival (1931), The Blue Danube (1932), A Night Like This (1932), Leap Year (1932), Thark (1932), Good Night, Vienna (1932), Bitter Sweet (1933), The Little Damozel (1933), The King’s Cup (1933), Nell Gwyn (1934), The Queen’s Affair (1934), Mimi (1935), Peg of Old Drury (1935), Show Boat (1936), Victoria the Great (1937), Sixty Glorious Years (1938).
38 Kelleway, op cit., p. 38.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
The Little Damozel

One actress Zinkeisen “made over” was Anna Neagle, who later married Wilcox and starred in many of his films. Zinkeisen and Neagle previously worked together in Cochran Revues, before Neagle’s name change from Marjorie Robertson. This working relationship carried over into both of their film careers, where Zinkeisen designed contemporarily risqué costumes, as in The Little Damozel (1934), a film about a love triangle with a nightclub dancer, played by Neagle, at the centre. According to Neagle, one particular costume (Figure 12) caught a fair amount of attention from the press:

In one scene I had to wear what was at the time a truly startling dress. Even by today’s standards it might have raised a few eyebrows. It was made from transparent black net, with just a few sequins dotted about—in strategic places. Doris Zinkeisen designed it, so of course it was beautifully done. Oddly I didn’t feel in the least uncomfortable in it; but then some of the costumes for the Cochran revues hadn’t been exactly Victorian and I was used to people looking at a good deal of exposed Marjorie Robertson, even if Anna Neagle had been more decorously clad. The moment the film was released The Dress appeared in every newspaper so the new ‘Anna Neagle’ got plenty of coverage in that sense.41
Due to similarities in their forms, early films often employed plots involving characters who worked as performers either on stage or screen, as in *The Little Damozel*, or other Wilcox-led films, like *Carnival* (1931), a drama about an actor who tries to strangle his wife during a performance of *Othello* in Venice, and the comedic gangster film *A Night Like This* (1932) with most scenes set in a night club. Zinkeisen’s personal experience working in theatre, specifically nightclub–like Revues, probably gave her insight into the kinds of revealing or over–the–top costumes that would be worn by the characters in her films. Like Zinkeisen’s costumes for theatre, her designs for film also perpetuated the Art Deco style of the 1930s; through the use of netting and sheer fabric to create daring optical illusions, metallic fabrics and trims, and feathers and beading for movement. Publicity photographs for the romance drama *Carnival* (1931) (Figure 13) and a still from (Figure 14) show examples of Zinkeisen’s Modernist film costume designs.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 13:**
These brief examples all suggest the potential value of further examination of Zinkeisen’s contribution to British fashion through her work for both theatre and cinema. In the first place, her career illustrates how costumes were designed within the constraints of government-mandated censorship, and it might be profitable to explore whether British practice differed from American in this area, given the different approaches to censorship in the two countries.\(^\text{42}\)

\(^{42}\) The Motion Picture Production Code, or Hays Code, was an American guideline published in 1930, effectively censoring films produced in the United States. The British Board of Film Censors was a similar body created to regulate materials produced by the British film industry. While both industries were highly influenced by the objectively puritanical censorship, costume designers still managed to work with the system to create interesting and risqué costumes.
Additionally, Zinkeisen’s designs might be of interest to those theorizing “camp” and “kitsch.” Not only did Zinkeisen contribute to British fashion aesthetics, but she also arguably contributed to a foundation for later showgirl, cabaret, and drag costume design in Britain. Given this, those concerned with the popular theatre, pantomime, and drag culture would find a crucial source worth investigating. Finally, Doris Zinkeisen’s career in costume design raises questions about how the presence of gender bias affected and continues to affect reputations in the field, as discussed in the next section.

**The Great Forgetting**

British costume designers during this period generally were not solely relegated to working behind the scenes, but they were sometimes profiled for promotional material. While history has remembered several British male designers from this time, such as Rex Whistler, Cecil Beaton (1904–1980), and, most notably, Oliver Messel, their careers were not exceptionally different from Zinkeisen. In some cases, these now-famous male designers worked on the same productions as Zinkeisen. As with many creative industries, historically women’s work has been overshadowed by their male counterparts, and recuperative efforts are beginning to take place within academia.

Given Zinkeisen’s inclusion in the National Portrait Gallery, after initial exploratory research to discover more information about her career it is surprising to find little academic analysis of Zinkeisen’s theatre and film work. It is fair to assume that Zinkeisen is one of many women excluded from major historical narratives in the arts, due to what Gilli Bush–Bailey calls the “notion of cultural amnesia, the ‘great forgetting.’” Historical gender biases meant that women were not always credited for their own work, with authorship often appropriated by men. This inattention could have been caused by many reasons, including that some women were supporting their male counterparts, or were involved in industries that were not

---

43 During this time period, society publications became more popular and often featured creative professionals, especially if they belonged to the society set, such as Zinkeisen or Messel.
44 Doris Zinkeisen and Oliver Messel contributed designs to the following productions: *Cochran’s 1926 Revue* (1926), *One Dam Thing After Another* (1927), *This Year of Grace* (1928), *Wake Up and Dream* (1929), *Cochran’s 1930 Revue* (1930), *Cochran’s 1931 Revue* (1931). This is not an exhaustive list of their work with Cochran, but indicates that their professional paths crossed.
deemed “important” at the time, or did not keep exhaustive records of their work like many men.\textsuperscript{46}

Despite moves towards feminist revisions of these patriarchal narratives, especially in Theatre and Performance discourses, more ground could be covered. As Maggie B. Gale and Kate Dorney underscore:

Feminist analysis and women’s theatre history has now become an established part of performance practice and theatre studies at both a university and more popular level, although work made by women frequently remains marginal to many educational curricula and within the mainstream repertoire.\textsuperscript{47}

That said, Zinkeisen is not completely invisible in academia; her contribution to art history, work as a commercial artist for British railway companies, and her design and decoration of an interior space on the RMS \textit{Queen Mary} ocean liner have received some attention.\textsuperscript{48} Zinkeisen is often tied to her sister Anna, also a


\textsuperscript{47} Gale and Dorney, 2019, op cit., p. i.

\textsuperscript{48} Rideal, op cit.

Black, op cit.

Dwyer, op cit.


working artist, who, along with Doris’ twin daughters, children’s book illustrators Janet and Anne Graham Johnstone, were the subjects of a book, *Highly Desirable: The Zinkeisen Sisters & Their Legacy* by Phillip Kelleway. Kelleway claims Zinkeisen is unknown to the art history world due to her involvement in many different disciplines, but equally considers her a victim of gender bias within academia.

While the majority of literature regarding Zinkeisen’s work is rooted in disciplines other than theatre or film history, she is not completely absent from those historiographies. Sue Harper’s book, *Women in British Cinema: Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know*, uncovering contribution of women to the British film industry credits Zinkeisen with being the only British female costume designer working during the 1920s and 1930s. Zinkeisen is mentioned in a contemporaneous book about stage and film design as well as in biographies by notable theatre figures, such as Nigel Playfair and Oliver Messel. Additionally, Zinkeisen wrote a book, *Designing for the Stage*, published in 1938 as part of the “How to Do It” series of books published by Studio magazine, which served as introductory handbooks for amateur artists, and boasted to be “about as efficient a substitute for a visit to the workroom as could be devised.” These fleeting mentions in existing scholarship merely touch on Zinkeisen’s professional presence within British theatre and film, and indicate a gap in critical analysis of her actual work.

---

49 Kelleway, op cit.
50 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
51 Harper, op cit., p. 213.
53 Other titles within the “How To Do It” series were *Making an Etching* by Levon West, *Modelling and Sculpture in the Making* by Sergeant Jagger, A.R.A, and *Making a Photograph* by Ansel Adams.
Conclusion

Zinkeisen’s contribution to British interwar entertainment design is notable and historically significant not only because of the breadth of her work, but also because Zinkeisen was able to have such an illustrious career as a woman in an industry that was, at the time, heavily dominated by men. Additionally, as British popular entertainment and feminist media studies fields are becoming richer and more reflective of the actual working practices of these historic industries, this research contributes to pulling Zinkeisen from the margins to the middle.

In the same vein, Zinkeisen’s specific contribution to revue and showgirl costumes poses questions about women designing for women, and how that could impact the agency of performance and design. Zinkeisen’s work could also be examined within the continued study of the relationship between film and its impact on British fashion. Furthermore, while academic attention is paid to Zinkeisen’s fine art, such as recent inclusion of her painting in an exhibition at The Imperial War Museum in London, the same efforts have not been afforded to Zinkeisen’s theatre and film designs. This article represents a first attempt to surface Zinkeisen’s costume design work and elevate her to her appropriate place in British costume history.

---

Bibliography

Primary Sources: Archival Documents


**Primary Sources: Books**


**Secondary Sources: Articles**


**Secondary Sources: Books**


Secondary Sources: Theses


Secondary Sources: Websites


Copyright © 2021 Alice Fine
Email: alicefergusonfine@gmail.com

Alice Fine holds a Master’s degree in History of Design from The Royal College of Art/The Victoria and Albert Museum and a BA in Fashion Design from Virginia Commonwealth University in the United States. With a professional background in clothing production, Fine’s research interests are British interwar entertainment design, film costume, and uncovering the histories of marginalised or underresearched people, specifically film costume workers. Fine is currently working on projects relating to film costume design and Modernism in the British film industry during the 1930s.
The Lonesome Lovers’ Dance:

Yona Lesger

Abstract
There has been very little research into the centuries–long history of the “half–and–half” act—in which an entertainer dresses to appear female from one side and male from the other. This article considers the half–and–half component of entertainment duo Lee Street (1906–1993) and José (1913–2000) and its place in performance more broadly during 1935–1950. José took up the act after watching performances from Renita Kramer (1908–1989), who took inspiration from American dancer Lela Moore (1903?–1970)—later the subject of a copyright court case. A comparison of the three performers’ costumes demonstrated that Kramer’s act reflected the zeitgeist most accurately which helped her enjoy the most success. The variety act’s rave reviews were perhaps partly due to its unthreatening relation to gender roles. At a time of theatre and film censorship, the act’s sensual tone appealed to audiences. The physical challenge of the act and their changing personal situation led the performers to end their careers during the early 1950s.
Introduction

One arm around the waist, one arm cradling the neck, a heterosexual couple is captured in a passionate embrace (Figure 1). In their intimacy, his hat covers their faces while her bow just peeks out above his hat. He is wearing a tweed suit and she is dressed in a short, silk showgirl costume with three frills decorated with contrast edging. The femininity of her light-coloured heel with full bow is juxtaposed by his plain black and slightly scuffed shoe.

Figure 1:
They look like a couple in love, but closer examination establishes that there are only two legs and two arms, as it is a picture of variety performer José’s half man, half woman act. The half-and-half act was a key part of a longer variety set in which José and her husband Lee Street independently or jointly danced, sang, played music, and acted out comedy skits. They performed their double act during approximately 1935–1950.

The half-and-half act has a long history as set out by Laurence Senelick. He argues that the act originated with hermaphrodites during the early modern period.¹ Under the guise of medical education, showmen turned hermaphrodites into a peepshow. Seventeenth century accounts describe them displaying their genitalia through a flap that could be lifted for paying onlookers.² When regulations for popular entertainment and public manifestations of sexuality tightened during the nineteenth century, showmen needed to explore new ways of displaying the double-gender of their hermaphrodites or “pretend” hermaphrodites.³ The solution was a costume and physical split down the middle: the masculine side featured short hair and developed musculature, and the feminine half had long hair, a full breast, and more feminine features enhanced through cosmetics.⁴

Through the nineteenth and early twentieth century, female impersonators who could feign hermaphroditism performed the half-and-half act. Not many genuine hermaphrodites existed, and showmen felt that they were poor performers because they did not feel the need to persuade their audience of their genuineness.⁵ By 1920, the act was so popular that it could carry a range of less successful side shows.⁶ The 1930s saw the rise of a new half-and-half variety act performed by women.⁷

² Ibid.
³ Ibid., p. 359.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., p. 363.
⁶ Ibid., p. 364.
⁷ Variety was “a series of unrelated acts grouped together on a bill for an evening’s entertainment.” Variety acts included acrobatics, magic, singing, dancing, and animal acts and were generally intended as entertainment for the masses. Frank Cullen, Florence Hackman, and Donald McNeilly, *Vaudeville Old and New: An Encyclopedia of Variety Performances in America*, Volume 1, Psychology Press, London, England, 2007, p. xii.
This novelty dance maintained the half-and-half costume and idea but did not hold the same hermaphroditic connotation.\textsuperscript{6} Despite the innovation of the act and its rave reviews, few performers embraced it.\textsuperscript{7} Nevertheless, the act’s popularity has persisted throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries across continents and genres, including cabaret, circus, and music. In the twenty-first century, the half-and-half costume was worn by performers such as drag queen Violet Chachki, singer Katy Perry, and actor Michael Urie, and featured on talent shows in the United Kingdom and United States. Despite its continued presence, few examples of the half-and-half costume survive in museums, which makes José’s half-and-half costume held by the Theatre and Performance Department of The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), London, even more valuable.

Senelick’s article on the half-and-half circus act constitutes most of the writing undertaken on the act, leaving much open to research. This article hopes to contribute to the field by exploring how José’s act and costume fitted in half-and-half variety and wider performance. The article will start by introducing the careers and double act of José and her husband Lee Street, followed by a comparison with the costumes and acts of performers Renita Kramer and Lela Moore. It will finish by placing the variety act within contemporaneous performance.

**José and Lee Street**

Josephine “José” Saunders (1913–2000) was born in Hackney, London, the youngest of eight children, all of whom went on to have careers on stage. At around 11 years old, José was cast to sing *Barefoot Days* as a paperboy at The Hackney Empire. She joined the show’s tour unwillingly and kept her suitcase packed so she could go home quickly.\textsuperscript{10} Around the same time, she was offered a scholarship by the Espinosa ballet school under tutelage of Edouard “Eddie” Espinosa (1871–1950), co-founder of The Association of Operatic Dancing (later renamed The Royal Academy of Dance). When José’s father died in July 1927, the family could no longer cover the costs of her education. Much to Espinosa’s dismay, José had to end her training and start to financially support her mother.

\textsuperscript{6} A novelty act was an act in which a surprising twist or gimmick was the key appeal. The challenge with such acts was that once the novelty wore off or the twist was no longer a surprise, it often lost its attraction.

\textsuperscript{7} The article will touch on the reasons for this later.

Still only 14, José undertook roles such as Fairy Lustra in pantomime *Sinbad the Sailor*. One reviewer commended “[l]ittle Josephine Saunders” for “her dainty ballet dances [which] are very clever.” At 17 or 18 years old, she performed in a ballet in Paris, supplementing her salary by dancing at the Moulin Rouge cabaret. When she returned to the England, she worked as “head girl” in the dance troupe the Tiller Girls. Due to the synchronised nature of the Tiller Girls’ performances, dancers were selected for their height and stature. At only 5’ 2”, José was short but she impressed the casting directors and they suggested she pad her shoes before performances. From 1934, she danced in famous band leader Jack Hylton’s *Life Begins at Oxford Circus* as a Sherman Fisher Girl at The London Palladium.

Leo E. Street (1906–1993) was born in Paddington, London, to a family without a performance background. His father was a professional gambler who travelled between London and Cape Town by ship to play poker. Lee took up music on a whim, aged 20, when he was offered a double bass in a pub. He responded, “If you teach me to play it, I’ll buy it.” In addition to the double bass, he played the saxophone, sang, acted, and wrote skits. Despite a lack of formal dance training, he was praised for “[t]apdancing] his joyous way into every heart.” He went on to play under key band leaders including Jay Whidden (1886–1968), Jack Payne (1899–1969), Jack Jackson (1906–1978), and Bert Firman (1906–1999). During 1931–1932, he played at The Saturday Club and Firpo’s Restaurant in Kolkata, India.

---

12 The Tiller Girls were a well-known dance troupe founded by John Tiller (1854–1925) in Manchester, England, in 1889. The chorus girls were of similar height and weight and undertook synchronised steps so they appeared as one. They experienced their heyday from the 1930s to 1950s.
15 The Sherman Fisher Girls were a similar chorus dance troupe to the Tiller Girls who performed matching steps. Jack Hylton (1892–1965) was a popular leader of a British big band. Big bands were orchestras that played a version of Jazz with fewer complex harmonies than modern jazz but with a strong rhythmic element to dance to. British big bands were influenced by American swing bands pioneered by Black musicians.
From 1933, he performed with Mrs. Jack Hylton (Ennis Parkes), who liked to hire “boys” who “are versatile and exploit every angle of stage craft—they sing, dance, crack jokes and generally skylark about to the huge delight of everyone.” One reviewer singled out Lee for his comedic ability: “Lee Street took first class honours for clowning. He was very amusing as the aged fairy queen in ‘No one loves’s [sic] a fairy when she’s forty.’” It was during a rehearsal for Life Begins at Oxford Circus that Lee got into an argument with one of the Sherman Fisher troupe. She accused him of playing too slowly and he retorted “Pipe down, shorty.” She rebutted with, “If you took the Sporting Life off your music stand and put the music on, you might be able to follow us.” Four months later, José and Lee were married.

Less than a week after their wedding, they started their joint act as independent performers. Their show combined dance, song, music, and comedy. The wordless nature of their act allowed them to tour internationally to Denmark, Germany, Norway, and the Netherlands during 1936–1937. Notably, their agent Cyril Berlin arranged for them to perform at the Wintergarten, Berlin, during the 1936 Olympic Games and one of the shows was attended by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). They performed with band leaders Mrs. Jack Hylton, Billy Gerhardi, Billy Thorburn (1900–1971), and Jack Jackson the following years.

A key part of their joint skit was José’s half-and-half act. Danish reviews mentioned the act in January 1936, but José likely performed it from late 1935. As part of her act, she interchangeably emphasized the male and female side, pretending to be a couple making out. Lee then tried to catch “their” attention by tapping José on the shoulder. During José’s and Lee’s time with Billy Gerhardi, her half-and-half act was purposefully kept mysterious to spark interest and encourage ticket sales: “José, by the way, has a surprise number that will get the audience talking.” Her couple impersonation was so successful that one reviewer mentioned “Lee, Street and Jose, a trio of smart dancers with odd effects,” thereby revealing that he had apparently been unaware of the double-gendered nature of José’s act.

---

18 Ennis Parker (1893–1957) had been a professional singer and dancer from the age of seven and eventually married Jack Hylton.
21 Ibid.
22 The birthyear and deathyear of Cyril Berlin are unknown.
23 The birthyear and deathyear of Billy Gerhardi are unknown.
The Lovers’ Dancers

Reviews of José’s act were brief and no recording exists, so it is enlightening to look at similar acts. The best known half-and-half performer was Renita Kramer (1908–1989), who repeatedly featured in newspapers and magazines and even served as the celebrity promotor of hairstyling tips. Kramer was from Riga, Latvia, lived in St. Petersburg when she was a child, and studied at the Riga dramatic school. She first reached success at the Scala Theatre after moving to Berlin. She extensively toured her act through Europe, the United States, and Australia.

Kramer was known well enough for The Times to describe her half man, half woman act The Lovers’ Dance in detail.

Beams of imitation moonlight illumine the background; then, gradually, out of the setting of tall trees, flowers and countryside, appears a charming young person in short skrits [sic]. She begins to dance gracefully...Suddenly, she turns and disappears entirely and in her place appears a young man, handsome and debonaire, modishly attired...For a moment or two he dances alone. Then, as the music changes, he turns full view to the audience. And as he does, an amazing disclosure is made; he exists only half-way! The rest of the body is the same beautiful girl who had been dancing on the stage a moment before...Timidly, the man makes love to the girl during the dance, but she repulses him. He is determined and persists until finally he clasps her violently to him, kissing her time after time.27

Kramer’s act started with a dance of her female side, followed by a dance of her male side. She then revealed that they were the same person and ended with an increasingly forceful lovemaking scene. José’s act likely emphasized dance and comedy more strongly but will have contained many of the same elements. Indeed, José was inspired to take up the half-and-half act after watching Kramer perform.

It is likely that José first saw Kramer perform as part of *The Crazy Show* at The London Palladium, although it cannot be fully confirmed that José took part in the same show. Many chorus dancers performed anonymously and José was unlisted throughout her time with the Tiller and Sherman Fisher Girls. However, the show’s 1934–1935 run coincided with José’s career as a Sherman Fisher Girl and the troupe opened the show. Around 1938–1939, José performed in the same show as Kramer and took over her contract when Kramer was suspected of being a German spy.

Kramer herself drew inspiration—too much inspiration as an American court case would later contend—from seeing photographs of the American performer Lela Moore (1903?–1970). Moore was born in Hamilton, Ohio, and trained as a ballerina under Michel Fokine (1880–1942), Ivan Tarasoff, and Theodore Kosloff (1882–1956). In 1935, Moore signed a contract with Ziegfeld Follies in which she agreed to abstain from dancing her *Dance of the Lovers* near New York before the revue’s opening, so as not to give it away. It was during this hiatus that Renita Kramer commenced her act at The French Casino in New York, after which Follies cancelled Moore’s contract. When Kramer started to perform in a rivalling Miami club to the venue where Moore’s associate Ruth Quinn performed the act, Moore filed suit against Kramer for copyright infringement at Miami’s federal court on 11 February 1936. Moore asked the court “to issue an injunction against the dancer and to award damages of $100 for each presentation, the total not to exceed $5,000.” Moore won the case and was awarded a $502 judgement against Kramer.

---

28 *The Crazy Show* introduced the comedy group *The Crazy Gang* whose core consisted of Bud Flanagan (1896–1968), Jimmy Nervo (1898–1975), Teddy Knox (1896–1974), Charlie Naughton (1886–1976), Jimmy Gold (1886–1967), and other comedians at different points in time. The group was so popular that they headlined different shows at The London Palladium for most of the 1930s.


30 The birthyear and deathyear of Ivan Tarasoff are unknown.


33 The birthyear and deathyear of Ruth Quinn are unknown.


35 Ibid.

It comes as no surprise, then, that Kramer’s and Moore’s acts were similar. The review that described Kramer’s act in detail stated that Moore’s costume “subtly alters the whole mood.... The ‘suitor’ pursuing her is not as ardent as the one who is chasing Mlle. Kramer. Some of the steps are different too, but basically the two dances are the same.”35 The Hollywood film *A Night at Earl Carroll’s* (1940), which features Moore’s dance, confirms the similarities.36 Starting from the man’s side, a couple is resting on a bench while she smokes and hugs her lover.37 They make out until Moore suddenly flips her head to reveal the woman.38 When he cheekily moves his hand up her hip, she slaps him away.39 They go on to gracefully waltz across the stage ending in a passionate embrace on the bench.40 The reveal of her double-gendered act is reserved for the applause.41 The key difference between the acts was the level of formality in Moore’s costume, dance, and amorous pursuit.

Costumes

An analysis of the costumes worn by José, Kramer, and Moore will help to clarify the nuances between the acts. Lela Moore’s female side wore a luxurious floor-length gown of satin with organza frills around the shoulders and down the length of the skirt (Figure 2). The bodice was decorated with lace ribbon under the bust and attached to the male side’s half bowtie with a scalloped strap (Figure 3). A hairband adorned her hair and peeped out of the hat worn by the man.

35 “Broadway’s ‘Two-in-One’ Freak Steppers Step on Each Other’s Toes,” op cit.
36 The film suggested that the half-and-half act came into being when Moore’s partner ran late and was unable to perform. When the informal stage manager said: “[y]ou must know his steps pretty well.” Lela responded: “As well as I know my own.” The stage manager proceeded to cut the two costumes in half, thereby creating Moore’s half-and-half costume. *A Night at Earl Carroll’s*, 1940, Directed by Kurt Neumann, Paramount Pictures, Los Angeles, California, United States.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
Figure 2:
Article, “Lela Moore in Passion for One,”
The Sketch, 21 February 1940, p. 249.
Moore’s frilled dress bore a strong resemblance to the chiffon dress designed by renowned Metro–Goldwyn–Mayer costume designer Adrian (1903–1959) for Joan Crawford (1904–1977) in Letty Lynton (1932). Crawford’s dress became so popular that Macy’s reputedly sold half a million copies of it.\textsuperscript{42} Christopher Breward argues that the dress gained its popularity because Joan Crawford’s star identity, which conformed to “a myth of the working-class good-time girl made ‘lady,’” became associated with the gown.\textsuperscript{43} American identity was still in development during the mid twentieth century, so consumerism helped to unite the new inhabitants of North America, who were often divided by class, ethnicity, and moral outlook.\textsuperscript{44} Wearing a copy of this dress signified the woman’s modernity and membership of the new society.\textsuperscript{45}

Newspapers described Moore in similar terms to Crawford’s star identity. After Moore signed her first Broadway contract, an article reported that “[i]t sounds so easy, but it was the result of years of hard work by this pleasant, modest, quiet little Pittsburgh girl, Lela Moore.”\textsuperscript{46} The emphasis on a small-town girl who made it to Broadway through hard work exemplified The American Dream and established Moore as an American performer. This Americanness transferred to Moore’s act through her costume’s association with Crawford’s dress.

Moore’s male side presented the debonair American man and emphasized the costume’s formality (Figure 2). Dressed in black tie, the male side wore a single-breasted, black dinner jacket with satin collar, and wide-legged black trousers. The black waistcoat and bow tie revealed just two of the shirt’s buttons. The stylish look was completed by a black snap-brim fedora, white pocket square, boutonniere, and patent leather shoe. The jacket’s shoulder pad helped to differentiate the two genders, while creating the desired triangular figure of a physically fit man.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} This was Moore’s Ziegfeld Follies contract that was terminated after Renita Kramer started performing her half-and-half act in a competing venue on Broadway. “Now You See It, Now You Don’t,” op cit.
Renita Kramer’s costume was similarly rooted in its time, albeit with a different emphasis. Even though it is likely that all three women (partially) designed their costumes, Kramer confirmed that it was her design. Kramer’s female side donned a short dress trimmed with a frill around the waist and hem and decorated with large bows at the shoulder and waist (Figure 4). The dress was made of polka-dot fabric with light dots on a dark base. A floral hairband encircled her head, and she wore a tall heel to feminise her leg.

Kramer’s female costume contained many elements of popular 1930s dress and costume. Polka-dot fabrics enjoyed huge popularity as they were considered cheerful at a time of financial hardship. Shirley Temple (1928–2014) fed demand for the pattern when she wore a white-and-red polka dot dress in *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934) and replica dresses were sold by the millions. In contrast to daywear hemlines which were as low as 10 to 12 inches above the ground, Kramer’s dress reached several inches above the knee. In its design and short skirt, the costume was likely inspired by chorus girl costumes, which will be explored further through José’s costume. The sensual tone derived from its relatively revealing design was countered by the somewhat girlish touch of the dress’ print, bows, and floral headband.

Kramer’s male side presented military masculinity through a less formal wool day suit with peaked lapels and wide-legged trousers (Figure 4). The hat with ribbon edging only covered her male side and she donned a black shoe with peep pattern in surprisingly feminine style. Strikingly, numerous photographs showed a rifle thrown across the shoulder, even if no reviews mentioned its use in the act. This led to her two sides being described as an “attractive girl” and “young soldier.”

---

47 “A Dancing Genius from Russia,” op cit.
Figure 4: “Drama of Two Lovers Played by Lone Girl,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, 30 December 1934, © *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Block Communications, Toledo, Ohio, United States.
The seamless switch between civilian and military featured in contemporaneous advertisements of men’s dress. During the First World War, war posters and propaganda set a precedent for imagery of physically fit men in tailoring, which were “almost classless, smartly functional, easy to duplicate, hygienic and suited to work and leisure, town and country.” Men’s fashion advertisements during the 1920s and 1930s further cemented this ideal in the public mind. Kramer’s interchange between civilian and military created an almost classless look likely to appeal to a wide audience. Even without the use of a rifle, her suit and act held a military undertone that was relatable and appealing to frontline soldiers. In 1939, soldiers voted Kramer their favourite actress and admitted that “they would trade places with the male partner in the act.” This suggests that Kramer combined a male side relatable to soldiers with a female side desired by soldiers.

José’s female costume complemented her background in chorus dancing. Her female side was clad in an off-white silk satin chorus girl costume (Figure 1 and Figure 5). The dress was fixed to the male side through a halter neck with peter pan collar and was decorated with a small red bow and button. Three layers of frills with red contrast edging created a small skirt, covering a sewn-in pair of knickers with lace frill trim. She wore a large bow in her hair that countered that hat on her male side.

The dress resembled costumes José would have worn as a Tiller and Sherman Fisher Girl. Chorus girl costumes, like womenswear more broadly, were inspired by the 1930s craze for health. The colour of José’s costume was fashionable as white fabrics showed off lightly tanned skin. The halter neckline emphasized a tan, a trained physique, and the shoulders which signified strength. In turn, chorus girl costumes became associated with high energy and physically demanding dance routines, which further linked José’s costume to health.

52 Ibid.
55 Mendes, op cit., p. 81.
56 Ibid.
The relatively small size of many chorus girl costumes enabled the execution of a demanding dance routine. Siegfried Kracauer argued that due to the mass size and machine-like nature of their dance, Tiller Girl performances “no longer [have] any erotic meaning but at best point to the locus of the erotic” despite the relatively revealing costumes. As José danced alone in her half-and-half costume and much of her act consisted of “a couple” making out, her costume, like Kramer’s costume, had a sensual edge. Nonetheless, the sensuality was curbed by the comedy of José’s and Lee’s act.

José’s male side wore a brown tweed twill jacket and wide-legged trousers with turned-up cuffs (Figure 1 and Figure 5). The jacket featured a peaked collar and two large patch pockets to decorate the hip and breast. The turndown-collar shirt combined a cotton textile with the satin fabric used for the female costume. Cleverly attached to the female side’s red bow is a short red tie tucked into the shirt. The short-brimmed hat matched the tweed fabric of the suit and its pronounced seam along the crown may suggest it was a pork pie hat (Figure 5).

José’s costume represented the increased acceptance of more informal suits. The 1930s marked the first decade that single-breasted jackets were no longer seen as too informal, although half-and-half costumes required all jackets to be single-breasted. The Duke of Windsor (1894–1972), then Prince of Wales, popularised tweed suits as citywear which contributed to more informal styles. The brown, tweed fabric of her suit, although accepted as townwear at this time, was derived from countrywear and retained some of that association. The pronounced waist and turned-up cuffs were a popular characteristic of 1930s men’s fashion, but the fabric choice and looser fit showed that the costume did not follow the latest trends in menswear.

Variations between the three costumes demonstrated the nuances between the acts. Moore’s act was the most formal and expressed modern American identity. Kramer’s costume combined a sensual but girlish young woman with a modern masculine military man. José’s act represented a sensual chorus dancer who epitomised health with a more informal, moderately fashionable man associated with the countryside.

---

28 Tortora, op cit., p. 484.
The Half-and-Half Act in Wider Performance

Despite differences, all three performers exhibited their act in similar venues. They performed at larger (variety) theatres, casinos as part of dinner entertainment, and higher segment hotels. Nonetheless, the nuances may go some way to explaining where each performer found most success. Moore, whose act expressed Americaness, predominantly toured the United States, with some shows in Rio de Janeiro, France, and Australia. José’s chorus girl and informal man with countryside associations was best suited to British culture. She and Lee extensively toured the United Kingdom adding a short tour of Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Germany. Renita Kramer, whose act of a girlish, sensual woman and military man was perhaps the most universal, extensively toured Europe, the United States, and Australia. No doubt the country of origin and personal situation (Kramer was single, Moore was married, and José and Lee had a child during the later years of their career) influenced where the performers toured. Nonetheless, it is understandable that Kramer’s universally relevant act found most success worldwide.

Regardless of the nuances, the half-and-half variety act received jubilant reviews. Probably to Moore’s dismay, Kramer’s act was praised as “the cleverest and most original act ever brought to America.” An article on The Crazy Show claimed that “[n]ight after night the ‘standing room only’ sign was hung on the ticket office of the Palladium...The credit for this sell-out, according to the critics and the public goes to Miss Kramer.” This confirmed the act’s huge popularity and showed that it could sell out one of the London’s main theatres. As late as 1952, Kramer’s act was said to “[evoke] gasps at every session.” Moore similarly received rave reviews: “Lela Moore’s Dance of the Lovers is the only act which is a bit sophisticated for youngsters, but it is so clever and ingenious that she receives the most applause of any entertainer in the revue. She really has an extraordinary novelty dance.” This review emphasized the originality of the act and expressed its appeal across age groups.

---

60 “Drama of Two Lovers Played by Lone Girl,” Pittsburgh Sun–Telegraph, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, 30 December 1934.
The act’s clear division of gender was key in enabling its popularity. The First World War triggered the contestation of gender roles, which continued into the 1930s. Laurence Senelick argues that the strict gender division of half-and-half circus performers confirmed “the compartmentalisation of male and female, and the unnaturalness of the blurring of the line between them.”63 The circus performer’s unblurred separation in costume and physique corroborated prevalent gender roles. The variety act did not contest gender roles through the performers’ unquestionable female gender. One reporter stated that “[o]ne of Kramer’s hands is feminine—nails manicured, stained red, long and pointed—and the other masculine—nails filed close and unvarnished.”64 A manicure was the only physical concession Kramer made to her act’s male side. Interestingly, all three women donned a full face of makeup rather than honing the gender divisions of their characters. In combination with other acts they performed as women, their female artist names, and José’s joint act with her husband, the variety act did not threaten to further blur gender.65

The popularity of the act can partially be attributed to its the sensual tone. All three performers enacted an extensive make out scene at a time when film and theatre were under censorship. Variety acts fell outside of the remit of the British Licensing Act 1737, but plays were censored or banned for “profanity, sacrilege, sedition, indecency of dress, dance, or gesture, offensive portrayals of personalities, or anything likely to produce a breach of peace.”66 The Licensing Act was more politically than morally targeted but included sensual scenes. Similarly, the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC) censored film to “prevent our morals becoming even worse than they already are.”67

---

63 Senelick, op cit., p. 364.
65 While in a direct way the clear female sex of the performers did not threaten gender divisions, the act may have been somewhat subversive to gender roles in a less obvious way. It is likely that the male association achieved through the masculine half was essential to the acceptance of female performers undertaking a more sensual act in mainstream venues. As such, the innovation of watching a women perform such an act may have contributed to its popularity.
Code effectively summarised its policy on kissing and making out: “[E]xcessive passion should so be treated that these scenes do not stimulate the lower and baser element.”

The half-and-half act showcased a much longer and more passionate make out session than could be seen in theatre and film, even if the performers relied on the audience’s imagination.

Despite the act’s popularity, few people performed the variety version. Contemporaneous sources emphasized the hard work required and one reviewer stated that Moore “protects her ‘solo duet’ creation by official copyright, though it is rather doubtful that would-be imitators could copy much more than the costume ideas.” While this is an unfortunate comment just a week before Moore filed her court case, the dance likely required an unusual amount of skill and dance training. Tellingly, both José and Moore undertook ballet training with key choreographers and dancers which extensively developed their physique and movement. Indeed, José worried that the rigours of the act might give her arthritis in old age.

Perhaps due to their advancing age and the physical challenge of the act, Moore retired in 1950 and Kramer ended her career in the mid 1950s. During the Second World War, José and Lee toured with Stars in Battledress, a group of theatre professionals who entertained the troops. They received basic military training to allow them to enter war zones but when pressure rose, Lee was sent into combat. They performed their joint act on and off throughout the war, working around Lee’s schedule and the birth of their daughter in 1941. After the war, they featured in shows including Ignorance is Bliss with Gladys Hay (1909–1979). When it became too difficult to continue taking their daughter on tour and José became pregnant with their son in 1950, they ended their variety careers.

---

68 Motion Picture Association of America, A Code to Govern the Making of Motion Pictures, the Reasons Supporting It and the Resolution for Uniform Interpretation, Motion Picture Association of America, Washington D.C., United States, 1930, p. 595.

69 Dancer Zorita (1915–2001) performed a burlesque half-and-half act during the 1930s and 1940s in which she depicted newlyweds on their wedding night. As part of the act, her two sides undressed each other and made love. The overtly sexual nature and nudity of this act helps to contextualise the very moderate sensual tone of the variety act.

70 “Solo Duet’ is Lyric Feature,” The Indianapolis Times, Indianapolis, Indiana, United States, 4 February 1936, p. 6.

71 Not enough is known about Kramer’s education and training to comment on this.


Conclusion

This article sought to explain how José’s costume and act fitted in half–and–half variety and wider performance. Both José and Lee enjoyed successful careers before their marriage: José performed in key dance troupes and Lee played the double bass and performed comedy skits as part of bands. The half–and–half act, which José first saw Renita Kramer perform at The London Palladium, was a key part of their joint act. José later took over Kramer’s act when Kramer was accused of being a German spy. American performer Lela Moore successfully sued Kramer for having copied her half–and–half act. Kramer’s and Moore’s acts were mostly the same, but Moore’s act was more formal in terms of costume, dance, and amorous pursuit.

The costumes worn by the three performers provided insight into the nuances of the acts. Moore’s formal act expressed American identity through its association with Joan Crawford’s Letty Lynton dress. Kramer’s costume combined a girlish, yet sensual, woman with a modern military man. José’s chorus girl costume expressed health and sensuality, while her male side was less formal and fashionable with a countryside association. All performed at similar venues, but the universal theme of Kramer’s act allowed her to achieve the most success. The act’s rave reception was partially due to its sensual tone, as similar scenes of passion were censored from theatre and film. However, the act’s unthreatening, if indirectly slightly subversive, relation to gender roles was key in facilitating and contributing to the popularity. Few performers undertook the act as it required extensive skill and dance training. Perhaps due to their age and changing personal situations, José, Lee, and Moore ended their careers around 1950, while Kramer stopped performing during the mid–1950s.

This article has sought to contribute to filling the research gap of the half–and–half variety act performed from the 1930s to 1950s. However, developments in half–and–half burlesque and its relationship to half–and–half variety and circus acts remain under researched. Despite the many decades since José, Moore, and Kramer terminated their careers, the half–and–half act continues to make appearances in contemporary music, burlesque, and drag culture. With its relevance to gender identity in both an historical and contemporary context, this unusual act is worthy of further investigation.
Bibliography

Primary Sources: Policies

Motion Picture Association of America, *A Code to Govern the Making of Motion Pictures, the Reasons Supporting It and the Resolution for Uniform Interpretation*, Motion Picture Association of America, Washington D.C., United States, 1930.

Primary Sources: Periodicals


“‘Solo Duet’ is Lyric Feature,” *The Indianapolis Times*, Indianapolis, Indiana, United States, 4 February 1936, p. 6.


**Primary Sources: Interviews**


Secondary Sources: Articles


Secondary Sources: Books


Dedication

For Malte

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to sincerely thank José’s and Lee’s children Su Douglas and Charles Street, and their granddaughter Sarah Hains for the trust they have placed in me to tell their family’s story. Thank you also for the stories you have shared, the hours you have taken to talk to me, and your constant encouragement and interest in my research. It has been a delight meeting you and learning about your fascinating family.

Second, thank you to my dad Clé Lesger, sharing my findings with you has been one of the joys of this project and your relentless enthusiasm spurred me through it.

Lastly, I want to thank Malte Werner, who has been partner, teacher, and best friend for over a decade.

Copyright © 2021 Yona Lesger
Email: yona.lesger@gmail.com

Yona Lesger returned to her role as a Collections Move Officer working on The Victoria and Albert Museum’s Decant, after a role as Curator of Modern and Contemporary Performance in the Theatre and Performance department, V&A, London. She was previously the Exhibitions Research Assistant of the multi award-winning fashion exhibition Fashioned from Nature and a curatorial assistant in Theatre and Performance. She studied fashion history as her MA at The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and obtained her undergraduate degree in costume design from The Edinburgh College of Art, Scotland.
The Fabric of Theatre, from Period to Pantomime: An Examination of the Stock Held at The York Theatre Royal Costume Hire Department, York, England in 2020

Claire Spooner

Abstract

The York Theatre Royal Costume Hire Department in York, England is home to stock from a variety of sources. Whilst documentary evidence exists concerning items made for a production, there is no written record of costume once it reaches the hire department or relating to costume donated to the stores. The custodians of this resource continually make decisions about the use of stock, in making it as available to as many users as possible, whilst preserving the integrity of items of historical interest. This body of research into selected pieces gives special attention to original period items. In creating a written document, it is hoped that such information is secured, facilitating internal decision-making and establishing a foundation for further study. More widely, it is hoped the article gives recognition to the archival value of the store and those of other theatres, as a rich resource for research.
Introduction

This article provides an overview of the costumes held at The York Theatre Royal (YTR) Costume Hire Department (CHD) in York, England, as an insight into the functions and peculiarities of such a collection, with the aim of presenting the theatre wardrobe as a resource for study. As the primary purpose of these collections is to facilitate production as opposed to forming an archive, it is suggested that they can be a hidden resource. Rebecca Pride notes, “There is a great joy to be found in hunting in person for costumes in hire companies.”

The YTR CHD has existed in some form for 30 years, with stock drawn from earlier productions in the theatre’s history. The selection of items for inclusion in this article has focused on costumes previously identified and exhibited in 2019 as part of the YTR’s 275th anniversary celebrations. To convey the breadth and diversity of the store, items from different stock categories have been researched. Costumes in the store include those for men, women, and children, both production makes (in-house or outsourced, period correct or stylised) and period originals bought for production or donated to the theatre. The original items extend from the late nineteenth century to the 1980s. Makes encompass styles from the Ancient and Classical periods through to contemporary designs. Pantomime stock caters for archetypal roles, animals, and character costumes. Accessories include footwear, underwear, wigs, hats, jewellery, bags, belts, and neckwear. There are boxes of basics and padding (e.g., bodysuits or pregnancy bumps), a section of distressed or broken-down costume and stylised items which don’t naturally fall into any category.

The total amount of current stock is unrecorded; however, with 100 metres of densely filled rails combined with boxed items, the suggested figure is 12,000 items. For comparison, The Royal Shakespeare Company, Stratford-upon-Avon, England, holds a stock of 40,000. A recent relocation of the CHD led to the store being temporarily housed on the main stage. Costumes were flown (i.e. suspended from the flying system above a stage, more usually used for scenery or lighting) at a weight of three and a half tonnes, the remaining stock on the stage floor estimated at a further three tonnes (Figure 1).

---

2 The tonnage of flown items was calculated by the counterweights used to balance the load, the tonnage of remaining boxes and rails was estimated using this figure.
YTR Costume Hire and Wardrobe Departments

A producing theatre from 1744, the likely establishment of a recognisable wardrobe stock at the YTR could conceivably be 1934–1935, when weekly repertory productions began. “Roy Langford was endeavouring to form a pool of such scenery as may be required and where possible to get the actual scenery as used in London...Wardrobe and special properties to be obtained in the same way.” (Touring companies would probably have provided their own costume.)

---

4 Minutes Clerk, *Repertory Season Programme*, The Ninth Meeting of the Directors of the York Citizens’ Theatre Company, December 1934, Homestead, England, Reference #139. An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.
The decision to hire out the stock in the wardrobe department led to the creation of the CHD. Laraine Simpson started working at YTR circa 1987 as a dresser and estimates that the CHD was established in 1989–1990. “(The) wardrobe manager was in charge but it was basically me initially doing the hire and sorting it.” Subsequently, the hire service was franchised out; this was an unsuccessful arrangement and ceased during 1990–1995.

Interviews have been conducted with costume hire supervisor Pauline Rourke and Head of Wardrobe Hazel Jupp who currently manage the stock. Pauline Rourke joined the YTR in 1993 and “after several fumigations and hours sorting” reopened the costume store as a hire service in 1995. Pauline says, “YTR had been going as a theatre for almost 250 years when I started so, despite my wrinkles, I don’t know the provenance of all the vintage items.” That said, Pauline has the capacity to reel off actors, productions, and makers associated with an item, as well as its location in the stores. Hazel, who took the position as Head of Wardrobe in 2015, has responsibility for the CHD and the costume in every YTR production, managing the Wardrobe and CHD staff including the freelance makers, dressers, and maintenance staff employed to facilitate productions.

Usage of Costumes

Once a production has concluded, costume is sent to the CHD and hired out to generate income for the theatre, which is a registered charity. Clients include other theatres, television/film productions, events companies, actors, costumiers, photographers, students, amateur dramatic societies, education facilities, heritage sites and private individuals. A benefit to using the theatre stock as a resource, unlike archived collections, is that it can be readily handled, photographed, used for taking patterns, and worn or displayed on a mannequin.

---

2 Pauline Rourke (Costume Hire Supervisor, YTR, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.
3 Ibid.
4 Hazel Jupp (Head of Wardrobe, YTR, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.
Pauline Chambers of The Northern College of Costume says, “I have hired stock as a visual aid for students...useful for ideas about cut and volume, decoration and fabric type. Conversation always leads to whether it is period authentic or (the) designer has used artistic licence.” Costume tutor/maker Janet Hull and her students have also accessed stock for research purposes: “I have borrowed in the past to give students study pieces.” Historian Kate Stephenson highlights the differences in using theatre stock for research as opposed to archived resources:

Archives are more likely to have formal, digitised records systems in place, so you have a clearer idea of what you’re going to view, whilst in theatre wardrobes you’re usually relying on less formal systems—you don’t necessarily know what you’re going to get until you arrive. That said, there’s the potential to view theatre costumes on the body and in movement in a way that is never going to be possible with archival material.

Both The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) and The York Castle Museum have examples of YTR pantomime costume, recognising the importance of the collection.

---


An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.

10 Janet Hull (Costume Tutor and Maker, York, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, March 2020.

11 Kate Stephenson (Historian, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, April 2021.


Priority stock usage within YTR is given to the production department for use by the wardrobe department, as props and for youth theatre and community productions. Hazel Jupp explains the stock is also “used lots for reference,” particularly period original items, but rarely for taking a direct pattern. The inference is that this is due to time constraints. It may be suggested that as YTR looks to a more sustainable practice, and to keep production costs low (to reflect the financial vulnerabilities of staging a production with Covid–19 restrictions potentially affecting profits), the reuse of stock to facilitate productions will become more prevalent. Pride asserts, “Repurposing existing costume from hire of theatre stock can be rewarding, as well as cost–effective and ecologically sensible.” The information held concerning stock items therefore becomes increasingly important, in order to make informed decisions about how they are used.

**Stock Labels and Provenance**

In theory, a YTR label is sewn into every costume as it is made, stating the production name, year, actor, and character. In practice, last minute additions or multiple makes may bypass the labelling process. Abbreviations are prevalent (e.g., “When We Are Married” becomes “WWAM”), maker information is rare and first names, nicknames or initials are used for cast. Some garments have a wealth of information, with new labels covering old, giving a full history of an item’s theatrical life. Pride suggests:

> There is often something intangible but wonderful about a costume that has been added to carefully and creatively. It is almost as if the costume and aura of the previous production it was originally made for is preserved and contributes to the energy of the new production. It can produce a sort of costume alchemy.

---

13 Jupp, op cit.
16 “Arts Council England...make environmental action part of our funding agreements. National Portfolio Organisations are required to annually monitor their environmental impacts...and put in place environmental policy and action plans.”
https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/resilience-and-sustainability/environmental-programme,
An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.
17 Pride, op cit., p. 80.
18 Ibid.
Pauline Rourke lists the costume in the YTR stores worn by notable actors:

The little velvet spencer made for Joan Greenwood for the film *Byron (The Bad Lord Byron, 1949)* (Figure 2) and a naval jacket with James Mason’s name in it (attributed to the film “*North Sea Hijack*, 1979”) ...a denim shirt worn by Robson Green when he was Jesus in the *Mystery Plays (York Mystery Plays, YTR, 1992)*. Two frocks made for Honor Blackman in *The Glass Menagerie (YTR, 1999)*. A blouse that Suranne Jones wore in *Terms of Endearment (YTR, 2007)* also Miriam Margolyes “Madame Ranyevskaya” costumes from *The Cherry Orchard* (YTR, 1999).

The velvet spencer (Figure 2) is labelled “B.&J. Simmons &Co, Miss Joan Greenwood, BYRON 5, B334.” “B.J. Simmons & Co. Costume Design Records” including those for *The Bad Lord Byron* by award-winning designer Elizabeth Haffenden (1906–1976) are held at the Harry Ransom Center, in Austin, Texas, United States. Greenwood played Lady Caroline Lamb in the film, a study of which doesn’t show the jacket being worn, but her adversary Annabella wears a spencer of a similar cut and the style corresponds with the depicted period, with Haffenden named as Dress Designer in the credits. The spencer came to YTR through a donation of items previously owned by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London, England.²¹

²⁰ Rourke, op cit.

An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.

²¹ “Simmons’ costumes were known for their correctness of period, sophisticated design and high quality,” The Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, United States, 2007, https://norman.krc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?eadid=01440&kw=b%20j%20simmons %20, Accessed November 2020.
There are pieces acquired from other costume stores including Opera North and the Northern Ballet both based in Leeds, England. A heavily trimmed Victorian style bustle and bodice in glittering black originate from a Northern Ballet production of *Swan Lake*. Interestingly, the skirt is approximately three quarters the length it should be for the period, to enable the dancer to visibly execute her steps. It is notably heavy for a dancer’s costume, with no skimping of layers or additions of tulle or ridgeline to mimic an authentic bustle. The V&A display of ballet dancer Nijinsky’s tunic observes “an extraordinary feat to dance in such a weighty costume.”

Examples from Opera North are predominantly Victorian styles and larger sizes than those from the ballet company. Sizing of garments is pertinent to the hire of costumes and issues arise from a stock developed through the making of productions. Garments are made to an actor’s specific measurements rather than a standard size. For example, a hire client looking for a Victorian outfit can’t go to the size 10 section of ladieswear. There are few garments in multiple sizes and many adjustments are made to fulfil a hire or to fit the new cast of a repeated production. In addition, original period sizes are by default small by today’s standards. A decision is made between the YTR costume hire supervisor and the Head of Wardrobe as to what can be altered, what can not be touched and what can be temporarily altered and subsequently returned to its existing state.

**Particular Peculiarities of Pantomime Costumes**

The earliest in–house pantomime production at YTR was *The Sleeping Beauty* in 1862. A strong pantomime tradition has evolved, with a newly designed set of costumes made each year, guaranteeing the audience a fresh visual spectacle. “Visually, pantomime is almost operatic in its production values.”

A single pantomime produced at YTR has usually required costume for a dame, baddie, principal girl and boy, silly son, good fairy, a chorus of male and female dancers, and cast of children. Actors make several costume changes; typical scenes require workers/villagers attire, travelling clothes or foreign dress, baddie attire, and evening clothes for a final ball scene or other celebration with walkdown outfits. Visual effects and gags necessitate costume adaptations, e.g., waterproof “slosh” outfits, holes for flying harnesses, inclusion of lights or fans, ultraviolet coatings, quick change fasteners such as Velcro or magnet strips (the latter allowing for astounding “rip away” costume changes on the stage).

---

23 Jupp, op cit.
25 Pride, op cit., p. 21.
26 In 2020 the Covid–19 outbreak forced changes to this pattern with a reduced cast of five set to tour all 21 wards of the York district. Designed by Hannah Sabai, costume from the store was reworked by Hazel Jupp.
Costumes must be strong enough to withstand the rigours of a long run. YTR’s 2019 production of *The Sleeping Beauty* saw 68 performances as well as two weeks of technical rehearsals. Hazel Jupp uses heavy duty tent zips for costumes of weight, such as dames’ dresses and animals.27 A headpiece interior by maker Ella J. Kidd circa 2013, reveals a combination of construction methods. The split crown is adjustable to the wearer and allows for cast changes and the wearing of wigs, Velcro gives a secure fit and a chamois leather hatband is comfortable for the actor. This headpiece has survived multiple hires following the initial production without any repairs.

One example of a “slosh” outfit was made for a production of *Cinderella* (Figure 3). Worn by male actor A.J. Powell, the costume had to withstand a 13 week run, being submerged in a water tank twice a day and a subsequent “quick change.” Hazel Jupp notes, “It was a maintenance nightmare and heavily repaired” during the run.28 The base is a leotard with crotch fastening, built up with lycra and wadding. This was covered with black sequin tassel fabric29 with additional fabrics bought to match and the PVC found in the Wardrobe Department fabric stock. Hula flower necklaces decorate the exterior. A popular hire outfit, it has since been reworked by a sewing group volunteer Catherine and the foam headpiece repaired.

27 Jupp, op cit.
28 Ibid.
29 Hazel Jupp and designer Mark Walters conducted a buying trip to London’s Goldhawk Road to purchase the main body of fabrics required for the production, an industry recognised “destination.”
A pair of Dr. Marten boots with built up soles of eight inches are an example of a visual gag and were worn by Richard Ashton as the character of “Beanpole” in the YTR 2001 pantomime “Jack and The Beanstalk.” The shoes were built up in stages by Noel of Gillygate Shoe Repairs, with the actor trialling them at increasing heights. The finished height, including original sole and built up heel, measures 10 inches, which made Ashton a lofty seven foot seven inches tall.

Animal Costumes

Stock includes naturalistic animals with full face coverings (a diverse range from polar bear to red squirrel) and anthropomorphic designs. A turtle, alligator, and more classically a horse circa 1960s–1970s, with heavy fibreglass head, were all created for pantomimes. Patricia the Cow is a hire favourite (Figure 4). The costume includes bodies of two lengths to facilitate a visual udders trick, moving eyes and mouth and rubberised slipper hooves. The costume has made appearances on Bargain Hunt 2019 and The Crystal Maze Christmas Special 2018 with Christopher Biggins. The costume was completely refurbished for YTR’s 2017 pantomime Jack and The Beanstalk. The script originally required a Highland Cow, but with budget concerns it was decided that an existing Friesian could be reworked into a Jersey. Prop maker Beckie May undertook the alterations, “All the internal strings were replaced, everything recovered or repainted, a fibreglass repair, shoes remade.” Another interesting make is a Pushmi–Pullyu. Modelled on llamas, the two person body has the actors working opposite and backwards to each other, requiring some practice.
A set of costumes for a *Wind-in-the-Willows* production, 2010 is beautifully constructed (Figure 5). The tailored clothing was worn over toad, badger, or mole shaped padding (necessitating low, wide crotches), with the actor’s faces clearly visible. “For the costume we did lots of research into animals. How the shapes of their bodies differ and how we could adapt the human shape to be more animalistic. It’s a case of trying to use costumes to enhance the actors’ movement.”\(^{35}\) The padded bodysuits incorporate pockets for icepacks, to help keep the actor cool. Character costumes are often made in-house for pantomimes, taking into account copyright law as explained by Hazel Jupp.\(^{36}\)

---


\(^{36}\) Jupp, op cit.
Period Original Costume and Donations of Stock

The most regular donations to the stores are that of academic gowns and furs. Though one relates to academia and the other fashion, both suggest an attainment of prized social status. Various donations have been accepted (several with links to York) into the CHD that have been rejected by museums due to quality or lack of storage. One comprised a local lady’s wardrobe (Figure 6): a tapestry wool cape in traditional Caernarvon portcullis design, a second in one inch brown and cream houndstooth labelled “Young Jaeger” “All Wool Made in Great Britain,” two mohair coats labelled “Model by Ormdale, Made in England,” a dress with matching satin “Debonair” shoes, a dress (a notably larger size than the other clothing suggesting maternity wear), a child’s first coat, hats stored in an Edward Mann box, ties and an orange cable–knit Tootal jumper (which can conceivably be assigned to the husband). The collection provides a wonderful snapshot into the owner’s life; with the wearer seemingly keeping clothing associated with special memories and investment purchases of particular monetary value such as the winter coats.

---


Evening gowns, cocktail dresses, and wedding dresses from the 1930s to 1980s are well represented in the costume collection, with regular donations of cherished garments received. Items include a pink 1950s dress with built-in crinoline labelled “A Laura Phillips Model” (Figure 7). The bell-shaped silhouette created by the boned bodice and crinoline is close in shape to that of a dress held at The Manchester Art Gallery, England. The display label reads “The dress relies on integral undersupports to give the required silhouette, including an inner starched petticoat with two attached hoops.”39 It is interesting to compare the design with the ridgeline crinolines worn under short skirts for pantomime costume, as favoured by contemporary designer Mark Walters. The technique of adding a crinoline is not a trend in current evening wear but employed to great stage effect in outfits for pantomime dancers.

Figure 7:

Figure 8:  
\textit{Untitled}, Actor Andreane Rellou,  
Photographed by James Scrivener,  
York, England, 2019,  
A fine example of a wedding dress is a 1940s design in satin brocade embellished with beaded embroidery and with sweetheart neckline, small shoulder puffs, fitted long sleeves pointed at the wrist and a train (Figure 9). Similar examples are held at The Imperial War Museum\(^{44}\) and The Metropolitan Museum of Art.\(^{45}\)

![Wedding Dress, Maker Unknown, circa 1940s](image)

**Figure 9:**
*Wedding Dress,*
Maker Unknown, 
circa 1940s, 
© York Theatre Royal, 
York, England, 
Photographed by 
Claire Spooner, 
May 2021.

---


There are many other examples of stock revealing particular workmanship or period detailing. There are three swimming costumes from the 1950s including a Jantzen example and a shirred cotton one-piece with halter neck and folded bustline\(^{46}\) embroidered with flowers (Figure 10). “Surface textures and effects were popular in the 1950s, thanks to new manufacturing processes and affordable synthetic fabrics. Ruffles and shirring transform this child’s swimsuit into a special garment.”\(^{47}\)

![Figure 10: Three Swimsuits, Maker Jantzen (Blue), circa 1950s, © York Theatre Royal, York, England, Photographed by Claire Spooner, August 2019.](image)


Examples of antique shoes in the collection include a pair by Joseph Box, complete with original shoe trees and cardboard box (Figure 11). Pauline Rourke recalls “the donor said they were her great grandmother’s wedding shoes,” with an estimated date of 1915. A pair of purple brocade shoes (Figure 12) are remarkably similar to a pair located at The Northampton Museum and Art Gallery dated 1890s. They are labelled “Kirby & Nicholson, Victoria House, York,” which was a department store in existence 1897–1929. The shoes have bound edges which further corroborates the date.

Figure 11:
*Suede Heels*, Joseph Box,
London, circa 1915,
© York Theatre Royal,
York, England,
Photographed by Claire Spooner,
May 2021.

Figure 12:
*Purple Heels*, Kirby & Nicholson,
Victoria House, York, 1897–1929,
© York Theatre Royal,
York, England,
Photographed by Claire Spooner,
May 2021.

49 Rourke, op cit.
50 Nancy Bradfield, *Costume in Detail: Women’s Dress, 1730–1930*, Harrap, London, England, 1968. The reference is p. 257; however, the publishing location and date page is missing from the book consulted during the research for this article. The book was first published in 1968.
There are a number of items in the CHD marked CC41 from the Second World War, including a flat cap, wool tam-o'-shanter, child’s cotton sun bonnet in ditsy floral pattern, collarless men’s shirts, a man’s nightshirt, a man’s navy suit with wide lapels, and a pair of brown suede shoes with thick heels, open toes, and cross ankle strap. There are two evening suède dresses with Double Eleven labels (the mark used to identify a manufacturer’s highest range non–utility garment), one embroidered and the second with pleated trim, both luxuries not permitted for use on CC41 clothing. There is from the same period a dress made from blanket material: “...women...made all manner of wonderful clothes out of any...cloth they could lay their hands on.” There is a Land Army coat in excellent original condition and colour, in spite of the fact that “Release certificates instructed members to return their uniform at their own expense, although the women were allowed to keep their shoes and great coat on the condition they dye it from brown to navy blue.”

**Period Original Military Costume**

British Army, Navy, and Air Force uniforms are all represented but the stock is predominantly modern with some examples from the Second World War. There are several valuable donations of historical interest. These pieces are used with caveats such as not to be altered, not to be worn outdoors or even not to be worn at all. Some can only be used for set dressing or research. The balancing act of what is needed to create a production of merit and the preservation of stock in its original form has in previous years led to casualties, one being an American Second World War tank helmet. Spray painted in metallic silver for a production, several applications of white spirit and careful scraping with a scalpel have somewhat reversed the damage but the canvas chin strap and leather ear covers remain

---

53 Hawthorne, op cit., p. 85.
An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.
55 The same style helmet worn by Brad Pitt in Fury, 2014.
coated.\textsuperscript{36} It is important for donors of costume to be made aware that whilst the value of original stock is highly respected, once an item has been received into the CHD its primary function is to be worn. This may well require adaptations and alterations to fit an actor, meet a designer’s requirements and to be strong enough for a production run. In order to preserve items of particular historical value and interest a “precious items” section has been established to physically separate the stock from the main hire area.

An Hussar’s tunic and trousers (Figure 13) was donated together with a letter from The National Army Museum dating the uniform: “The pattern of the tunic was introduced in 1855 but the collar...was the cut of around 1900.”\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure13.png}
\caption{Hussars Tunic, circa 1900, Maker Unknown, © York Theatre Royal, York, England, Photographed by Claire Spooner, May 2021.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{36} The author undertook some repair work to identify the original colour of the helmet in 2018.


An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.
One gentleman donated his parents’ military uniforms; with his mother’s Special Constable skirt suit came an earlier greatcoat, part of her uniform when working at Bletchley Park during the Second World War. As part of non-dress uniform, the coat probably had regular wear and carries the rank insignia for a Sub Lieutenant Royal Navy Reserve in the Women’s Royal Naval Service. The gentleman hadn’t known his mother worked at Bletchley Park until after her death.

There are two examples of bicorns with tin carry cases and riveted name plates, one is labelled W.R. Michel RN (Royal Navy). Both are a small 6 7/8 (55cms) head size, in silk plush with twisted bullion, pleated silk grosgrain, and button trims. The bicorns were donated together with a naval coat (Figure 14).

Figure 14:

---


59 Rourke, op cit.

60 Ibid.
Many of the buttons are original, there are no epaulettes, belt or labels but the interior of the coat reveals a small maker’s button marked “Seagrove & Co., Portsmouth.” Seagrove naval outfitters was a family business established in 1795, becoming Seagrove & Co. in 1892 until 1904 when it changed to Gieve, Matthews & Seagrove Ltd. The YTR piece would appear to have originated therefore between 1892 and 1904. The Royal Museums Greenwich hold a similar coat and bicorn by Gieve, Matthews & Seagrove dated 1909 and made to the 1901 pattern, adding weight to the premise that both coat and bicorns were part of the same uniform.

Period Style Costume Makes and Stock Maintenance

Interesting military costume makes include a gambeson (a padded or quilted defensive jacket worn under or over armour or mail) in heavy tapestry weight fabric, wadded, lined, and quilted with studded yoke and shoulders. This is an example of a readymade “bought-in” item. With actual armour often being too restrictive, heavy and costly as a costume, a gambeson is a useful alternative for depicting a fighting character. Similarly, a jersey top has the addition of “chainmail” sleeves, the effect achieved with knitting or crochet techniques. The wool is painted into to stiffen it and create the desired sheen or battle-worn look.

Another example of a make in a period style is a coat designed for a large community production Everything Is Possible (2017, Designer Sara Perks) worn by an actor portraying suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst as she delivered an iconic speech. Maker Janet Hull was provided with a copy of a period photograph to reference, Hazel Jupp notes, “It was quite a famous image, it needed to look as close as possible.” The Museum of London have a similar photograph of Emmeline Pankhurst in the specific coat. Community productions are an integral part of YTR’s production schedule and have particular costume demands, usually around the number of items required. In referring to the 1992 York Cycle of Mystery Plays Alfred Hickling of the Guardian articulates the process beautifully:

63 Jupp, op cit.
65 Everything Is Possible involved a cast of over 150.
...on the agenda of today’s production meeting at YTR. Topics include...Pontius Pilot’s underwear, while the wardrobe supervisor is anxious to know God’s measurements. “Ineffable and unknowable,” someone suggests. “Very funny”, comes the reply. “But I’ve got 1000 costumes to make and I need his inside leg.”

Costume designs requiring support such as a crinoline or bustle present different challenges; a red silk skirt with separate blue and white striped cotton layered bustle skirt (Figure 15) has an integrated heavy duty leather strap and buckle to support the combined weight. To facilitate the production, two identical bustle skirts were made, enabling one to be worn whilst the other was washed and dried. A red velvet Victorian style bustle dress (Figure 15) is a rare remake of a production costume in an alternative size, due to its popularity as a hire outfit. Paula Grosvenor recalls “all the pleats were hand done.” The original dress appeared in *Bedevilled* 1998, worn by Katherine Dow Blyton.

---

An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.

67 Paula Grosvenor, Freelance Maker (former employee at YTR, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.

68 Rourke, op cit.
The potential for remakes and repairs has narrowed considerably following the Covid–19 pandemic. Where once there were full–time employees in the wardrobe department who had time between productions to assist in maintenance work, there are now only freelancers working on individual productions. Hazel Jupp ran an established sewing group of volunteers who undertook maintenance,\(^{69}\) which it is hoped can be reinstated to assist with this invaluable work on the reopening of the department.

\(^{69}\) Jupp, op cit.
Distressed Costume and Items Beyond Repair

Costumes at any stage of wear and tear are utilised; both naturally worn or purposefully distressed. Tired, unkempt, poor, bloodied, ghostly, and apocalyptic are all represented. Interesting stock includes a paper Victorian style dress which appeared washed up after the shipwreck in Shakespeare’s Twelfth Night (YTR, 1995, Designer James Merifield), as a soaked and tattered version of the actor’s costume. Another example is a ghostly replica of the main character’s 1930s style costume in Blithe Spirit (YTR, 1994), worn when she returns to haunt the protagonist. A Tudor style doublet was returned to YTR following a hire with one sleeve sheared off. The unfortunate actor cut her arm during a performance. When Pauline Rourke received a phone call from the hospital asking permission to cut the garment, she bade the doctor to please continue with whatever was necessary. The actor recovered intact and the doublet now lives on the distressed rail.

An example of a purposefully distressed item is a velvet cloak. (Figure 16) Originally with sleeves and collar, this piece was selected from stock as a late addition to a YTR production of Robin Hood—The Arrow of Destiny, 2017. “During tech the Director Damian Cruden wanted...the two characters of the Sheriff of Nottingham and Guy Gibson to get more and more dishevelled.” Hazel Jupp sourced a cloak base from the stores that was as close to the original as possible to work into. The orange faux fur was added as a recognisable feature of the original cloak worn in the “un–distressed” scenes. This illustrates how swiftly a decision concerning existing stock may be taken and the level of alteration that may be required.

70 Rourke, op cit.
71 Jupp, op cit.

“Tech” alludes to Technical Rehearsal, where costume, set, lighting, and sound are all finalised in a run–through. At YTR this is typically one week prior to production. An ellipsis was added by the author of this article, Claire Spooner.
Figure 16:

Distressed Cloak,
Production Robin Hood: Arrow of Destiny,
Designer Jane Linz Roberts, Original Maker Unknown,
Breaking-Down Hazel Jupp, 2017,
© York Theatre Royal, York, England,
Photographed by Claire Spooner, August 2019.
Conclusion

To summarise, the opportunity to explore the history of costume at YTR has resulted in many fascinating back-stories which contribute to the social and cultural wealth of the theatre. Research into the varied materials and techniques used by theatrical makers has proved to be a celebration of talent. As the landscape of the theatre wardrobe changes, with more collaborative work undertaken or freelance wardrobe supervisors bought in for a single production, there may be no appointed person overseeing wardrobe stock and the recording of information surrounding it becomes less likely. Any work undertaken to research and document these unique collections therefore becomes the more valuable.

Limitations to research have been encountered due to the impact of Covid–19 in the United Kingdom. Both the YTR Archives, currently held at The York St. John University and information at The York Explore Library have been inaccessible. Additionally, in normal times, there would have been access to primary sources (including costume) held at YTR itself. This has been limited at the time of research. All three institutions, however, provide excellent resources, including programmes, costume designs, and wardrobe bibles, for further study. It is the intention to now build on the research gathered so far. This could provide a record for future students of theatrical costume and an archive resource for YTR and the wider community of dress historians and makers.

The joy of researching items in the YTR CHD is illustrated beautifully by one final piece of costume. A single surviving man’s Georgian style shoe (Figure 17) was found buried beneath the main stage during renovation work in 2016. It raises many questions surrounding its history: who wore it, what was the production, did the actor hobble onto stage stocking-footed? Was it lost on purpose, the actor in pursuit of a better fitting replacement? Whilst of no particular historical note in its design or manufacture, like Cinderella’s slipper, the shoe has woven into it all the magic of the theatre.

Figure 17:
*Georgian Style Shoe,*
Maker Unknown,
© York Theatre Royal,
York, England,
Photographed by Claire Spooner,
May 2021.
Bibliography

Primary Sources: Articles


Primary Sources: Interviews


Paula Grosvenor, Freelance Maker (former employee at YTR, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.

Janet Hull (Costume Tutor and Maker, York, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, March 2020.

Hazel Jupp (Head of Wardrobe, YTR, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.

Beckie May, (Prop Maker, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.

Pauline Rourke (Costume Hire Supervisor, YTR, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, November 2020.

Kate Stephenson (Historian, England), in discussion with the author of this article, Claire Spooner, April 2021.

**Secondary Sources: Books**


Secondary Sources: Websites


“Simmons’ costumes were known for their correctness of period, sophisticated design and high quality,” The Harry Ranson Center, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, United States, 2007, https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?eadid=01440&kw=b%20j%20simmons%20, Accessed November 2020.


Copyright © 2021 Claire Spooner
Email: clairehsponer@yahoo.co.uk

Claire Spooner is passionate about costume and performance and has worked as Costume Hire Assistant at The York Theatre Royal since 2016. A freelance milliner, Claire has made hats and headwear for York Theatre Royal and for contemporary milliner Justine Bradley-Hill. Claire received a distinction in BTEC HNC Millinery from Leeds College of Art & Design before going on to run her own millinery label “Quaintrelle,” 2010–2018. From 2010, Claire has delivered talks about her collection of bonnets, hats, and millinery trims and tools across the United Kingdom and is particularly interested in the social history of fashion. Claire works as a professional life model often in period costume and as a background artist in period dramas. Claire graduated in 2000 with a First Class degree in Art with Psychology from University College of Chester.
Book Reviews

Academic book reviews are an important part of The Journal of Dress History. From dress history to textile books, published by small or large presses, the journal provides an inclusive range of reviews, written by students, early career scholars, and established professionals.

If you have a comment about a published book review—or a suggestion for a dress history or textile book that should be reviewed in The Journal of Dress History—please contact books@dresshistorians.org.

Adornment: What Self-Decoration Tells Us About Who We Are is written by Stephen Davies, a Professor of Philosophy at The University of Auckland, New Zealand. He is a trained ethnomusicologist, while his areas of interest are also in culture and comparative aesthetics. As former president of the American Society for Aesthetics, his understanding of aesthetic behaviour and practices justifies the content of this book. The book discusses widely on the topic of human obsession with adornment and the integral part it plays in self-expression. According to the author, adornment has modestly existed in human history alongside religion, ethics, and art, but its importance had long been overlooked (p. 1). Words such as decoration, adornment, beautification, and their synonyms are used interchangeably in the book hence not to be confused with any other meanings. The book contains adequate photographic references to engage the reader; however, it is so rich in examples that the reader yearns to see more.

The book is divided into 11 chapters, each discussing an aspect of adornment backed with historical and cross-cultural examples. The first chapter, “The Sungir Children,” is a fascinating case study that presents prehistoric evidence of decoration at the Sungir burial site, near Moscow, dating back to 27,000 years—the period known as the Upper Paleolithic. An example illustrates the grave of a 45-year-old man “about 3,000, mostly cylindrical, mammoth–ivory beads decorated the man's clothing and Arctic fox canine teeth adorned his headdress.”
The author identifies material value of ornaments as social indicators. The case of Sungir burials lays the foundation for the author to unveil human decorative practices and their universality.

The second chapter, “What Adornment Is,” delves into the theoretical understanding exploring the adornment’s functionality and purpose. The chapter’s well-illustrated examples help the readers simplify complex ideas correlated to aesthetics. A discussion explores the adornment’s intention to beautify or enhance an object; however, if the decoration becomes “institutionalized,” the purpose goes into the background (p. 17). Another discussion of the intention of aesthetics to explore the idea of the beautiful and the sublime (subjected to geographical and historical positioning) raises an interesting debate on the perception of beauty and questions the perception of the ugly as its opposite; hence, “not everything that is beautiful or awesome is so as a result of being adorned” (p. 18). Consequently, the publication questions adornment as an indicator of beauty or intentional enhancement. The author further makes a case for adorning practices in birds and animals calling them “precursors of adornments” (p. 23). He suggests that symbolism in adornment signals status and wealth enhanced with stones, diamonds, gold, silver, beads, etc. While in other cases, decorative features in objects enhance their augmentation and functionality.

In the third chapter, “Bodily Adornment Practices,” the author puts forward subjects of surgical intervention, bodybuilding, teeth decoration, and hairstyling as forms of adornment. The chapter touches upon the discourses of body imaging and body politics focusing, however, explicitly on the practice of adornation, and stating that “decoration should be analysed as a social effect, more than a personal one, because it involves potentially public display...” (p. 56). The fourth chapter, “Aesthetics and Adornment in Prehistory,” is an account of our ancestors. Colourful stones used at the ritualist site of Rhino Cave in Botswana, and imagery of Chauvet Cave in France complexly interweave art with decoration. This chapter suggests that archaeological findings in the development of the aesthetic sense are not exclusive to Homo sapiens, but were also present in crude form among fellow species: Homo neanderthalensis and Homo denisova.

An engrossing fifth chapter, “Difference between Men and Women,” investigates psychological underpinnings that elaborate the role of adornment to create psycho-sexual tension between sexes thus aiding in mate selection (p. 83). The chapter suggests that the ornamentation historically enhanced admirable qualities among males and females. However, the modes and mechanics have evolved to become more complex than their evolutionary phases. The chapter renders multiple examples to grasp the adornment’s relation to mate selection and beauty standards.
The chapters “Body Painting and Makeup” and “Scarification and Tattoos” consecutively discuss painting and tattooing with examples from African, Native American, and Oceanic tribes. The colours and designs of body painting among the Nuba males of Sudan are indicators of age, rank, and clan membership (p. 100). Examples suggest that the purpose of adorning the body is primarily social rather than merely decorative. Furthermore, makeup and perfume-making of the Greeks and Babylonians are also considered adornment. The discussion elaborates the use of makeup in ancient Greek and Christian Europe as deceptive and its negative connotation indicating prostitution and female vice (p. 105) calls to the dichotomy with female standards of beauty created mostly by men. The tattoos and scarring of native tribes such as the Yoruba from Nigeria and Bafia women of Cameroon promote beauty (p. 122), but are sometimes an institutionalised practice to “mark the person’s passage through an important stage in life” (p. 122). A contrasting view of scarification and tattooing is presented among the Judeo-Christians and Muslims. The chapter also examines how practices of body-marking are used as an indication of clan membership, religious affiliation, and superstition.

Chapter 8, “Piercing, Plugs and Jewellery” and Chapter 9 “Clothing” discuss the wide umbrella of adornment. The chapters contain historical references of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman alterations to the body produced in order to decorate and display wealth. Similarly, the Nyangatom tribe of Ethiopia wear lip plugs to show status and decoration. In “Clothing,” as the most common form of adornment, the example of the 5300-year-old Icemen Otzi, who was found in seven articles of clothing, insinuates the history and functionality of clothes. The author compares the functionality and decorative elements of Otzi’s garments to illustrations on the Narmer palette where the ancient Egyptian pharaoh Narmer wears a tunic that falls below the waist along with a decorated belt. Many illustrations with intriguing examples of clothing indicative of age, gender, class, and wealth, such as women’s apparel accentuating their curves and men’s rectangular silhouette, point to the sexual characteristics in clothing. The author reveals respectability as the phenomenon behind consumption and renders examples of the politics behind clothing in various societies. This chapter also entails a detailed case study on the headwear and historical shifts in Chinese clothing.

Chapter 10, “Bali-Sungir Writ Large,” is yet another detailed case study of Balinese culture. The 4000-year-old Austronesian settlement has been influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism, and Chinese traders for centuries (p. 177). This mix of influences has shaped Bali’s cultural landscape and practices fused with ancestor worship, Hinduism, and animism are an interesting sketch of how the beliefs and rituals evoke symbolism in Bali’s cultural fabric. The performative nature of the Balinese culture makes room for ornamentation and thus, the chapter indulges in
richly rendered illustrations of rituals, music, and festivals kept alive through visual representation.

In the book, the pivotal role of adornments establishes visual communication by marking themes of social status, gender roles, and religious beliefs which are knitted together with illustrations from anthropology, archaeology, history, psychology, and ethnography and highlights the importance of adornments in human evolution. It is commendable how the author has woven these diverse aspects to build a case on the practice of adornment, advocating its universality. In conclusion, he condenses his intentions behind the book, emphasizing that the act of decorating bodies should not be reduced to mere mate selection, but rather read as extensive social messages. However, written from a scholarly perspective, with a clarity of writing and little academic jargon, the book can engage anyone interested in the subject.

Copyright © 2021 Faryal Arif
Email: faryyal@gmail.com

Faryal Arif’s background is in design, culture, and literature. She holds an MA in Visual Cultures from Durham University, England. During her studies, she worked at the Bowes Museum as a curatorial intern. She is an early career researcher of cultural heritage, local crafts, and textiles of Pakistan and likes to experiment with new media to archive and curate various art forms. During the 2020 Covid–19 lockdown, Faryal co-curated an online art exhibition Covent–19 on Instagram displaying artworks from across 15 countries. She is currently teaching Textile Design at the University of Karachi.
Shoe Reels: The History and Philosophy of Footwear in Film, Elizabeth Ezra and Catherine Wheatley, Editors, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2020, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 45 Figures, 313 pages, eBook, £85.00.

Edited by Elizabeth Ezra, Professor of Cinema and Culture at The University of Stirling and Catherine Wheatley, Senior Lecturer in Film Studies at Kings College London, Shoe Reels: The History and Philosophy of Footwear in Film is a collection of 20 essays written by various scholars of cinema, film, language, comparative literature and media, communication, and fashion studies. Pamela Church Gibson, the series editor, says this about the collection in the Foreword, “Films and Fashion is a new series designed to address a particular gap within contemporary critical literature” (p. 15). Indeed, this collection covers the intersection of a very particular item of clothing, the shoe, and its use as a storytelling device in films ranging from the silent era to the golden age of Hollywood to contemporary Korean and African cinema. The essays cover a wide range of footwear from sandals and boots to house shoes and stilettos, from Air Jordans and strappy Louboutins to magical ruby and glass slippers. These clothing items act not only as a visual signifier for the characters in film but also often hold the key to the themes and storytelling devices employed by the filmmakers.

While the essays are not categorized in sections or chapters by specific theme, there is a chronological through line to the order, beginning with “Max’s stylish shoes” by Margaret C. Flinn, an essay exploring Max Linder’s silent film Max lance la mode [Max sets the style] and concluding with “Isabelle’s espadrilles, or les chaussures d’Huppert” by Catherine Wheatley which explores contemporary footwear of French actress Isabelle Huppert. In between, there are essays on the symbiotic relationship between shoes in film and marketing, including, “Whoa!
Look at all her Louboutins!' Girlhood and Shoes in the Films of Sofia Coppola” by Fiona Handyside and “It’s gotta be the shoes: Nike in the Spike-o-sphere” by Jeff Scheible. The book also includes essays on how shoes, or the lack thereof, are an indicator of social standing and status, including, “Sex, corruption and killer heels: footwear in the Korean corporate crime drama” by Kate Taylor-Jones, “The sole of Africa: shoes in three African films” by Rachel Langford, “Feet of strength: the sword-and-sandals film” by Robert A. Rushing, and “Frenetic footwear and lively lace-ups: the spectacle of shoes in Golden Age Hollywood animation” by Christopher Holliday. The imbalance of power created by masculine and feminine footwear is also addressed in “Men in boots: on spectacular masculinity and its desublimation” by Louise Wallenberg and “The brunette with the legs: the significance of footwear in Marnie” by Lucy Bolton.

Rebecca Cunningham, in her text The Magic Garment (2020, p. 2), lists the following ways a costume defines a character:

1. Set the character in time (historical period) and space (geographical or imaginary place),
2. Establish the approximate age and gender of a character,
3. Establish the rank or social status of the character,
4. Establish the personality of the character, and
5. Reflect any changes in time, space, age, status and personality that the character goes through

Each essay presented in this collection addresses these specific notions in relation to footwear, teasing out the ways in which shoes define identity and tell a story from film to film, character to character. The authors seldom make reference to the costume designers in the films they analyze. Rather, they speak to the performer wearing the shoe or the filmmaker creating the shot or the fashion designer of the actual shoe itself. This does not marginalize the actual work of the costume designer in making the choices of which shoe to place on the performer, in the scene, in the film for that work is clearly occurring and feeds the analyses by these authors. Elizabeth Ezra in her essay “Magic shoes: Dorothy, Cinderella, Carrie,” almost gives agency to the shoe itself: “What does it mean to find the right pair of shoes? Or perhaps the question should be: what does it mean for a pair of shoes to find the right wearer” (p. 49)? This is the crux of this essay collection. Shoes can perform all of the tasks listed by Cunningham and seemingly on their own. They hold a kind of magic that transcends the designer, the character, the filmmaker, the storyteller.
This book will appeal greatly to cinephiles and scholars of film with interest in exploring the ways filmmakers have utilized specific objects, in this case, shoes, to deepen their storytelling and examine themes of identity, gender politics, class, and social status. Costume designers and theatre makers wishing to examine how a necessary costume piece can ultimately be used to illuminate so much more than just the character’s identity will also find much to explore and examine within these essays. Dress historians, on the other hand, may find the material too specific to filmmaking to be more than a niche entry in their overall library.

Copyright © 2021 Kerry Bechtel
Email: bechtelk@southwestern.edu

Kerry Bechtel is an Associate Professor of Theatre at Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, United States. She has been teaching courses in costume design, theatrical rendering, and costume and dress history for over 20 years. In addition to her academic work, she is a professional costume designer and member of United Scenic Artists, Local 829 with over 150 design credits.
There has been historically a Euro–centric focus within the geography of dress history research that eventually, during the past century, expanded to include North America. During the twenty-first century, though, we have demanded a wider awareness and acknowledgement and publication of dress history outside western cultures and research norms. Research into these non-western geographies will continue to expand the discipline of dress history. Yet still, additionally within the western cultural framework, there are regions that need to be more deeply explored academically. One such region is New Zealand, which has a rich history though about which its dress history is rarely published. Last year, Angela Lassig published a New Zealand–based article in The Journal of Dress History (Summer 2020 issue), titled, “William Clark (1830–1902): A Colonial New Zealand Draper and Clothier, 1854–1888,” which shed light on colonial dress in New Zealand. The topic was interesting, important, and rarely touched upon in dress history publications. So, too, is the newly published book, titled, Dressed: Fashionable Dress in Aotearoa New Zealand 1840 to 1910. Capturing the fashionable dress history of New Zealand during much of Queen Victoria’s reign, 1837–1901, the book covers the breadth and depth of fashions and accessories with wonderful, colourful images to support the research. Dressed is a significant and insightful contribution to our knowledge of colonial dress in New Zealand.

The book’s author, Claire Regnault, is Senior Curator of New Zealand Culture and History at The Museum of New Zealand, located in Wellington. She brings almost 30 years of curatorial experience and interdisciplinary methodology to shine in this book, Dressed, which is the most comprehensive publication on nineteenth
Within the pages of Dressed, Regnault includes seven chapters that highlight dress artefacts from museums throughout New Zealand. Chapter 1, titled, “Stitch! Stitch! Stitch!” describes the 22 January 1840 arrival in Wellington of the New Zealand Company’s first immigrant ship and the desire to control the sartorial expression of the indigenous people. Regnault writes:

Whalers and traders used clothes and trinkets as means of seduction, but Christian missionaries employed them as tools of conversion. When the first missionaries arrived...they brought with them a belief in Christian superiority, and were determined to bring about cultural and religious change... (p. 22).

Part of this cultural change included “wearing and caring for European-styled clothes” (p. 22) among the indigenous people. This sensitive part of New Zealand history is both interesting and disturbing, yet Regnault navigates the topic well and supports her wide research with academic sources that serve to truly educate the reader.

Subsequent book chapters (with self-explanatory titles) include Chapter 2 “Hard Shopping;” Chapter 3 “Rites of Passage;” Chapter 4 “Balls, Plain and Fancy;” Chapter 5 “Feathermania;” Chapter 6 “Dressing for Royalty;” and Chapter 7 “The Active Woman.” All of these chapters and topics support the dress historical timespan of this book, 1840–1910, which for western dress encompasses a wide spectrum of fashion and styles. Interestingly, the book concludes with a chapter titled, “Behind the Image,” in which the author explains to the reader what occurs “behind the scenes” in a museum fashion department—and all the many people whose involvement is required in order to photograph and display historic clothing: dress and textile conservators, mount makers, and photographers. This chapter is perhaps one of the most interesting as illustrated dress history books rarely provide insight into everything required to produce beautiful dress displays in museums—as well as the corresponding images of clothing and accessories in fashion books.

The only “fault” with this book is its use of endnotes. For the academic scholar, footnotes are preferred, so the reader can quickly glance at the reference and source on the page it is cited (instead of flipping back and forth between reading
page and the corresponding endnotes at the back of the book). But this one “fault” can be overlooked as the book overall is a pleasure to behold. *Dressed: Fashionable Dress in Aotearoa New Zealand 1840 to 1910* is a perfectly appropriate book for dress historians of any level of scholarship. Both the professional academic and the student will equally enjoy this big beautiful book.

Copyright © 2021 Jennifer Daley
Email: jennifer.lynn.daley@gmail.com

Dr. Jennifer Daley, PhD, FHEA, MA, MA, BTEC, BA, is Editor–in–Chief of The Journal of Dress History and Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. Dr. Daley is a university lecturer, who researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She earned a PhD from The Department of War Studies at King’s College, London, with a thesis, titled, *A History of Clothing and Textiles for Sailors in the British Royal Navy, 1660–1859*. She also earned an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art; a BTEC in Millinery (history, design, and construction) at Kensington and Chelsea College; an MA (with a dissertation on political economics) from King’s College, London; and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.

The Cinema of Sofia Coppola: Fashion, Culture, Celebrity offers an exhaustive and multi-disciplinary study of Coppola’s oeuvre, revealing how fashion—understood in its wider sense—not only shapes the unique and distinctive aesthetic of this American auteur, but also plays a key role in her relationship with artistic, social, and cultural currents. The author, Suzanne Ferriss, is Professor Emeritus at Nova Southeastern University, United States. She has published extensively on fashion, film, and cultural studies, co-editing Chick Flicks: Contemporary Women at the Movies (2008), Footnotes: On Shoes (2001), and On Fashion (1994), among other titles. She has also co-authored An Alternative History of Bicycles and Motorcycles (2016) and Motorcycle (2008).

The book is divided into four parts, arranged as chapters, which together focus on different aspects of Coppola’s film practice (film narrative, costume, set and sound design, cinematography, marketing, distribution, and “auteur” branding and the relations between them), exploring, as she sets out in her introduction, key questions that are crucial to our understanding of how the director and her work has become a brand. From character development to the worlds Coppola creates, her film style and positioning in the industry, Ferriss weaves the different threads that make up the Coppola brand mythology—helping us to appreciate how Sofia is not just her father’s daughter, but a unique force of creativity in her own right.

As Chapter 1, “Self–Fashioning,” explores, all of her film characters find themselves at key moments in life such as adolescence, midlife crisis, marriage, or
divorce, experiencing the dynamics of identity—self-definition or redefinition—and how we are defined by others, especially by our appearance, from historical personages like Marie Antoinette to contemporary celebrities. For Ferriss, fashion becomes central to shaping identity and communicating with others through self-display, although it can lead to manipulation and misreading by onlookers as well. As the author highlights, in Coppola’s universe, fashion acts as a nexus between “the crafted public self and intimate personal identity. These insights into human nature are the depths visible through the surface of Coppola’s aesthetic” (p. 54).

In the second chapter, “Fashioning Worlds,” Ferriss focuses on the creation of Coppola’s worlds. This fabrication employs material objects—costume, set, decoration, sound and lighting—carefully studied and designed by the director and her creative team in order to fashion her own universe exactly as she has it in mind, no matter if it is an existing world from the past, or the present, or both. Her knowledge of fashion understood in this wide sense allows her to build a “transhistorical” world, “connecting contemporary viewers to the distant past or exposing resonances of past fashions in the present” (p. 98).

The third chapter, “Film Style,” delves deeper into Coppola’s signature aesthetic at the same time as it shows us how her cinema engages with fashion, culture, and celebrity. Effectively, characterising Sofia Coppola, an auteur strongly wedded to images, could be difficult due to the variety and amount of references in her practice, but Ferriss has selected brilliantly those that help the reader understand the complexity and symbolism in her films, including the most iconic works from the history of fashion representations in visual media. William Eggleston, Bill Owens, Guy Bourdin, or Bruce Weber, to name a few, are present in Coppola’s world, but not as empty recreations of still images. As Suzanne Ferriss points out:

> They are reproductions in the broadest sense of the term, simulations that place her images in dialogue with their original source, invite reflections on the difference between still and moving images, and often, as in this instance, offer a critique of photographic conventions, here the objectification of the female form in the service of foregrounding fashion and voyeuristic pleasure (p. 116).

One of the reasons why Sofia Coppola has been dismissed, apart from being her father’s daughter as we mentioned before, is because of the stylish visual surface in her films. Numerous critics have claimed that her work was frivolous, even “apolitical,” as Rosalind Galt notes, when it is in fact exactly the opposite. Style is, effectively, the substance in her films, serving as a catalyst through which Coppola
serves narratives that dramatize “internal processes of identity formation and external practices of surveillance and judgment” (p. 11).

The fourth and final section of this book, called, “The Fashion–Fame–Film Industrial Complex,” untangles the threads of fame, film, and fashion surrounding Coppola and her work. Separating three strands, Suzanne Ferriss extracts the key elements of Coppola’s success: a fashionable self-image defined apart from her film’s style and aesthetic; a carefully constructed status as a fashion icon and self-crafted auteur “at the nexus of film and fashion” (p. 12); and her own visual style, Coppolism, which elevates herself and her work to a coherent recognisable brand. The chapter also analyzes her presence in the fashion industry, making commercials for fashion houses such as Chanel or Marc Jacobs establishing an interesting relationship, a *quid pro quo* with both couture houses whereas Sofia Coppola nurtures their status and elevates her association between them and Coppola’s persona into that of director–star.

Suzanne Ferriss presents us with an indispensable study that effectively captures the complexities of Sofia Coppola’s universe through the lens of fashion, culture, and celebrity. Analyzing key dimensions of Coppola’s oeuvre through four fascinating chapters, the author invites us to consider the elements present in these dimensions which illuminate her body of work and help us to understand the bridges between Coppola’s filmmaking and film theory, material culture, gender and fashion studies, indeed, even art history. Ferriss makes a convincing argument that fashion is the prism around which Sofia Coppola dissects contemporary culture, questioning our participation in a mainstream culture that gives exaggerated power to image construction through the exalted display of amassed consumer goods.
Carlota Hernández is a recent graduate in Stage Direction at Escuela Superior de Arte Dramático de Málaga, Spain, specializing in Costume Design. She attended a training course about Spanish Couture in the twentieth century focusing on research and documentation thanks to a private collection of haute couture pieces located in Madrid, Spain, where she has cultivated a strong passion for dress history and material culture. Currently, she is on a professional course in historical costume to deepen her knowledge in costume practice, as well as give her an interesting approach to textile conservation, being able to use a set of practical tools acquired during the practice as a costume maker for theatre and opera.
Getting dressed and caring for clothes is a commonality with past generations which can illuminate the similarities and differences between our lived experiences and those of our ancestors. Through this lens, Fashion and Family History documents the dress of average British subjects from 1800 to 1950, packaged for the family historian. The book then explores the lives of clothing industry workers, the domestic care of garments, and the social context of developments in dress. It is author Jayne Shrimpton’s intention that this thorough introduction to dress history will give her readers a new appreciation for their ancestors’ daily life. While much of the content will be familiar to dress historians, this book is a valuable introductory resource for amateurs and students. However, there appears to be a disconnect between the author’s stated aim and the content of the text, which focuses on telling readers the history of dress instead of explaining how to use this knowledge in practice as a family historian.

Author Jayne Shrimpton holds a Bachelor’s degree (Hons.) in History and a Master’s degree in the History of Dress from The Courtauld Institute of Art, London. Her three decades of freelance work dating and analyzing photographs for family historians and other groups have clearly inspired her published work, which combines her knowledge of dress history and genealogy. She has written several texts exploring photography and genealogy: Family Photographs and How to Date Them (Countryside Books, 2008), How to Get the Most from Family Pictures (Society of Genealogists, 2011), and Tracing Your Ancestors Through Family Photographs (Pen and Sword Books, 2014). She has also published a few
books on specific periods of dress as well as *British Working Dress* published by Bloomsbury Shire in 2012 and referenced in the latter chapters of *Fashion and Family History*.

*Fashion and Family History* begins with an information-packed overview of general women’s, men’s, and children’s dress history during the period. Shrimpton weaves social history through descriptions of clothing, seamlessly integrating the social contexts which informed dress. For example, Shrimpton points to the Crimean War’s influence on facial hair, as returning soldiers brought with them a fashion for beards (p. 16). Fitting 150 years into one chapter does make this section difficult to absorb. While there are some black-and-white illustrations included, many more would be needed to properly explain the progression from sheath-like dresses in the early 1880s, to paniers, bustles, and padding in vogue by the end of that decade (pp. 6–8).

Indeed, the illustrations throughout the book, while aiming to provide “visual examples to aid comparison and dating of family artworks and photographs” (p. 1) would be difficult to interpret by the intended audience. They are captioned with a simple date only. The sheer volume of dress features noted on each page would mean a reader new to dress history would struggle to identify which are the features illustrated in any given photograph. The inconsistency between Shrimpton’s stated target audience and the foundation knowledge is an issue throughout the book.

After the introductory first chapter, the book is broken into more focused chapters exploring topics such as regional dress variations; rural, factory, and business styles of dress; workwear; sportswear, and the clothing industry. The chapter on regional dress is particularly interesting—and a reminder of how western clothing has become homogenized over the twentieth century (pp. 38–40). A photograph of a Newhaven fisherwoman in her distinctive striped petticoats is just one example of previous centuries of diversity (p. 39).

The toil of laundry during this period is given a number of insightful pages of discussion in Chapter 9 (pp. 146–150). The detail of this chapter may be surprising to a family historian; however, Shrimpton proves that this attention is well deserved, given the amount of time people dedicated to this chore. Shrimpton details the variety of cleaning agents used, from traditional soap—semi-dissolved into a jelly-like texture first—to paraffin or soapwort. Shrimpton also describes the use of smalt or indigo to keep whites pristine (p. 149). Small details such as these highlight the care taken to preserve clothing and the appearance of oneself and one’s family. In this chapter in particular, Shrimpton achieves her aim of illuminating how important clothing and dress were in the daily lives of our ancestors and provides intimate glimpses into the hardships of the past.
Finally, Chapter 11, “Family Heirlooms,” introduces the types of objects like garments, jewellery, or photographs, which are often passed down through generations. The book ends by mentioning “surviving dress-related documents in printed or hand-written form,” (p. 174) which could include invoices, receipts, or journals. These can form fascinating documentation of consumer habits, adding insights for the family historian as to how money was spent and what garments were made at home, or which were purchased. However, some guidance as to how to interpret these items would have been useful as these familiar documents can be easily disregarded by family historians unused to examining the minutiae of daily life. Similarly, this chapter contains the only photograph of an extant garment which is included throughout the book (p. 172). Using this garment as a case study of how a family historian could inspect it to both date it and find out more about its use—for example where to look for alterations, labels, or types of stitching—may have done more to assist Shrimpton’s readers.

Fashion and Family History is an excellent introduction to dress history for an interested amateur. However, the family historian would have benefitted from a clearer outline of methods for accurately interpreting photographs, documents, and garments. It would be useful for readers to pair this volume with a more visual guide, such as the Patterns of Fashion series by Janet Arnold, now published by The School of Historical Dress. Presumably, Fashion and Family History would also complement Shrimpton’s other publications, such as Family Photographs and How to Date Them, published by Countryside Books. Fashion and Family History would also be useful for students looking for an introduction to this period of British dress, particularly before exploring other publications with a narrow focus.

Copyright © 2021 Helen Kempton
Email: helen.catriona.kempton@gmail.com

Helen Kempton is a Rae and Edith Bennett Travelling Scholar from The University of Melbourne, Australia, currently undertaking a Master’s degree in Dress and Textile History at the University of Glasgow, Scotland. She holds a degree in History from University of Melbourne and a Graduate Diploma in Museum Studies from Deakin University. Her research interests include domestic crafts history and the history of female migration and women’s economies. In 2019, she began a podcast, Forgotten Threads, uncovering the forgotten tales of fashion history and women’s experiences on the Australian home front of the Second World War.

Brenda Leedham was Head of Wigs and Make Up Department at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre from 1974 to 2007, and founded Leedham Wigs, a custom wig making company. She has worked on film, television, and theatrical performances and delivers educational talks and workshops about wigs and make-up in theatre. Lizzee Leedham, co-author, started her career as English teacher and helped her mother Brenda work on productions. Lizzee is now Managing Director of Leedham Wigs.

This book is comprised of an introduction and eight chapters, offering detailed information about wig making and styling skills for archetypal Shakespearean characters. The two chapters titled “The Work of the Wig Maker” (Chapter 1) and “Preparing for Wig and Facial Hair Making” (Chapter 3) are particularly informative introductions of the work and techniques used in making foundations for wigs. Chapters are divided by century, each providing step-by-step procedures and clear instructions on applying particular methods in practice. Relevant photographs visualize a range of construction and techniques to style the wig for a specific character. The book includes practical tips as well as appendices with measurement forms, which are pleasing additions for wig makers to improve skills and meet required standards.

Chapter 2 looks briefly at male and female fashion and hairstyles in the sixteenth century, specifically those popular during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Chapter 3 covers different techniques used to prepare hair under a wig and measure the head of a wearer before making a wig foundation. The next chapter features ways to make a male wig of bobbed, short, or longer hair as well as artificial.
beards and moustaches. The authors then illustrate female wigs, taking examples of long curly hair worn by characters like Thisbe, a “periwig” for Titania in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and grey-coloured updo hairstyle for an elderly woman. One of the great strengths of this book are the detailed instructions and photographs devoted to wig making and styling, although the reader may find the complexity in some of the methods presented challenging. It would have been more helpful if photographs were attached to the steps from number 22 to number 27 on page 88, for example, as these final steps are crucial to making the foundation. Methods to approach the alteration on a commercial caul net wig are also presented in this section.

In Chapter 6, the authors lay out fashion and hairstyles in the seventeenth century, showing that male wigs became more common after the Restoration and that women in the high status embellished their hair with curls and ringlets. Although some portraits featuring fashionable trends of the age are interesting, the texts lack referencing of their thematic relation to the subject matter. Likewise, it might have been more appropriate to take a chronological approach in the following chapters. The male wigs of untidy hair and thinning hair are represented for characters in *Henry IV*, and the example of fitting an extension hairpiece with long hair is the wig prepared for the heroine in *Romeo and Juliet*. These examples, however, are likely to be included in the sixteenth century section of the book, as both plays were most probably written in the 1590s. Nevertheless, the variety of techniques covered is especially impressive, such as for creating receding hairline, mixing hair in a couple of different colours to have an effect of natural appearance, and using wefts and wires to make a wig of dense curls, and they could be well deployed for characters from seventeenth century dramas.

Overall, this book offers valuable ideas and suggestions for creating hairstyles for various types of characters, not only in Shakespearean, but also other historical plays. The subject is sometimes confusing as the amount of information can be overwhelming, especially for the general reader. It might have been more helpful if the glossary had included terms for knotting techniques, such as reverse knot, cross knot, and double knot. Additional photographs of different types of hooks and needles would also have been of help. Although only odd numbers are put on pages in the book, usual numbering would be preferable for the reader to consult the index.

With this book, the authors demonstrate great passion and ingenious techniques for the work. This is an ideal companion book for practitioners in the field looking for tips to develop and enhance their skills.
James M. Bromley is Associate Professor of English at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, United States. He is the author of *Intimacy and Sex in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) and co-editor of *Sex Before Sex: Figuring the Act in Early Modern England* (University of Minnesota Press, 2013). He has been awarded a Solmsen Fellowship at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin and a Mellon Foundation Fellowship from the Folger Shakespeare Library.

James M. Bromley’s new book *Clothing and Queer Style in Early Modern English Drama* is a fresh look at discovering queerness in Early Modern drama by analyzing sartorial choices. Bromley draws from queer and disability studies to achieve what he calls (following Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner) “queer worldmaking.” Rather than projecting the modern heterosocial norms onto the past, he emphasizes how differently people understood personal relationships and societal pressures, and how they created their own responses and resistances in the Early Modern period. For this study, he defines queer style as “forms of masculinity that were grounded in superficiality, inauthenticity, affectation, and the display of the extravagantly clothed body” (p. 5).

At its core, the book employs instances of sartorial transgression as the springboard for its ideas of queer worldmaking and countercultural movements. This idea is developed through four chapters, each loosely concentrated on one non-Shakespearean play, though Bromley puts them into context with thorough...
citations of previous scholarship as well as connections and parallels to classical and contemporary texts. The book examines characters who, through their clothing choices, challenge the ideals of performing masculinity and the construction of the self purely through inwardness. His approach to materiality builds on Ann Rosalind Jones’ and Peter Stallybrass’ work, but he succeeds in creating something new out of their ideas.

Bromley’s skill at teasing out new readings shines as he employs “cruisy historicism” (more on this later), that is, using the space of the text in unintended ways for queer pleasure, reading against the moralising tones of the text for ways in which sartorial cues can signal space for queer actions, interrelations, and dreams. It is a refreshing methodology, though some of his speculation around authors’ motives and the way they supposedly redeem queer characters can feel rather utopian. But as imagining queer happiness is a stated intention of the book, it fits into the narrative, and it is a welcome change to see somebody imagine queer redemption rather than suppression.

Chapter 1 focuses on the application of disability theory to the idea of authenticity and its appearance in humour comedies. Bromley uses the Early Modern view on disability as undesirable but authentic to interrogate ideas of authenticity of the self when affected by humours. According to him, on the surface humour plays hinge upon the idea that “being in a humour” is authentic and thus acceptable, with affectations and obsessions from outside the body being laughable or punishable. His analysis of Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in His Humour* shows how this idea is subverted by the playwright himself, as he mocks other writers while reusing their work, and honourable characters mock behaviours they themselves employ. With this link between inwardness and authenticity broken, characters who are ridiculed for their excessive attention to their outward appearance and sartorial extravagance, are able to reclaim a sense of authentic self, according to Bromley.

For Chapter 2, the author moves to Thomas Middleton’s *Michaelmas Term*, to address the topics of queer pedagogy and self-creation through materiality. He argues that a monolithic heterosexual society fails to make space for especially young queer people to explore their identities, who then turn to other means of learning and expressing themselves. Men in *Michaelmas Term* build same-sex relationships on the basis of cloth and clothing, with the draper Quomodo at the centre of the play and the characters of Easy, Lethe, and Shortyard around him. While the play exposes these relationships as potentially exploitative, it also critiques equivalent heteronormative constructions of sexuality and connection.

This leads into the third chapter, where Bromley returns to the idea of selfhood and its construction through outward appearance. Rather than concerning the
cross-dressing titular character in Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton’s *The Roaring Girl*, the author’s analysis focuses on the aptly named gallant Jack Dapper. The main argument of the chapter is that sartorial transgression creates tension: one can signal financial status, (dis)ability, gender and more, but whether this matches the “inside” remains to be discovered. This tension can be eroticised, as in the titular character’s cross-dressing, but there are more subtle ways of queer expression in the play too, as Bromley details. He builds on ideas of materialism and the concept of assemblage, as established by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, to show how Jack subverts the Early Modern ideal of *spezzatura*, to be effortlessly sartorially elegant but seemingly indifferent to it, by consciously drawing attention to the work required for this elegance, and openly enjoying the process. While the transgressions in the play are linked to ridiculed effeminacy, usury, and sodomy, Bromley reminds the reader that drama can inspire desire for what it critiques and satirises.

In Chapter 4, the author elaborates on his method of “cruisy historicism,” which has to some extent appeared in previous chapters, but comes into full force at the end here. Bromley explains readers that cruising spaces intended for activities other than sex “provides a pattern for mobilising the elements of a text from the past that do not line up with historical contexts, especially those contexts understood as hostile to queer social and sexual practices” (p. 151). It is, therefore, both something found in the text as well as a way to read a text. He uses cruising specifically as it is an example of a sexual counterculture resisting attempts to keep only heterosexuality visible both in the Early Modern era (as well as now), citing the central nave of St. Paul’s Cathedral as a known cruising spot. It is also the setting of a pivotal scene in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of His Humour*, the focus of this chapter. The character brisk is at the centre of Bromley’s reading of the text, in which clothing can be a sign of protest against concepts of nationalised identity, interiorised sexuality, and more broadly sex-negative history-making.

In conclusion, textiles here are a conduit for Bromley’s theories, rather than being the focus of the book. As such, it is not a volume from which to learn about Early Modern style, and the target audience is further narrowed by the extremely academic language, making it not particularly accessible. But it is exemplary in bringing together scholarship from many different disciplines, and using it to push the boundaries of what we think of as dress history. His challenge of queerphobic and sex-negative history-making brings a powerful message to re-examine our personal biases and imagine a better and more diverse past, and then bring that thinking to the present and future.
Luise Kocaurek is a historian and textile artist based in Scotland. She graduated with an MSc in Medieval Literatures and Cultures from The University of Edinburgh in 2018. Her research focuses mainly on materialism and relationships of past people to their clothing, marginalised identities, and craftsmanship across all eras. She practises and teaches historical arts and creates reproductions.
“Fashion has never been about what is real; it is about desire” (p. 81), writes Christopher Laverty in *Fashion in Film*, a trim yet decadent compilation of fashion designers who have created costumes for film. And what captures and inspires desire more than the cinema? Here Laverty endeavours to show how both famous and forgotten fashion designers have had a strong hand in shaping films that, in turn, went on to shape wider culture.

Though the book was first published in 2016, it has strived to stay current with reprints in both 2017 and 2019. The version being reviewed here is the softback edition (jauntily described in the book’s press release as a “Pocket Edition”) published in 2021, which features references to films that came out as recently as 2020. It is both a delight and a sadness to read these revisions—delight that Laverty was so dedicated to the topic that he wanted to make sure the book was continually fresh, and sadness at the fact that he will never again be able to provide such tailoring. Laverty passed away accidentally in May 2021 and, according to friend Ben Williams on the James Bond hobbyist website *MI6* (Laverty was a keen fan of the Bond films and an admirer of the character’s various style iterations.), Laverty had just signed a new book deal and was giddily excited.

Readers of both *Fashion in Film*, as well as Laverty’s beloved *Clothes on Film* blog, will mourn the loss of his sharp observations and infectious interest in the minutiae of film costume as well as what could have come from his future work. Laverty’s sole book is still substantial, yet it is light enough to be revisited on many occasions, which explains its multiple editions. Each chapter is dedicated to a specific fashion designer (organized alphabetically by first name) and the films that best reflect their
overall body of work. Laverty demonstrates a gift for noticing how the costumes of one film could end up reflected back in the costumes of another: in the chapter on Agnès B, he writes about the red balaclava worn by a teenage terrorist in *The Model Couple* (1977) and goes on to mention that a similar red balaclava is then worn by a different teenager in 2012’s *Spring Breakers*—Agnès B contributed costumes to both. “Fashion was not Agnès B’s first career choice,” writes Laverty. “Having produced nearly 30 films since the nineties, she has found her true creative outlet in cinema—she is a film-maker by choice, a designer by accident” (p. 12).

What is most remarkable about the book is that it can be enjoyed at an introductory level, yet Laverty’s writing remains sophisticated and, at times, wry. Laverty was not afraid to make acute generalizations about how the average viewer is aware, or unaware, of the aesthetics of specific designers—even through the medium of film. On Nino Cerruti, he declares, “Chances are, if you have seen a movie, you have seen a Cerruti suit” (p. 149). Observations like this make the reader feel as if the curtain is being drawn back on information they already possessed, but were unaware of. In Laverty’s world, filmgoers looking for pleasure and entertainment have the same eye as seasoned researchers and critics.

Surprisingly, the one downside of the book is the photographs. While there are many wonderful, glossy, full-colour stills from various films in the book, it felt like Laverty would often go into vivid and wonderful detail to describe a costume, only to not include a photo of said costume. The reason for this could be any number of reasons from lack of space to copyright issues, and is a somewhat minor flaw in an otherwise enchanting book. However, if research is the sole reason for buying this, one might be better off seeking out books dedicated to just a particular film or designer if they are in need of more in-depth information on the topic. Yet, there would be something missing in other books, like Laverty’s chronicling of tie-in movie merchandising for various films or how on-screen clothes are often styled to reflect the time period it is released in, so as to be “more flattering to modern eyes” (p. 34). It is clear that *Fashion in Film* really was made for fashion and film lovers alike—for even the most patrician of cineastes will feel childlike wonder upon learning that Gaultier designed for Pedro Almodóvar or that Vivienne Westwood is responsible for Miss Piggy’s romantic wedding dress in *Muppets Most Wanted* (2014).
Copyright © 2021 Skye Murie
Email: skyemurie@gmail.com

Skye Murie is a writer, artist, and researcher based in Boston, Massachusetts, United States. She recently graduated from Columbia College Chicago with an MFA in Interdisciplinary Arts and Media, where she also worked as an assistant at the school’s Fashion Study Collection. Additionally, Skye has worked as a research assistant for Chicago History Museum Costume Curator Virginia Heaven and as an Editorial Assistant at The Journal of Dress History.

Clothes Make the Character: The Role of Wardrobe in Early Motion Pictures examines the significance of dress in silent films, charting its evolution from inessential cinematic device to a critical aspect of character design. Penned by Dr. Lora Ann Sigler, Professor Emerita of Art History at California State University, the author’s devotion to scrutinising the costumes and sets of early twentieth century cinema was first testified by her previous work, Medieval Art and the Look of Silent Film, which itself comprised 10 years of research. Whilst the latter book spotlights the (hitherto overlooked) medieval influence on the ambience of silent motion pictures, Clothes Make the Character broadens its thematic scope; highlighting an assemblage of film productions, ranging from visually lavish to desolate, to analyze onscreen wardrobe “not only as a silent partner in the (performer’s) role but also as an actor in itself” (p. 1).

The extent to which costuming in silent film conveys or contradicts the wearer’s principles—imparting key messages in the absence of dialogue—is thoroughly critiqued in this volume, providing Sigler with ample means of flaunting her vibrant, evocative writing style. Similar importance is placed on detailing the socio-political tensions pervading this era, and assessing the extent to which audiences were influenced by the nascent “Big Screen” (p. 7). Did filmmakers simply hold a mirror to existing societal issues or, as pondered in the introduction, were they complicit in fostering such issues?

Clothes Make the Character is comprised of nine chapters, the division of which changes over the course of the book. Chapters 1, 8, and 9 are chronological in
structure, respectively covering the emergence of silent cinema, the earliest iterations of “talkies” (sound film) and the subsequent influence of motion pictures on (primarily female) moviegoers. The remaining chapters occupy the same era, but are segmented according to film genre or geographical location.

“We Flutter to the Flickers” documents the first trailblazing strides of cinematography, introducing novice readers to the famed exploits of figures such as Eadweard Muybridge and Georges Méliès, the advent and refinement of filming techniques and Hollywood’s rise as epicentre of cinema, usurping New York’s short–lived cachet as site of the world’s first motion picture studios. Much scholarship already exists on the origins of filmmaking, Sigler acknowledges; less so the artistry of inventors like William Dickson, whose role in devising the kinetoscope (a forerunner to the movie projector, conceived in 1891) was downgraded to make his employer, Thomas Edison, the recipient of public credit (p. 10). Starting with the author’s profile of Dickson and, in later chapters, fuelled by her self–described “feminist bent” (p. 81), promotion of little–known innovators in film permeates the book’s narrative. Sigler thus garners recognition for the “unsung early heroines” of animation (p. 14), the numerous women tackling social and labour issues in filmmaking (p. 78) and the multihyphenate talents of silent comedians (p. 108), amongst other neglected pioneers.

As “The Look of Life” establishes, the earliest motion pictures—more concerned with “the phenomenon of movement” (p. 23) than with creating ambience—failed to grasp the implicit power of costuming, but the dawn of costume dramas shifted the film sector’s attention towards wardrobe and set design, importing designers from the theatre to authenticate these productions. Filmmaker Cecil B. DeMille, Sigler affirms, was one of the first of his craft to consider dress an integral facet of storytelling. Gathering a staff of on–site designers that went on to become household names, DeMille pre–empted the industry–wide trend of employing in–house costume designers. This concise history lesson leads onto the book’s foremost recurring theme: analysing the “mixed messages” that lace through a character’s wardrobe (p. 28). Juxtaposing stills of actresses Lillian Gish in Way Down East (1920) and Theda Bara in Cleopatra (1918), Sigler dissects the clear similarities between their translucent costumes and accompanying poses. Gish’s character was intended to symbolise “innocence deceived,” yet her appearance infers a more alluring message, whilst Bara’s “not–so–implied seduction” (p. 25) is conflicted by her confusing body language, which simultaneously invites and rejects the viewer. The placement of this pseudo innocent Gish on the book cover foretells the importance of these “compare and contrast” exercises in substantiating the author’s treatise.
Whilst the aforementioned chapters establish Sigler’s blend of historical commentary, film synopses and animated descriptions of dress, the scale of her research is best evidenced by the book’s middle chapters (3–7). “The Look of (Foreign) Life” travels beyond Hollywood to ascertain if Continental silent film emulates or deviates from the wardrobe typing of American pictures, such as over-dressing villains to the point of resembling “Christmas trees on the move” (p. 35). Citing productions in Britain, Spain, France, Russia, and Weimar era Germany, the selection of international films consulted is impressively diverse, with Alexandra Exter’s costuming in the German Expressionist *Aelita, Queen of Mars* (1924) proving memorable for its surprising fusion of working class garments and futuristic ensembles. Subsequent chapters primarily refocus on American cinema, dissecting the starring role of dress in socially—and politically—charged film (“Warner’s, We Have a Problem”), costuming in comedic versus dramatic motion pictures (“We’re Funny That Way”), and the struggle to evade contemporary influence when designing for historical film (“Past Imperfect”). “Strangers in a Strange Land” underscores the xenophobic climate of the American silent film era, wherein “foreign” character stereotypes such as the “Latin lover” (p. 85) were exoticized onscreen, whilst the country’s immigrant communities were denigrated in public society. “For audiences of the silent and early talkies eras,” Sigler concludes, “it would seem that clothing *did* make the man or woman...putting Caucasian actors into Asian wardrobes caused an instant transformation that viewers happily went along with” (p. 95) notwithstanding the unethical nature of these portrayals.

Publications centred on fashion and cinema may have proliferated in recent years, but costume books with a focus on silent film are still relatively scarce. *Clothes Make the Character* is a comprehensive and much-needed addition to this genre, structured to benefit readers of all knowledge levels. The glossary mostly references the lesser-known cinematic devices and techniques found in the book’s initial chapters, making this a useful resource for students or enthusiasts of film studies, whilst a standout section of the appendices, “On the Flip Side,” shines an overdue spotlight on female comedy writers. Given the obscurity of certain productions featured, the book is well illustrated: alongside film stills and publicity posters, visual excerpts from department store catalogues establish whether silent cinema played any part in influencing trends of the time or, indeed, vice versa. Above all, Sigler’s witty commentary entertains from the outset, striking an ambitious balance between style and substance.
Copyright © 2021 Amelia O’Mahony–Brady
Email: amelia@amelia-eclectique.com

Amelia O’Mahony–Brady is an editor, researcher, and emerging curator of dress, based between Dublin and Milan. Her five plus years of experience in magazine editing and freelance writing—principally working with Irish and Italian publications—have been shaped by eclectic, colourful explorations of fashion, examining the latter’s relationship with art, performance, culture, and heritage. Recently trained in collections management and care, she is currently embarking upon a research sabbatical centred on fashion and art fusions across twentieth century Italy, whilst cutting her teeth in curatorial practices.
When one first reads the book *Fashion, Dress and Post-Postmodernism*, it may be accompanied by scepticism. How relevant is it to publish a book on this subject during the pandemic, which must have been written and revised sometime before the release date? Since the pandemic may perhaps characterize the post-postmodern period most of all and probably already constitutes an essential element of it, it is somewhat surprising that the books’ authors relate to the Covid-19 pandemic, thus characterizing it with the utmost relevance to the main subject. The book, seeking to examine the relationship between post-postmodern theory and dress, contains 11 articles (the last one being the collections’ summary written by one of the editors) and an introduction. Only three of the book’s articles deal directly and entirely with the issue of post-postmodernism and dress, examining the subject theoretically and conceptually.

The articles are joined by the book’s introduction written by Andrew Reilly, one of the book’s co-authors, allowing an essential layer in understanding the book’s position within the research sphere, introducing the theoretical and conceptual discussion. The additional articles deal with case studies, sub-subjects, and various phenomena examining the state of dress and fashion in the post-postmodern era. Articles include, for example, Iqra Shagufta Cheema’s article dealing with post-postmodernism and dress of Muslim women in South Asia; Nigel Lezama’s work, observing the work of designer Alessandro Michele at the Gucci fashion house; and an article by Dennita Sewell wondering about the work of fashion curatorship in the post-postmodern era. The concluding article by co-author José Blanco F.
is meritorious by all means, especially by its written composition. It demonstrates content dealing with post-postmodernity and the question of dress, while its form is also post-postmodern; the article is divided by headlines relating to the writer’s position vis-à-vis the subject. Thus, the writer discusses the subjective identity experience in the post-postmodern era via the choice of clothing and the dressing practice. These personal experiences constitute the prism in viewing general questions arising from fashion in this age. Additionally, the text generates a view of the book itself and the editing experience as a part of the post-postmodern act and is fascinating and most important.

This selection of articles above demonstrates the book’s spirit seeking to generate insights into post-postmodernity and its implications for fashion and dress. However, only one article in the book touches on social issues, sustainability, climate, ecological disaster, and fashion. The article “Counter-Fashion as Critical Practice” is signed by authors identified as The Rational Dress Society presented at the book’s opening as a counter-fashion collective founded by Maura Brewer and Abigail Glaum-Lathbury. The two writers are the originators of the monogarment, ungendered for everyday wear, JUMPSUIT brand, raising the banner of sustainability, anti-capitalism, and the attempt to eliminate the regimenting dimension of clothing expressed through gender and size. The presence of such an article laying out the revolutionary teachings of the writers-designers allows for contemplation and reconsideration of the function of dress in the new period, which seeks to “replace all clothes.” It is necessary, defining the book with greatest relevance to the subject. Following reading this article, it seemed appropriate to expand the place of social and sustainable topics in the book, as there are no others more relevant to the post-postmodern era. However, through a broad spread of various topics bound in the practices of dress, display, and design, the book creates a broad observation of the macro subject, allowing what was not available until that point.

Although several studies have already begun to examine the post-postmodern theory regarding dress, this book introduces a comprehensive investigation heralding the phenomenon’s importance to fashion research and providing a solid body of knowledge on the subject. As a result, the book is an essential and relevant theoretical source for the fashion and dress research sphere. There is no doubt as to its importance for scholars on this particular topic, but also on broader issues such as post-postmodernity and its implications, fashion curatorship, sustainability, and the climate crisis, fashion houses in the twenty-first century, and sociological studies dealing with the practices of the new subject.
Copyright © 2021 Rachel Gets Salomon
Email: rachsal@gmail.com

Rachel Getz-Salomon is a PhD candidate in the Design Department of Architecture and Town Planning Faculty at the Technion Institution of Technology, Haifa, Israel. She holds an MA in Cultural Studies from The Open University, Tel-Aviv (2016). She also holds a BFA in Art and Design, from the Fashion and Jewellery Department at Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem (2009). Rachel is a Teaching Professor in the Architecture and Town Planning Faculty at the Technion, Haifa, Israel. She is a curator of Art, Fashion, and Design and a professional literary and cultural critic in the national press.
There is still no comprehensive book on dress and clothing in the Old Testament, the Hebrew Bible. One who hoped that this book would fill the gap will be disappointed. Instead, the book seems to be a randomly composed collection of eight different chapters by eight different writers, mostly Protestant theologians from the northwestern United States and the adjacent region of Canada, but also one from South Africa. The essays are the outcome of a research group established in 2014 under the auspices of the Pacific Northwest Region of the Society of Biblical Literature.

In his Introduction, Antonios Finitsis states that dress studies are a reasonably young field of research. The study of dress in the Hebrew Bible is even younger. This could be the reason for the lack of a manual on clothing in the Hebrew Bible. For theologians there can be a divide between the material and the ideological. The present book straddles that divide and discusses the implications of the interconnection between the two sides of the narrative in the Hebrew Bible. “The red thread running through the chapters is the power communicated by dress in all its forms, generative and destructive, real, perceived and projected” (p. 3). Hence the subtitle “For All Her Household Are Clothed in Crimson,” a sentence from Proverbs 31:21. According to the author, this text means that the protagonist of Proverbs 31, a woman of strength (in the King James Bible translated as a virtuous woman), expresses her qualities metaphorically, but also materially by dressing the members of her family in clothes dyed with the precious purple extracted from certain types of shellfish, commonly called murex. This is her power.
In most chapters of the book, the power is coupled to the clothing of a king, the High Priest or YHWH himself. The case of YHWH is discussed in Chapter 1, “YHWH’s Clothing, Kingship, and Power: Origins and Vestiges in Comparative Ancient Near Eastern Contexts,” by Shawn W. Flynn and Chapter 8, “Where YHWS clothes worth remembering and thinking about among literati of late Persian, early Hellenistic Judah/Yehud?” by Ehud Ben Zvi. The complex titles of the chapters show how difficult it is to get things clear. This is partially due to difficulties of the Hebrew text and problems with the translation. Some Hebrew words have a complex meaning that disappears in the translation. The most outspoken example of this is the word שלול usually translated as hem. In Isaiah 6:1 the prophet sees the “Lord sitting upon the throne and his שלול filled the temple.” This peculiarity of YHWH’s clothing has caused many problems for exeges. The solution is found in a broad cultural context: in Mesopotamian cultic use the pala, an embroidered or flounced hem of a divine robe is the tangible force of the deity. There are more examples of clothing as a metaphor in the Hebrew Bible. Elsewhere in Isaiah the biblical writer rejoices because his God has “covered him with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decks himself with a garland and as a bride adorns herself with het jewels.” This text is discussed in Chapter 7, by Scott R.A. Starbuck, “Disrobing an Isaianic metaphor מְעִיל (ME ‘ÎL ŞEDĀQÁ “robe of righteousness”) as power transfer in Isaiah 61:10.” Here one also finds an overview of texts in the Hebrew Bible where a מְעִיל (robe) is used as a royal or sacerdotal garment. In Exodus the robe is expressly connected with professional priesthood.

Two chapters deal with the clothing of the High Priest as prescribed in the Pentateuch: Chapter 2, by Carmen Joy Imes, titled, “Between two worlds: the functional and symbolic significance of the High Priestly regalia” and Chapter 3, “Apotropaic accessories: the people’s tassels and the High Priest’s rosette,” written by Joshua Joel Spoelstra. In the Tassels Legislation (Numeri 15) YHWH commands every Israelite to wear fringes (tassels) on the borders of their garments. These must have a blue thread woven within. Spoelstra connects these tassels with amulets but also with the rosette on the miter (turban) of the high priest. The rosette is engraved with the words “Holiness to the lord” and connected to the turban with a blue chord (Exodus 28:36), the same blue as is woven in the tassels on the borders (hems!) of the dress of common Israelites. By these tassels the wearer is forced to remember the Holiness of the Lord, but one could think of them as apotropaic (as amulets).

Clothing is seldom mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, but if so, it is mostly used to advance the plot of a narrative and to explain its course. When Samuel (1 Samuel 15) turns his back to go away forever from King Saul, the king lays his hands on the
hem of Samuels mantle and it rends, as a sign that the kingdom is taken away from Saul. More aspects of the relation between royalty and garments, are discussed in Chapter 5, “Is Saul among the Philistines? A portrayal of Israel’s first and flawed king,” by Sean E. Cook and Chapter 6, “The Emperor and his clothing: David robed and unrobed before the Ark and Michal” by Ian D. Wilson.

In the Hebrew Bible there are two women called Tamar. Their stories are decoded in Chapter 4, “Tamar and Tamar: clothing as deception and defiance,” by Sara M. Koenig. The first Tamar (Genesis 38) is a daughter-in-law of Judah. Her husband is dead. After Judah lied to her about giving her another of his sons as a husband, she takes a surprising initiative. She comes to Judah veiled. He takes her for a prostitute, sleeps with her and in time she becomes the mother of twins, Perez and Zerah. Perez will be an ancestor of King David. The second Tamar (2 Samuel 13), daughter of David, is raped by her half-brother Amnon, who pretends to be sick. She is lured into his room. She comes dressed in an ornate robe: the kind of robe worn by a virgin daughter of the king. After the rape she puts ashes on her head and tears the robe. In both cases dress is clearly used as a part of the narrative: deception and defiance.

The various chapters of the book are incomparable. Some give the impression of being sermons, others are essays in comparative literature, focused on philological problems. Most of the various writers show that they are not only theologians but also storytellers. Nevertheless, for the common reader not familiar with the Hebrew language and script, the texts will present several difficulties, so it might be better to skip some passages or even some of the chapters. For historians of dress this should be a mandatory book, because generally little is known about clothing in the Hebrew Bible. As the book is part of a series especially meant for theologians, these will be the principal readers. For them it is essential reading, because theologians normally tend to neglect the material aspects of the Bible, especially clothing.

Copyright © 2021 Hendrik van Rooijen
Email: havero43@hotmail.com

Hendrik van Rooijen has a degree in History of Art, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands. He is an independent scholar, specialized in the relation between power, clothing, and color, especially purple and black.

This highly informative book provides a detailed delve into the social history behind the millinery industry and milliners in the United States from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Unusually for a volume on hats, Nadine Stewart focuses on the milliners themselves, who were constantly underpaid, working in inadequate premises, and exploited for nearly 200 years. She recognises the political, international, and national events that changed the industry through the Civil War and First and Second World Wars, investigating the cultural, sociological, and economic influences that shaped this industry.

Nadine Stewart is a Professor of Fashion History at Montclair State University and a visiting lecturer at The Fashion Institute of Technology, New York. She gained a Master’s Degree in Fashion and Textile Studies from The Fashion Institute of Technology, and a Bachelor’s degree in English Literature from Dickinson College, with a long-time interest in millinery and milliners.

The book has been collated over eight chapters, each investigating either a historical period in time, for example the 1920s and 1930s, or outside influences affecting the millinery market including the war, political and industrial developments, post-war fashion and the New Look, and the emergence of 1960s consumerism. The author has investigated her subject through extensive research, by revealing over 300 books used for this task in her bibliography. These include nineteenth century volumes from Louisa May Alcott (Work: A Story of Experience) and Elizabeth Beardsley Butler (Women and the Trades: Pittsburgh
1907–1908), to twentieth century volumes by Cecil Beaton and Christian Dior. Printed ephemera and magazines included *Vogue* and *Time* and other trade magazines, comprising the *Illustrated Milliner 1900–1922, Millinery Trade Review 1876–1899*, newspapers, websites, diaries, contemporary literature, and archives; for example the Fashion Group International Records 1930–1950, and Kheel Center for Labour-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University.

*American Milliners and Their World* highlights the issues for women in the workplace within this industry. By referring to contemporary writings of the period and quoting the experiences of these young girls, the author proves the inequality of the milliners, the dreadful working conditions, pay and long hours in a seasonal market. In 1870, millinery was listed fourth in the list of occupations for women, following domestic service that came first. She then focuses on the industrialist men that dominated the industry, controlling the sale of raw materials and developing the mechanisation of this former cottage industry, and the damning situation in which they made their female employees work.

Throughout the book, Stewart quotes Virginia Penny (1826–1913), an American social reformer, suffragette, and economist, who was the first to study women’s labour markets in the United States and Europe. Black-and-white images are incorporated throughout the book, allowing us a peak into the world of these milliners, from over full work rooms, to the development of factories, revealing contemporary figures at their work.

The Progressive Era occurred during the early twentieth century, and the industry was developed and diversified as wholesale factories opened, and buying and selling habits reformed with the introduction of large department stores. New workforce in the form of immigrants arrived from Europe after the Great War, bringing different styles, skills, and influences. Then the 1920s thrust the “new” female at society, representing a new ideal, a symbol reconfiguring the social norms through looser sexual forms and blatant disregard for previous attitudes women took by smoking, drinking, and wearing makeup. This “flapper” wore a differing style of dress celebrating the androgynous body, sporting a new hairstyle, the “bob,” which facilitated the design of the stylish and well-loved cloche hat.

Successful milliners that Stewart discusses are Lily Daché, a French woman who arrived in New York in 1924, and had a great number of famous patrons throughout her career; also, Peggy Hoyt an American who started her career as an apprentice in a milliner’s before working hard to open her own boutique on Fifth Avenue in New York.
To conclude, this book is an excellent read for either an academic or keen amateur with an interest in millinery and social history during the nineteenth and twentieth century in America.

Copyright © 2021 Sarah White
Email: sarahwhite37@yahoo.co.uk

Sarah White is head of the Textiles and Costume Department at Tennants Auctioneers, Leyburn, North Yorkshire, England. She has worked there for 27 years and developed quarterly sales covering all aspects of costume and textiles from around the globe and periods. She holds a BA from Newcastle Polytechnic in History of Modern Art, Design and Film.
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.


Fashion in Japan 1945–2020 unpacks the evolving landscape of fashion, media, and society in Japan from the end of the Second World War to the present. Conceived in conjunction with the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, the exhibition opened in 2021 due to the outbreak of the Covid–19 pandemic. The show first opened at the Iwami Art Museum, Shimane from 20 March 2021 to 16 May 2021. This article reviews the iteration at the National Art Center, Tokyo (NACT), which ran from 9 June 2021 to 6 September 2021.

Fashion in Japan 1945–2020 resulted from a curatorial partnership between the two aforementioned institutions. Holding one of the largest art exhibition spaces in Japan, the NACT has staged major local and travelling shows on wide-ranging mediums and themes. While it does not hold a permanent collection, the centre has previously organised exhibitions related to fashion, including Skin + Bones: Parallel Practices in Fashion and Architecture (2007) and Miyake Issey Exhibition: The Work of Miyake Issey (2016). The Iwami Art Museum, on the other hand, is one of the few museums in Japan that has a department dedicated to fashion. Established in 2005, the museum regularly exhibits its collection of historic and contemporary dress, many of which are displayed in Fashion in Japan 1945–2020.

According to the introductory text placed at the gallery entrance, the exhibition aimed to showcase the trajectory of Japanese fashion since the end of the Second World War, considering the perspectives of both the “designers (transmitters)” and the “consumers (recipients).” Amassing an incredible sum of over 800 objects, from garments, shoes, and accessories to print media and audiovisual materials, the
exhibition surveyed the creation, production, consumption, and proliferation of fashion over the past seven decades. By starting the narrative from when western-style clothing became the predominant form of dress in Japanese society, *Fashion in Japan 1945–2020* sets itself apart from several recent shows that have centred around the kimono, including *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk* at The Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England (2020), *Kimono: Fashioning Identities* at the Tokyo National Museum in Tokyo, Japan (2020), and *Kimono Couture: The Beauty of Chiso* at the Worcester Art Museum in Worcester, Massachusetts, United States (2020).

The exhibition was organised chronologically, laid out over nine interconnected rooms that were categorised by decade. Surrounded by solid white walls with minimal decorative elements, the gallery space at the NACT was likely intended to draw the visitors’ attention towards the objects on view. A total of 250 mannequins—mostly white, without hair or makeup ornamentation, positioned in uniform rows—also aligned with the overall simplistic exhibition design and effectively spotlighted the outfits.

Amid its ambitious approach to examining an illustrious period, the exhibition successfully brought together exemplary items and related reference materials from various sources, including museums, design houses, educational institutions, and private collections. In the “1945–1950s” section, for example, the array of garments loaned from dressmaking school archives demonstrated the educational role that local designers played during the postwar years. Serving as the driving force behind the development of *yosai bunka* (western-style dressmaking culture), designers, such as Chiyo Tanaka, Yoshiko Sugino, and Yoko Kuwasawa, established schools that responded to the growing demand for obtaining western-style dressmaking skills.

The garments on display were also derived from notable dress collections in Japan, including Hanae Mori’s designs from the Iwami Art Museum, Rei Kawakubo’s Comme des Garçons collections from the Kyoto Costume Institute, and the 1960s “Ivy Look” menswear from the Kobe Fashion Museum. Alongside internationally acclaimed designers, the sections on the 1970s and 1980s encompassed brands with a prominent local following, such as BIGI launched by Takeo Kikuchi and Yoshie Inaba, Nicole by Mitsuhiro Matsuda, and Milk by Hitomi Okawa. Although the exhibition featured a combination of extant clothing, promotional materials, and runway footage, some disparities between designers were observed. The work of Issey Miyake and Kenzo Takada, for instance, was unexpectedly presented only through video content. Considering their profound influence both within and beyond Japan, physical examples of their garment designs would have been meaningful components in the checklist.
A strength of this exhibition was the inclusion of quotidian objects that showed how social movements shaped the way people dressed at given points throughout history. In the prologue, mass-produced meisen kimonos of the 1930s were juxtaposed with wartime civilian clothing known as kokumin fuku (“national uniform”). Fast-forwarding to the twenty-first century, Uniqlo’s Heattech products—a staple item in contemporary wardrobes—embodied the technological innovations of textile manufacturing. Furthermore, photographic and audiovisual references conveyed the subcultures that were characterised by distinctive attires and lifestyles. The boom of the film industry during the 1950s, for instance, prompted the rise of the taiyo-zoku (“sun tribe”), a postwar generation of teenage boys who enjoyed a carefree lifestyle by the seaside of Shonan, Kanagawa. As portrayed by the shirt designed by Hanae Mori for the film *Crazed Fruit* (1956), the taiyo-zoku adopted flamboyant beach styles, often wearing sunglasses and Hawaiian-style shirts.

Accompanying the garments was an impressive number of fashion magazines, shop catalogues, and videos playing television commercials and film clips. Particularly noteworthy were the leading magazines from each decade, starting with the so-called “style books” of the 1940s and 1950s that incorporated dressmaking instructions and patterns. During the 1970s, the magazines *Anan* and *Non-no* were coveted for their eye-catching photography and travel features, becoming highly popular among women in their late teens to twenties. Meanwhile, magazines, such as *Popeye*, *Men’s Nonno*, and *Men’s Club* were influential in communicating the latest trends on men’s attire and lifestyle. Progressing to the 1990s, the exhibition underscored the importance of “Harajuku-style” fashion through a corner displaying *FRuiTS* and *TUNE* magazines. The issues from the late 1990s to the early 2000s depicted the ways in which these up-and-coming magazines captured the eccentric sartorial styles seen on the streets of Harajuku.

The exhibition concluded with a section dedicated to the future of fashion in Japan, highlighting initiatives taken by contemporary designers. This final section would be an especially interesting resource for future generations, suggesting how curators analyzed the current moment within a broad historical context. Shedding light on fashion designers, trends, and media that have traditionally received little attention in academia, the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue are a valuable addition to the existing research on Japanese fashion history and would also appeal to an international audience. Due to the travel restrictions brought forth by the Covid-19 pandemic, it is predicted that the primary visitorship in either venue was local. Consequently, an active digital presence, preferably in English, would be desirable in reaching fashion enthusiasts and scholars abroad. As the English page of the exhibition’s official website only contains the general overview and venue
information, more details on the object selection or a virtual tour would assist greater accessibility for those who were unable to experience the show in person.

Copyright © 2021 Ayaka Sano Iida
Email: ayakasiida@gmail.com

Ayaka Sano Iida is a fashion historian and arts professional based in New York, New York. Her current research explores twentieth century fashion design in Japan. She has contributed to exhibition research and public programming at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York; the Japan Society, New York; and the Asia Society Museum, New York. She is a member of The Association of Dress Historians, The Textile Society of America, and a board member for the Costume Society of America. She holds an MA in Costume Studies from New York University and a BA from the School of International Liberal Studies at Waseda University, Tokyo.
La Belle Époque: Fashions of the 1870s to 1910s has been curated by Charlotte Reynolds and Queen’s University of Belfast PhD Student Eliza McKee. The exhibition displays a selection of evening and day wear from the Ulster Museum’s costume collection, which demonstrates the change in the fashionable silhouette for women from the bustle of the 1870s to the Paul Poiret inspired outline of the early 1910s. The exhibition is hosted in the Ulster Museum’s central Belfast location within the Botanic Gardens adjacent to Queen’s University Belfast. The exhibition opened in December 2020 prior to the second Covid-19 lockdown in Northern Ireland, and re-opened in May 2021 with the final closing date of the exhibition in November 2021. There is a small leaflet available to visitors to critique their views of the exhibition but no exhibition catalogue. However, there are blog posts on the museum’s website, nmni.com, which offer visitors more information on the objects within the exhibition. At this point there are no plans for the exhibition to tour but this may change in the future.

A selection of 14 costumes mounted on specially commissioned mannequins display the change in women’s dress from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. The costumes are arranged in a chronological timeline from 1870 to 1911, and in an L-shaped exhibition space with floor to ceiling glass panels which enable the viewer to get an almost 360 degree view. The exhibition text is displayed on square panels with clear and concise text which explains where the dress was made (if known), the material, year(s), or decade of production, when and who by the object was gifted to the museum or if the object was a museum purchase. It also includes a short overview of the contextuality of the objects to the period it which they were made. Furthermore, several panels have paintings,
drawings, or cartoons that depict women wearing bustles or leg-o-mutton and gigot sleeves. Of particular interest is a cartoon depicting a woman in bloomers and corset trying to get an over-sized crinoline over her head without the aid of her lady’s maid. These visual representations give the non-expert viewer an idea of how the dresses were worn by women when at the opera, at a ball, or on a social visit. This brings to life the staticity often found in mounted costume exhibitions.

La Belle Époque starts with a late 1860s or early 1870s day dress of silk and velvet with lace trimmings. The exhibition panel accompanying this dress indicates that the dress was made by an unknown maker of French origin. Within the exhibition there are more garments made by unknown makers than named retailers or designers. Directly to the right of the crinoline dress is a 1880s red velvet two-piece bustle day dress. Accompanying the 1880s day dress is a dolman coat of silk, wool. The mannequin for this garment has been expertly made to make the dolman appear as if it is floating on air.

The mounting of the dolman gives the viewer a visual sense of how it would have appeared when worn when accompanied by a dress with a large bustle. A small metal wire cage bustle has been simply placed on a plinth beside the 1880s dresses to demonstrate how garments like the dolman 1880s gained their shape. The addition of the bustle gives the viewer an idea of how the large, voluminous shape was formed by the aid of a small garment made of concertinaed metal.

Thematically the exhibition moves on to the leg-o-mutton sleeves or gigot sleeves of the 1890s in the form of two dresses for day wear. Of note is a blue watered silk day dress with additions of Limerick lace, which was manufactured by Irvine and Co, Londonderry Ltd. This is the first dress of Irish origin that is featured within the exhibition and reflects the move towards the hourglass figure of the early 1900s coupled with the large sleeves of the 1890s. In contrast to the watered silk day dress is a remarkable example of an 1893–1894 dress used in the latter stages of mourning created by Jays of London. The dress comprises of white and black striped silk with additions of crochet lace collar and cuffs. The crochet lace collar beautifully enhances expertly ruched gigot sleeves and exquisite striped silk material of the dresses.

The exhibition moves into the twentieth century with the inclusion of a silk day dress which depicts the “S-bend” silhouette of the early 1900s. The dress is made of rose-coloured silk and is positioned to give the viewer a side view of the fashionable “S-bend” waistline. In contrast to this is a blue silk “Hobble Dress” of circa 1910 that demonstrates the shift to an empire bustline, which differs greatly to the nipped in waist of only 10 years previous. The comparing and contrasting of styles and waistlines that changed rapidly between the late Victorian and Edwardian
period are further enhanced by the final dresses featured within the exhibition: two dresses owned by Elizabeth Clark Balfour, who was a Scottish–American textile heiress. She married Thomas Kennedy Laidlaw in New York in 1896 before settling in Ireland. Elizabeth’s wedding dress from 1896 and her 1911 court dress worn when she was presented to Queen Mary at Dublin Castle in 1911 were recently acquired by the Ulster Museum. Elizabeth’s wedding dress was made from luxurious silk and satin with pleats on the waistline to emphasize her 19-inch waist. Elizabeth’s court dress of Brussels lace and Irish crochet with a formal train of purple and green glass beads on a cream silk background was designed by Madame Leonie Duboc, a court dressmaker based in Bond Street, London.

To further emphasize the change in silhouette juxtaposed by both dresses is a portrait of Elizabeth Balfour Clark in her wedding dress and a portrait of her in the court dress. Elizabeth’s wedding dress has been beautifully crafted to emphasize her small waistline with pleats of silk. In contrast, Elizabeth’s 1911 court dress has an empire-line silhouette accentuated by a simple green silk sash. These dresses appear at the end of the exhibition and beautifully summarise in sartorial form the change of silhouette in waistline in the short period span of 1896–1911.

The La Belle Époque: Fashions of the 1870s to 1910s exhibition is an important contribution to the field of Irish dress history as it is perhaps the first time a court dress worn at Dublin Castle has been displayed within an exhibition in Ireland. Elizabeth Balfour Clark’s dress was worn at a time when Ireland was rapidly changing and the power of Dublin Castle was waning; the 1911 visit to Ireland by King George V and Queen Mary was the last Royal visit to Ireland for over 100 years. In just over 10 years Ireland would be effectively split in two; the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland coming into fruition in 1921. This dress effectively displays a turning point in both the power and social structure in Ireland as never again was such elaborate costume worn for court presentations in Dublin after this period. Elizabeth’s court dress constructively shows how dress can be used as a thought-provoking object in context with larger political and national debates happening at the time of a dress’ production. Elizabeth’s dress is essentially an arbiter of a by–gone era in Ireland that by 1911 was already fading.

The exhibition also in turn successfully demonstrates how the fashionable silhouette for women in Ireland changed during 1870–1911 through a selection of carefully thought out and meticulously researched and mounted costumes, and accessories. The exhibition text and layout are displayed in such a manner to make the information accessible to all visitors, from the academic to the non-expert. The “L” shaped exhibition space, with ample spacing between costumes and accompanying text, give the viewer sufficient room to engage with each costume whilst also simultaneously taking in the clear and concise text on the accompanying...
exhibition labels. This is further enhanced with the addition of images in the form of cartoons, paintings, photographs and text explaining how the dresses on display both were worn and made. In brief, La Belle Époque is an absorbing and thought-provoking exhibition visually showing how fashion changes over time.

Copyright © 2021 Rachel Sayers
Email: rachelchristinasayers@gmail.com

Rachel Sayers is an early career dress historian living and working in Ireland as a curator, historian, and blogger. Rachel’s practice as an historian concentrates on Irish dress history in early to mid twentieth century Ireland with an emphasis on how dress, social, domestic, house, and leisure history influenced sartorial decisions in everyday life. Rachel is currently working on the Courtaulds Connects project at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and the Miracle Workers project at the Devil’s Porridge Museum, Eastriggs. Rachel has also published the article, titled, “For God and Ulster: Political Manifestation of Irish Dress and the Ulster Volunteer Medical and Nursing Corps, 1912–1918” in the Spring 2019 issue of The Journal of Dress History.
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.
**A Paradise for Impostors? Clothing as Social Markers in Early Modern Rome,**
Camilla Annerfeldt, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 2021.

**Abstract**

This thesis seeks to elucidate the ways in which clothing was used by the members of Rome’s different socio-economic classes as a token to accentuate—or disguise—their social standing. In the early modern period, social identity was regarded as much more important than the individual. The social hierarchy was reflected in the hierarchies of appearance, in which clothes constructed the social body with the purpose of defining status and social rank. Clothes also functioned as an alternative currency. Garments were repaired and remade, circulated as perquisites, wages, gifts or bequests, or were pawned or sold on the second-hand market if the necessity arose. Investment in textiles and clothing therefore served as a type of savings; clothing as a means of payment could sometimes even be more valuable than money. Yet, this constant circulation of clothes could at times also create confusion within the hierarchies of appearance. By acquiring clothes otherwise out of reach of one’s socio-economic range, the wearers were enabled to ‘appear what they would like to be’ rather than as they were. Early modern Rome was a city with a dualistic nature, which seems to have permeated many aspects of Roman society around 1600—the stern Counter-Reformation church on the one hand, and the lavish courts on the other; the sacred versus the profane; the importance of romanitas—an ancient Roman lineage—in contrast to a transnational character. Above all, it was a city where the controlled was constantly challenged by the chaotic. Such a fragmented context creates a number of interesting aspects when studying early-modern clothing as social markers. Thus, because of the Roman society’s very nature, this thesis argues that Rome presented an exceptional case in comparison to other cities in the Italian peninsula.
A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research

Jennifer Daley

Online sources for dress history research have been increasing in scale and quality. This article provides online sources that are of a professional quality and that play a role in furthering the academic study of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Categorised alphabetically per country, the following online collections reflect the interdisciplinarity of dress history research that can be accessed through searchable banks of images, objects, and texts.

This article includes online collections in the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Wales, and the United States. For inclusion in this article, the museum, archive, or other professional organisation must offer online sources in English. If a website link in this article initially prompts non-English text, simply activate the translation tool on the webpage, which will provide automatic translation into English. Additionally, the museum, archive, or other professional organisation must offer online sources for dress history research that can be officially referenced at an academic level; for example, items or images must include a unique identifying number (such as an inventory number, accession number, or museum identification number).

The following descriptive texts were taken directly from the individual websites, which are hyperlinked and can be easily utilised from the downloaded (pdf format) journal issue. Additions, suggestions, and corrections to this article are warmly encouraged and should be sent to journal@dresshistorians.org.
Australia

The Australian Dress Register, Sydney
The Australian Dress Register is a collaborative, online project about dress with Australian provenance.
https://australiandressregister.org

Museums Discovery Centre, Sydney
The Museums Discovery Centre is a collaboration between The Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Australian Museum, and Sydney Living Museums. The Centre includes the material heritage of Australian culture, history, and lifestyle. There are more than 500,000 separate items in the collection, including dress and fashion.
https://collection.maas.museum

The National Gallery of Australia, Canberra
The National Gallery of Australia is the Commonwealth of Australia’s national cultural institution for the visual arts and is a portfolio agency within the Department of Communications and the Arts.
https://artsearch.nga.gov.au

The National Gallery of Victoria, Fashion and Textiles Collection, Melbourne
Select the Collection tab at the top menu, then view the search tool and all curatorial departments, including The Fashion and Textiles Collection. The earliest international works are Egyptian Coptic textiles dating from around the sixth century AD while later holdings include sixteenth century lace, eighteenth century dress, embroidery and textiles, as well as contemporary fashion from around the globe.
https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au

The National Museum of Australia, Canberra
Scroll through this page to research many interesting examples of clothing and accessories.

Belgium

MoMu, Fashion Museum Antwerp
The study collection consists of approximately 1000 objects and is expanding.
https://studiecollectie.momu.be/s/home/item
Canada

**Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto, Ontario**
The Bata Shoe Museum is home to the world’s largest and most comprehensive collection of shoes and footwear-related objects. On the following webpage, click on “Select a Story” then click on the story of your choice; on the next page, click on “Enter” to view text and images of that story. On the left-hand side menu of each story page are more story options while on the right-hand side menu are images of shoes, with descriptive text and accession numbers.
http://www.allaboutshoes.ca/en

**The McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, Quebec**
The online collection includes clothing and accessories belonging to Canadian men, women and children, covering three centuries; garments from Montreal designers, manufacturers, and retailers; quilts, coverlets, and other handmade domestic textiles.

**Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario**
The Textiles and Fashions Collection is one of many that are listed on this page.
http://collections.rom.on.ca/collections

**Ryerson University, Fashion Research Collection, Toronto, Ontario**
This collection offers a wide selection of fashion and textiles.
http://ryersonfashion.pastperfectonline.com

**Textile Museum of Canada, Toronto**
A rich and diverse collection, more than 15,000 textile-related artefacts (including clothing) are featured from around the world.
http://collections.textilemuseum.ca

**The University of Alberta, Anne Lambert Clothing and Textiles Collection, Edmonton, Alberta**
Founded in 1972, the collection includes everyday wear and designer clothes for men, women, and children from different continents, and over 350 years of history.
https://clothingtextiles.ualberta.ca

**The University of Calgary, Theatrical Scene and Costume Design Collection, Calgary, Alberta**
This collection features designs dating to the mid nineteenth century.
https://cdm22007.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/tscd
Chile

Museo de la Moda, Santiago
The collection brings together pieces from the seventeenth century to today. The museum also offers a timeline of fashion with descriptive information and images. https://museodelamoda.cl/coleccion

China

The China Silk Museum, Hangzhou
The China Silk Museum is China’s largest professional museum for textiles and clothing, and the largest silk museum in the world. To utilise the museum website, select Collection; then choose either Ancient collection search or Contemporary collection search; then, make a selection in the drop-down menus, titled, Classification, Technology, and/or Years.
http://www.chinasilkmuseum.com

Denmark

The National Museum, Copenhagen
The National Museum holds a large collection of men’s and women’s clothes, circa 1700–1980s. For a number of different dresses, suits, special occasion clothes, et cetera, there are downloaded sewing patterns. The following website features dress history but also links to additional research portals, including celebrations and traditions, cosplay, military history, monarchy, fur, and more.
https://natmus.dk/historisk-viden/temaer/modens-historie

England

Art UK, London
This searchable database is a compilation of public art collections within the UK. https://artuk.org

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
The Ashmolean has embarked on a major project to digitise its collections with an initial target of making 250,000 objects available online by 2020.
http://collections.ashmolean.org
On this page, select Online Catalogue. The Bank of England Archive contains over 88,000 records relating to all aspects of the Bank’s history and work, dating from the founding of the Bank in 1694 to the present day.
https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/archive

Bloomsbury Fashion Central and Berg Fashion Library
This platform offers instant access to scholarly research, iconic images, and quality textbooks. To gain comprehensive access, log in by subscription, which may be available through an affiliated educational establishment or public library.
https://www.bloomsburyfashioncentral.com

The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle
The online database includes an array of dress and textile artefacts, including items from the wardrobe of Empress Eugenie (1826–1920) and other pieces from the Blackborne Lace Collection.
http://bowes.adlibhosting.com/search/simple

Bridgeman Images
This online collection has over two million art, culture, and historic images.
http://www.bridgemanimages.com

Brighton and Hove Museums Costume Collection, Brighton
Brighton and Hove Museums’ comprehensive costume collection is of considerable national significance. It embraces men’s, women’s, and children’s dress and accessories from the sixteenth century to the present day.
https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/collections/fashion-and-textiles

British History Online
This is a digital library of key printed primary and secondary sources for the history of Britain and Ireland, with a primary focus on the period, 1300–1800. BHO was founded in 2003 by The Institute of Historical Research and The History of Parliament Trust.
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/using-bho/subject-guides

The British Library, London
The website contains many images, such as illuminated manuscripts, which could support dress history research.
https://www.bl.uk
The British Museum, London
A search box enables comprehensive research through over four million objects.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research

The British Newspaper Archive, London
Access hundreds of historic newspapers from all over Britain and Ireland through the search tool on the following webpage.
https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk

The Illustrated London News began weekly publication in 1842 as a primarily conservative leaning paper and was the world’s first illustrated newspaper.
https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/illustrated-london-news

British Pathé, London
The world’s leading multimedia resource offers a search tool, a Collections tab, and free availability to view newsreels, video, archive, film, footage, and stills.
https://www.britishpathe.com

The Burgon Society, London
The following website contains a list of the items of academical dress owned by The Burgon Society, with many images of academical gowns and hoods.
https://www.burgon.org.uk/collections/academic-dress

Central Saint Martins, London
This searchable online collection includes art and design of Central Saint Martins alumni and images from the British Artists’ Film and Video Study Collection.
http://collections.arts.ac.uk

Chertsey Museum, The Olive Matthews Collection, Chertsey
This collection features many items of national significance, with over 4000 men’s, women’s and children’s fashionable clothes dating from circa 1700 to the present.
http://www.chertseymuseum.org.uk

The Costume Research Image Library of Tudor Effigies
This is a Textile Conservation Centre project now hosted by The Tudor Tailor and JMD&Co. The website includes images of sixteenth century effigies in churches in the English counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight. This resource is useful to anyone interested in the cut and construction of sixteenth century dress.
http://www.tudoreffigies.co.uk
The Courtauld Gallery, London
The following website includes the complete collection of paintings, sculpture, decorative arts, and drawings, as well as a selection of prints.
http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk

The Fashion Museum, Bath
There are almost 100,000 objects in the Fashion Museum collection, some items of which can be accessed on the following website.
https://www.fashionmuseum.co.uk/collection

The Glove Collection Trust, London
The Glove Collection Trust owns a collection of historic and modern gloves recognised as one of the finest in the world and includes an unsurpassed collection of seventeenth century gloves as well as original coronation gloves worn by English monarchs. The Trustees of The Glove Collection Trust are appointed by the Court of the Worshipful Company of Glovers of London, one of the Livery Companies of the City of London. To view images of gloves on the webpage, below, select either “View catalogue by date” or “View catalogue by material.”
http://www.glovecollectioncatalogue.org

Goldsmiths Textile Collection, London
The Collection, founded in the 1980s by Constance Howard and Audrey Walker, comprises textile art, embroidery, and dress.
http://www.gold.ac.uk/textile-collection

Hampton Court Palace, Historic Royal Palaces Image Library
This online database includes images of fashion, caricature, art, portraits.
http://images.hrp.org.uk

Imperial War Museum, London
The collection covers all aspects of conflict involving Britain, its former Empire and the Commonwealth, from the First World War to the present day. The collection includes works by great artists, filmmakers and photographers to intensely personal diaries, letters and keepsakes to pamphlets, posters and proclamations. Explore around 800,000 items via the following website.
http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections

The John Bright Historic Costume Collection, London
This website is a catalogue of key items from the collection of original garments and textiles belonging to award-winning costume designer, John Bright.
https://www.thejohnbrightcollection.co.uk
Kerry Taylor Auctions, London
Established in 2003, Kerry Taylor Auctions is a leading auction house specialising in vintage fashion, fine antique costume, and textiles. The website features dress images, description, and pricing.
https://kerrytaylorauctions.com

Knitting in Early Modern Europe
This online database provides photographs and technical details about knitted caps from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries held in European collections. It offers opportunities to comment on the material and participate in experimental archaeology which is attempting to match the characteristics of the fulled knitted fabric from the era.
www.kemereresearch.com

Manchester City Council, Manchester Local Image Collection, Manchester
The Manchester Local Image Collection, with over 80,000 images, is a unique photographic record of Manchester, its people, streets, and buildings from a period stretching well over 100 years.
https://images.manchester.gov.uk

Marks and Spencer Archive Catalogue, Leeds
The M&S Company Archive holds thousands of historical records from the days of Michael Marks’ Penny Bazaar to the present. It is possible to browse themes, such as Lingerie and Sleepwear, Textile Technology, and Wartime.
https://archive-catalogue.marksandspencer.ssl.co.uk/home

Mary Evans Picture Library, London
This Picture Library cover a broad range of topics and subject areas.
https://www.maryevans.com

Middlesex University Fashion Collection, London
The Fashion Collection comprises approximately 450 garments for women and men, textiles, accessories including hats, shoes, gloves, and more, plus hundreds of haberdashery items including buttons and trimmings, from the nineteenth century to the present day.
https://tinyurl.com/middlesex-fashion
These unique collections include over a million objects from thousands of years of London’s history. The Dress and Textiles Collection focuses on clothes and textiles that were made, sold, bought, and worn in London from the sixteenth century to the present. The Paintings, Prints, and Drawings Collection, as well as the Photographs Collection, support research in dress history.
https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections

The National Archives, Kew
Browse over 75,000 images available to download immediately, spanning hundreds of years of history from The National Archives’ unique collections, from ancient maps to iconic advertising.
https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk

The National Army Museum, London
This online collection holds a large image gallery that could be useful for research in dress history.
https://collection.nam.ac.uk

The National Portrait Gallery, London
Access over 200,000 portraits from the Tudors to the present day. Scroll through the Primary Collection, Photographs, Prints and Drawings, or use the search tool.
https://www.npg.org.uk/collections

A hundred years of hand-coloured engraved fashion plates can now be explored. Primarily showing women’s dress, the fashion plates were published in English and French magazines during 1770–1869, and now form part of the National Portrait Gallery’s reference collection to assist portrait and dress research.
https://www.npg.org.uk/research/fashionplates

The National Trust, Swindon
Discover great art and collections, including fashion, and explore over 200 historic places (and 921,731 items online) in the care of The National Trust.
http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk

People’s History Museum, Manchester
The collections span four centuries of the history of working people in Britain with the majority focusing on the last 200 years. The museum holds one of the largest collections of historic trade union and political banners in the world and is the leading authority in the UK on the conservation and study of banners.
https://phm.org.uk/collection-search
The Public Domain Review, Manchester
The Public Domain Review is a not–for–profit project dedicated to works that have fallen into the public domain, which are therefore able to be used freely. To find dress history images and text, insert “fashion” into the search box at the top of the page.
http://publicdomainreview.org

Punch, London
Punch, a British magazine of humour and satire, was published during 1841–2002. The following website offers a searchable database of Punch cartoons, many of which portray dress.
https://www.punch.co.uk

Queen Victoria’s Journals, London
A fully searchable database of Queen Victoria’s journals is freely available online at:
http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do

The Royal Collection, London
Use the “Search the Collection” tool to navigate through thousands of images to support research in dress history.
https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection

The Royal Opera House, London
Royal Opera House Collections collect, preserve, and provide access to an extraordinary collection that records the history of the House since 1732.
http://www.roh.org.uk/about/roh-collections/explore

The University of Brighton, Screen Archive South East, Brighton
Screen Archive South East (SASE) is a public sector moving image archive serving the South East of England. SASE is part of the School of Media at The University of Brighton. Its function is to collect, preserve, research, and provide access to screen material related to the region and of general relevance to the study of screen history.
http://screenarchive.brighton.ac.uk

Symington Fashion Collection, Barrow-on-Soar
The Symington corsetry collection was created by the Market Harborough company R. & W.H. Symington, which began to make corsets during the 1850s. The company eventually grew into an international concern and one of its most famous products, the Liberty Bodice, was produced for almost seventy years. The collection includes garments and supporting advertising material, which provide an
insight into the development of corsetry, foundation garments, and swimwear from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the 1990s.
https://tinyurl.com/symington-corsets

The Underpinnings Museum, London
The Underpinnings Museum is an online archive dedicated to the history of underwear. The goal of the project is to provide free access to an oft-neglected area of fashion study. Each object is accompanied by detailed imagery, technical and contextual information.
https://underpinningsmuseum.com

The University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford
The John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera is one of the largest and most important collections of printed ephemera in the world. It offers a fresh view of British history through primary, uninterpreted printed documents which, produced for short-term use, have survived by chance, including advertisements, handbills, playbills and programmes, menus, greetings cards, posters, postcards. The Images tab, on the following webpage, contains circa 74,000 items, and a search tool.
https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson

The University of Sussex, Mass Observation, Falmer, Sussex
The Mass Observation Archive contains papers generated by the original Mass Observation social research organisation (1937 to early 1950s), and newer material collected continuously since 1981 (Mass Observation Project).
http://www.massobs.org.uk

The Victoria and Albert Museum, Textiles and Fashion Collection, London
The V&A holds the national collection of Textiles and Fashion, which spans a period of more than 5000 years. The Clothworkers’ Centre for the Study and Conservation of Textiles and Fashion is the location at which items can be studied in person.
http://collections.vam.ac.uk

The Wedgwood Museum Collections, Stoke-on-Trent
The searchable collection includes some interesting images of historic dress, from Wedgwood portrait medallions to a woman’s shoe designed with a Wedgwood heel.
http://www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/collections/search-the-collection
The Wellcome Collection Library, London
The Wellcome Collection is one of the world’s major resources for the study of medical history. The online collection offers free downloads of high-resolution images of paintings, drawings, caricatures, photographs, films, posters, books, pamphlets, archives, and sound recordings. https://wellcomelibrary.org/collections

The William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow
The William Morris Gallery holds the most comprehensive collection of objects relating to all aspects of Morris’ life and work, including his work as a designer, writer, and campaigner for social equality and the environment. http://www.wmgallery.org.uk/collection/browse-the-collection

France

Cluny Museum, National Museum of the Middle Ages, Paris
Tapestries and textiles can be explored at the following link: https://www.musee-moyenage.fr/en/learn/collections-resources.html

The National Centre for Stage Costume, Moulins
This collection includes costumes for the performing arts, theatre, opera, ballet, dance, and street theatre productions. http://www.cnecs.fr/collections

The Palais Galliera, Paris
This fashion museum offers a comprehensive online collection, including many images that supports the research of dress history. Browse the collection at the following link: http://www.palaisgalliera.paris.fr/en/collections/collections

Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Grand Palais, Paris
Since 1946, the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Grand Palais photo agency (a public industrial and commercial institution under the authority of the French Ministry of Culture) has been officially responsible for promoting collections of France’s national museums. Browse the collections that are included in the database, search different themes for research, or insert a keyword (such as dress) in the search tool at the top of the page at the following link: https://www.photo.rmn.fr/collections
Textile and Decorative Arts Museum, Lyon
On the following website, select Museums and Collections to search for dress and textiles sources.
http://www.mtmad.fr/fr/Pages/default.aspx

Germany

The Munich City Museum, Fashion and Textiles Collection, Munich
Access the Fashion and Textiles Collection through the main website. Founded in 1888, the museum collection includes fashion and textiles from everyday clothing to haute couture from the early eighteenth century to the present day.
https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de

Hungary

The Museum of Applied Arts, Textile and Costume Collection, Budapest
The 17,000 items in the Textile and Costume Collection are mainly from Europe, with some from overseas, representing a wide range of techniques and periods of textile art. Complementing the textiles themselves is a historical collection of equipment used to make them.

Israel

The Rose Fashion and Textile Archives, Tel Aviv
The archive contains a collection of about 4000 items of clothing and accessories ranging from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first century. This is in addition to a collection of ancient, modern, and ethnic textiles made using a wide range of manual and industrial techniques. Of particular interest is the Israeli collection in which clothing, textiles, and accessories were created or worn in Israel from the end of the nineteenth century. For an English version of the webpage, right-click anywhere on the page and select Translate to English.
https://rosearchive.shenkar.ac.il
Italy

**Europeana Fashion International Association, Florence**
Explore fashion from more than 30 European public and private institutions. Digital images include historical clothing and accessories, contemporary designs, catwalk photographs, drawings, sketches, plates, catalogues, and videos.

**The European Fashion Heritage Association, Florence**
EFHA is an international hub, in which fashion GLAMs (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) and brands share their digital heritage assets and their experiences and best practices in the field of digitisation, access and valorisation of fashion heritage resources.
https://fashionheritage.eu

**Valentino Garavani Virtual Museum, Milan**
Take a virtual tour through this museum, dedicated to the fashion design of Valentino.
http://www.valentinogaravanimuseum.com

Japan

**The Bunka Gakuen Library, Tokyo**
This is a specialised library for fashion and clothing. The library collects rare books, magazines, fashion plates, etc., circa 1500–1900.
http://digital.bunka.ac.jp/kichosho_e/index.php

**The Kyoto Costume Institute, Kyoto**
The Kyoto Costume Institute Digital Archives presents image and text information for objects in the collection, from 1700 to today.
http://www.kci.or.jp/en/archives/digital_archives

Netherlands

**Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam**
The collection of the Rijksmuseum includes more than 10,000 items of costumes and accessories. On the following webpage, researchers can search with keywords, such as fashion, textiles, etc, or select the link, Search the library catalogue.
https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search
Textile Research Centre, Leiden
The collection of the Textile Research Centre in Leiden contains over 22,000 textiles, garments and accessories such as headgear, footwear, jewellery, and walking sticks. It also includes technical items such as hand spinning and weaving equipment. The objects derive from all over world and date from some seven thousand years ago to the present day. Scroll down the following webpage to search items by country, date, technique, as well as by subject category, such as hats, shoes, belts, etc.
https://trc-leiden.nl/collection

New Zealand

The New Zealand Fashion Museum
Established in 2010 as a Charitable Trust, the museum records and shares the stories of the people, objects, and photographs that have contributed to the development of the unique fashion identity of New Zealand.
http://nzfashionmuseum.org.nz

Northern Ireland

National Museums Northern Ireland, Belfast
The museum has several collections, which include art, costume, and textiles.
https://www.nmni.com/collections/art/costume-and-textiles

Russia

The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
The Hermitage includes over 3 million works of art and world culture artefacts, including paintings, graphic works, sculptures, works of applied art, archaeological artefacts, and numismatic objects. A search tool can be used to find dress and textile objects on the following link, Collection Online.
http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/explore/artworks?lng=en
Scotland

The Glasgow School of Art, Glasgow
The Archives and Collections are available online and include images of art, design, photographs, textiles, and more.
www.gsaarchives.net

Heriot Watt University Textile Collection, Edinburgh
The Textile Collection of archives, fabric, and apparel, charts the evolution of the Scottish textile industry from the mid eighteenth century to the present day.
https://www.hw.ac.uk/uk/services/is/heritage/textile-collection.htm

The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
This online source includes art and design images, medieval manuscripts, maps, photography, sport, theatre, war, and more.
https://digital.nls.uk/gallery

National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
The museum has over 12 million objects and specimens. Their collection of fashion and textiles numbers approximately 50,000 items dating from the fourteenth century to the present day, and includes the archives of the internationally renowned, British fashion designer, Jean Muir (1928–1995), and the Serbian artist and textile designer, Bernat Klein (1922–2015).
https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/search-our-collections/

Spain

The Virtual Fashion Museum of Catalonia, Barcelona
This website is a platform to present historical and period costumes of public collections in Catalonia, Spain. More that 6000 pieces of period clothing are held in these collections and this platform tries to expose them to a wider audience. There are 642 costumes digitised in this online catalogue.
http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca
United States

The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
The AAS library houses the largest and most accessible collection of books, pamphlets, broadsides, newspapers, periodicals, music, and graphic arts material printed through 1876 in what is now the United States. The online inventory includes many artefacts that could be useful for dress historians.
http://www.americanantiquarian.org

The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois
The Department of Textiles contains more than 13,000 textiles and 66,000 sample swatches ranging from 300BC to the present. The collection has strengths in pre-Columbian textiles, European vestments, tapestries, woven silks and velvets, printed fabrics, needlework, and lace. The Institute also offers digital collections of European painting and sculpture, prints, and drawings.
http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/textiles

Augusta Auctions, New York, New York
Augusta Auctions represents museums, historical societies, universities, and other institutions bringing to market museum de-accessions and patron donations of clothing, textiles, and accessories.
https://www.augusta-auction.com

The Digital Library Collection holds additional collections that could be beneficial in dress history research.
https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/archives/set/198

Brown University Library Collections, Providence, Rhode Island
This page lists the different collections that the library has compiled, many of which contain interesting images of dress. A search box at the top, right-hand corner allows a comprehensive sweep of the whole Brown Digital Repository.
https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/collections/library

Brown University also holds The Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, the foremost American collection of material devoted to the history and iconography of soldiers and soldiering, and is one of the world’s largest collections devoted to the study of military and naval uniforms.
https://library.brown.edu/collections/askb
Chicago History Museum, Chicago, Illinois
The Museum’s collection of more than 23 million objects, images, and documents records the evolution of Chicago, from fur-trading outpost to modern metropolis. https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections

Chicago History Museum has an especially strong Costume and Textiles Collection, which can be accessed through the following link. https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections/collection-contents/costume-and-textiles

Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia
Colonial Williamsburg, an eighteenth century living heritage museum, hosts online resources, a digital library, and special collections. There are both textual and visual objects in this collection. http://research.history.org/resources

Columbia College, Fashion Study Collection Online Database, Chicago, Illinois
The Fashion Study Collection at Columbia College Chicago is an exceptional collection of designer garments, fashion history, and ethnic dress. A hands-on, academic, and inspirational resource for students and the public, the collection was founded in 1989 and has grown to house more than 6000 items. http://fashioncolumbia.pastperfectonline.com

Cornell University, The Costume and Textile Collection, Ithaca, New York
This collection includes more than 10,000 items of apparel, accessories, and flat textiles dating from the eighteenth century to present, including substantial collections of functional clothing, technical textiles, and ethnographic costume. To view images, scroll down the page and select the link, “Online catalogue database.” Then, select “Guest account,” which will take you to the searchable database of costume. https://www.human.cornell.edu/fsad/about/costume/home

Cultural Institutions Online Collections, Newport, Rhode Island
This database includes items from participating cultural institutions in Newport, Rhode Island, including the Doris Duke Fashion Collection of Newport Restoration. http://newportalri.org
Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, Washington, DC.
The DAR Museum’s collections include over 30,000 objects reflecting the material culture and social history of the United States prior to 1840. Its strengths are decorative arts, costumes, quilts and needlework.
https://www.dar.org/museum/collections

de Young Museum, San Francisco, California
The Caroline and H. McCoy Jones Department of Textile Arts contains more than 13,000 textiles and costumes from traditions around the world.
https://deyoung.famsf.org/deyoung/collections/textile-arts

The de Young Museum is a part of The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, which maintains a searchable database:
https://art.famsf.org

Drexel University, Historic Costume Collection, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
This is a searchable image database comprised of selected fashion from the Robert and Penny Fox Historic Costume Collection, designs loaned to the project by private collectors for inclusion on the website, fashion exhibitions curated by Drexel faculty, and fashion research by faculty and students.
http://digimuse.westphal.drexel.edu

Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising (FIDM), Los Angeles, California
The collections of the FIDM Museum and Galleries span more than 200 years of fashion history, from Parisian haute couture to iconic film costumes.
http://fidmmuseum.pastperfectonline.com

The Fashion Institute of Technology, The Museum at FIT, New York, New York
This collection of fashion, textiles, and accessories is fully searchable. The website also includes a Photography Archive that features the work of fashion photographers.
http://fashionmuseum.fitnyc.edu

Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT), State University of New York (SUNY), New York, New York
The address is for the digital collections of the FIT Library’s Special Collections and College Archives. On the main page, there is a search box into which any term can be inserted. Images are of high resolution and easily downloaded. At the top of the page, select Images or Collections to view sources for research in dress history.
https://sparcdigital.fitnyc.edu
The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
The Folger Shakespeare Library holds the world’s largest collection of Shakespearean art, from the sixteenth century to the present day, as well as a world-renowned collection of books, manuscripts, and prints from Renaissance Europe. The Digital Image Collection includes some stage costumes and other dress images.
https://www.folger.edu/works-of-art

HathiTrust Digital Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan
HathiTrust is a partnership of academic and research institutions, offering a collection of millions of titles digitised from libraries around the world. These books are especially good for textual evidence to support dress history research. Photographs and pictorial works can also be searched in this database.
https://www.hathitrust.org

Historic Deerfield Museum, Deerfield, Massachusetts
Historic Deerfield Museum holds a collection of approximately 8000 items of clothing and textiles, ranging in date from circa 1650 to 2000. Additionally, the library at Historic Deerfield holds primary and secondary sources related to dress history and fashion studies. The museum has a searchable database, shared with the Five College art museums: Amherst College, Hampshire College, Mount Holyoke College, Smith College, and UMASS Amherst.
https://www.historic-deerfield.org/textiles-clothing-and-embroidery
http://museums.fivecolleges.edu

Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana
The collection of textile and fashion arts comprises approximately 7000 items and represents virtually all of the world’s traditions in fabric. Major collecting in this area began in 1906, with the purchase of 100 Chinese textiles and costumes. European holdings feature silks from the late sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, a lace collection spanning 500 years, and nineteenth century paisley shawls woven in England.
http://collection.imamuseum.org

Iowa State University, The Textiles and Clothing Museum, Ames, Iowa
This online collections includes dress, dating from the 1840s to today.
http://tcmuseum.pastperfectonline.com
The Irma G. Bowen Historic Clothing Collection at The University of New Hampshire in Durham, New Hampshire
Professor Irma G. Bowen began collecting items in 1920 as a hands-on teaching tool for students in the Home Economics department at The University of New Hampshire.  
https://scholars.unh.edu/bowen_collection

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California
The collection comprises Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art from the Neolithic to Late Antiquity; European art (including illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings, sculpture, and decorative arts) from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century; and international photography. The images are fully searchable.  
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection

Kent State University, Gallery of Costume, Kent, Ohio
This online collection includes an impressive array of dress and historic costume from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century.  
https://www.kent.edu/museum/gallery-costume

The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
The Digital Collection holds a wide array of images that can be utilised in dress history research, including The Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. There are several categories from which to research, or a separate search box at the top of the page can be utilised.  
https://www.loc.gov/collections

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California
This LACMA website includes links to many useful collections, including a collection, titled, Fashion, 1900–2000.  
https://collections.lacma.org

Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California
There are several different collections that are freely available and searchable, including travel posters, movie posters, book plates, and fashion plates. The Casey Fashion Plates Collection includes over 6200 hand-colored, finely detailed fashion illustrations produced during 1780–1880 for British and American fashion magazines.  
http://www.lapl.org/collections-resources/visual-collections
Margaret Herrick Library Digital Collections, Hollywood, California
The database contains more than 35,000 digitised images about American cinema, including original artwork and Hollywood costume design.
http://digitalcollections.oscars.org

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Thomas J. Watson Library, New York
The following address is the main page, which lists items in The Costume Institute and the Irene Lewisohn Costume Reference Library. Searchable image databases include dress, fashion plates, textual references, and more.
http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm

The following webpage includes more than 5000 years of art from across the globe.
https://metmuseum.org/art/collection

The Museum of Chinese in America, New York, New York
The Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA) has amassed a nationally significant collection, documenting Chinese life in America, including fashion and textiles.
http://www.mocanyc.org/collections

Museum of the City of New York, New York
The museum presents an online exhibition of 119 garments by Englishman Charles Frederick Worth (1825–1895) and Chicago-born Mainbocher (Main Rousseau Bocher, 1891–1976). This online exhibition of the Costume and Textile Collection of the Museum of the City of New York includes images, museum identification numbers, and complete garment descriptions.
https://collections.mcny.org/C.aspx?VP3=CMS3&VF=MNYO28_4

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts
The David and Roberta Logie Department of Textile and Fashion Arts offers a wide range of online materials for dress history research. Scroll down the page to see the links to the Textiles and Fashion Arts Collection. The museum also holds a large collection of prints and drawings, containing almost 200,000 works.
http://www.mfa.org/collections/textiles-and-fashion-arts

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, New York
The museum contains almost 200,000 works of modern and contemporary art, more than 77,000 works of which are available online.
https://www.moma.org/collection
The New York Public Library Digital Collections, New York, New York
The New York Public Library offers many different online collections, including Fashion Collections and an Art and Picture Collection.
https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/lane/fashion-collections

New York School of Interior Design Archives and Special Collections, New York, New York
A collection of 23 boxes of material including correspondence, drawings, publications, articles, project specifications, photographs, and miscellaneous items documenting the careers of both Sarah Tomerlin Lee (1910–2001), advertising executive, magazine editor, author and interior designer, and her husband Thomas (Tom) Bailey Lee (1909–1971), designer of displays, exhibits, sets, and interiors.
http://nysidarchives.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/2

The Ohio State University, Historic Costume and Textiles Collection, Columbus, Ohio
This collection is a scholarly and artistic resource of apparel and textile material culture, including the Ann W. Rudolph Button Collection. The site also includes lesson plans for its programme, Teaching History with Historic Clothing Artefacts.
http://costume.osu.edu

The Ohio State University Libraries’ Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute includes costume and scene designs from more than 50 productions by British designer, Daphne Dare (1929–2000).
http://drc03.drc.ohiolink.edu/handle/2374.OX/3

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Many objects from the Museum’s collection of over 240,000 are available in the online collections database, include dress historical images with complete citations.
http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/search.html

Philadelphia University, The Design Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Tapestry is an online resource that catalogues thousands of historic fabric swatches from Philadelphia University’s vast textile collection.
http://tapestry.philau.edu

Phoenix Art Museum, Fashion Collection, Phoenix, Arizona
The Fashion Collection holds more than 4500 American and European garments, shoes, and accessories, and emphasises major American designers of the twentieth century.
http://www.phxart.org/collection/fashion
Prelinger Archives, New York, New York
Prelinger Archives has grown into a collection of over 60,000 ephemeral (advertising, educational, industrial, and amateur) films.
https://archive.org/details/prelinger

Shippensburg University, Fashion Archives and Museum, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania
The Fashion Archives’ 15,000-item collection, comprised mostly of donations, consists of clothing and accessories worn by men, women and children, dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Primarily focused on middle and working class Americans, clothing from all walks of life is represented in the collection.
http://fashionarchives.org

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
The Smithsonian is the world’s largest museum, education, and research complex.
http://collections.si.edu/search

To search the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, insert “fashion” (for example) for a variety of fashion plates, shoes, and more.
https://library.si.edu/image-gallery

The National Museum of American History offers many images and information online. For a list of subject areas, select the following link, which includes Clothing and Accessories as well as Textiles.
http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/subjects/clothing-accessories
https://amhistory.si.edu/costume

The Smithsonian American Art Museum provides many collections online that could be useful for research in dress history.
http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search

Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas
The Museum’s collection exceeds 45,000 objects spanning the history of European and American art from ancient to contemporary, with broad and significant holdings of East Asian art. Areas of special strength include medieval art; European and American painting, sculpture, and prints; photography; Japanese Edo-period painting and prints; and twentieth century Chinese painting.
https://www.spencerart.ku.edu/collection
Staten Island Historical Society, New York, New York
The Staten Island Historical Society’s collections tell the story of the American experience through the lives of Staten Islanders.
http://statenisland.pastperfectonline.com

The University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign, Illinois
Many different digital collections are listed on this page, including the Motley Collection of Theatre and Costume Design, containing over 4000 items.
https://digital.library.illinois.edu/collections

The University of Michigan, Digital Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan
On the left–hand column, highlighted in yellow, searches can be run through many different filters. In that yellow column, select Image Collections.
https://quod.lib.umich.edu

The University of Minnesota, Goldstein Museum of Design, St. Paul, Minnesota
On the following website, select Collection, then Search the Collection. There, use the search tool or select Costumes, Textiles, or Decorative Arts and Design.
http://goldstein.design.umn.edu

The University of North Texas, Texas Fashion Collection, Denton, Texas
The collection includes over 18,000 items and is an important element to the fashion programme at The University of North Texas.
https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/TXFC

The University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
The Online Books Page facilitates access to books that are freely available over the Internet and could be useful in textual research in dress history.
http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu

The online archives of The University of Pennsylvania also include issues of Gentleman’s Magazine, the monthly magazine published in London, 1731–1907.
http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=gentlemans

The University of Rhode Island Library Special Collections, The Commercial Pattern Archive, Kingston, Rhode Island
This is a wide collection of vintage sewing patterns.
https://copa.apps.uri.edu/index.php
The University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, Austin, Texas
There are many collections accessible, representing just a sample of the diverse holdings in literature, photography, film, art, and the performing arts, with many images to support research in dress history.
https://hrc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital

The University of Washington, The Costume and Textiles Collection, Seattle, Washington
The Henry Art Gallery’s Costume and Textile Collection is a unique resource for the study of construction, design, and pattern.
https://henryart.org/collections/costume-textiles

The University of Wisconsin Digital Collection, Madison, Wisconsin
This digital collection includes images of millinery, dress-making, clothing, and costume books from the UW–Madison collections.
https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/HumanEcol

Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia
This collection includes a variety of military images and text of the Institute, alumni, the American Civil War, the First World War, and the Second World War.
http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu

Wayne State University, Digital Dress Collection, Detroit, Michigan
There are several different collections on this page; however, the Digital Dress Collection is the best for dress history research. The Digital Dress Collection contains images of clothing worn in Michigan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collection offers insight into Michigan life and society. The items shown here are held in the collections of Wayne State University, The Henry Ford, Detroit Historical Society, and Meadowbrook Hall.
https://digital.library.wayne.edu/item/wayne:collectionDigDressColl

We Wear Culture, Mountain View, California
This project is part of the greater Google Arts and Culture Project, which includes a wealth of information and images, all fully searchable.
https://artsandculture.google.com/project/fashion

Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library, Winterthur, Delaware
Winterthur’s collection of nearly 90,000 objects features decorative and fine arts made or used in America during 1630–1860. The collection is organised in several main categories: ceramics, glass, furniture, metalwork, paintings and prints, textiles and needlework.
http://museumcollection.winterthur.org
The Valentine, Costume and Textiles Collection, Richmond, Virginia
This address is the main page for the Costume and Textiles Collection at The Valentine, which comprises over 30,000 dress, accessory, and textile objects made, sold, worn, or used in Virginia from the late eighteenth century to the present day. On this page, there is a menu on the right that lists links to the Collections Database Search page and the Archives page.
https://thevalentine.org/collections/costume-textiles

Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, New Haven, Connecticut
This webpage includes many different Digital Collections, including Civil War Photographs, Postcard Collection, Prints and Drawings, Historical Medical Poster Collection, and more.
https://library.medicine.yale.edu/digital

Yale University, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven, Connecticut
The Yale Center for British Art holds the largest and most comprehensive collection of British art outside the United Kingdom, presenting the development of British art and culture from the Elizabethan period to the present day. With the Reference Library and Archives, the Center’s collections of paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints, rare books, and manuscripts provide exceptional resources.
https://britishart.yale.edu/collections/search

Wales
National Museum Wales, Cardiff, Wales
This museum network includes National Museum Cardiff, St Fagans National Museum of History, National Waterfront Museum, Big Pit National Coal Museum, National Slate Museum, National Roman Legion Museum, and National Wool Museum. Clothing from many periods is collected, both fashionable and everyday wear, official uniforms, and occupational dress.
www.museum.wales/collections

Other
Archive Grid
This is a searchable database for archival collections in the United States.
https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid
Artstor
Artstor is a nonprofit organisation committed to enhancing scholarship and teaching through the use of digital images and media.
http://www.artstor.org

Digital Public Library of America
This is an all-digital library for millions of photographs, manuscripts, books, sounds, moving images, and more from libraries, archives, and museums across the United States. DPLA brings together the riches of America’s libraries, archives, and museums, and makes them freely available to the world.
https://dp.la

DPLA primary source collections explore topics in history, literature, and culture developed by educators; complete with teaching guides for class use.
https://dp.la/primary-source-sets

Getty Images
Royalty-free historic images can be filtered in the search tool.
https://www.gettyimages.co.uk

The Internet Archive
This is a non-profit library of millions of free books, images, and more. On the top menu, select the images icon to search for images. In the search box in the center of the page, insert “fashion plate” to view and download a wide variety of historic fashion images. Scroll down the homepage to view lists of the top categories.
https://archive.org

North American Women’s Letters and Diaries
This database is the largest electronic collection of women’s diaries and correspondence ever assembled, spanning more than 300 years. This database is searchable with a free, 30-day subscription; otherwise, access is advised through an academic institution or library.

Old Book Illustrations
Here’s an enormous library of thousands of old book illustrations, with searchable name, artist, source, date, which book it was in, etc. There are also a number of collections to browse. Many images are in the Public Domain in most countries.
https://www.oldbookillustrations.com
Open Culture
This page includes links to art and images (as well as a collection of over 83,500 vintage sewing patterns), which could be useful in dress history research.
http://www.openculture.com

Project Gutenberg
Project Gutenberg offers over 57,000 free ebooks, many of which could support research in dress history, such as the complete 1660s diary of Samuel Pepys.
http://www.gutenberg.org

Vintage Sewing Patterns
This searchable database includes images of sewing patterns, printed before 1992.
http://vintagepatterns.wikia.com

The Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)
This online source contains many different collections that could be useful for dress history research. The search tool on the main page allows global searches across all collections; otherwise, individual collections can be searched.
https://vads.ac.uk

WorldCat Library Database
WorldCat connects collections and services of more than 10,000 libraries worldwide.
https://www.worldcat.org

Copyright © 2021 Jennifer Daley
Email: jennifer.lynn.daley@gmail.com

Dr. Jennifer Daley, PhD, FHEA, MA, MA, BTEC, BA, is Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of Dress History and Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. Dr. Daley is a university lecturer, who researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She earned a PhD from The Department of War Studies at King’s College, London, with a thesis, titled, A History of Clothing and Textiles for Sailors in the British Royal Navy, 1660–1859. She also earned an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art; a BTEC in Millinery (history, design, and construction) at Kensington and Chelsea College; an MA (with a dissertation on political economics) from King’s College, London; and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.
The Editorial Board

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

Jennifer Daley, Editor–in–Chief
Dr. Jennifer Daley, PhD, FHEA, MA, MA, BTEC, BA, is Editor–in–Chief of The Journal of Dress History and Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. Dr. Daley is a university lecturer, who researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She earned a PhD from The Department of War Studies at King’s College, London, with a thesis, titled, A History of Clothing and Textiles for Sailors in the British Royal Navy, 1660–1859. She also earned an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art; a BTEC in Millinery (history, design, and construction) at Kensington and Chelsea College; an MA (with a dissertation on political economics) from King’s College, London; and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.

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.
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.

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’école 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).

Vicki Karaminas, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand

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.
Jane Malcolm–Davies, The University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

Jane Malcolm–Davies is co-director of The Tudor Tailor, which researches and retails publications and products aimed at improving reproduction historical dress. She is currently working on the Beasts2Craft medieval parchment project, and benchmarking radiocarbon 14 dating fifteenth to sixteenth century textiles with funding from the Agnes Geijer Textile Research Foundation in Stockholm. Her research focuses on Knitting in Early Modern Europe (see www.kemerresearch.com), which was kickstarted with a Marie Sklodowska Curie Fellowship at the Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, 2015–2017. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at Aalto University, Helsinki, The University of the Highlands and Islands (Centre for Interpretation Studies), and The University of Southampton. Jane lectured in entrepreneurship and heritage management at The University of Surrey, introduced costumed interpreters at Hampton Court Palace (1992–2004), and coordinated training for the front-of-house team at Buckingham Palace each summer (2000–2010).

Janet Mayo, Independent Scholar, Bristol, England

Janet Mayo is a member of the Executive Committee of The Association of Dress Historians, and a Trustee. Janet has been a member of the ADH since its conception as CHODA. Her first degree was in theology at Birmingham University, and she followed it with an MA in History of Dress, taught by Aileen Ribeiro, at The Courtauld Institute of Art, specialising in British eighteenth century dress. Janet wrote her MA dissertation on Aesthetic Dress at the end of the nineteenth century. This combination of degrees led to the publication of A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (B.T. Batsford, 1984). Janet worked as a Costume Supervisor in the theatre and opera, finally head of costume at The National Theatre, London, during the time of Sir Peter Hall and Richard Eyre. In Brussels, Janet worked in the uniforms section of the Textiles Department of The Royal Museum of the Armed Forces and Military History.

Amy L. Montz, 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.

Anna Reynolds, Royal Collection Trust, London, England
Anna Reynolds is Deputy Surveyor of The Queen’s Pictures, and has worked for The Royal Collection since 2008. She leads the paintings curatorial team with responsibility for temporary exhibitions at The Queen’s Gallery in London and The Queen’s Gallery in Edinburgh, as well as the permanent display of approximately 8000 paintings across royal residences including Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, and the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Her exhibitions and accompanying publications include In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion (2013), Royal Childhood (2014), A Royal Welcome (2015), and Portrait of the Artist (2016). During 2017–2018, Anna was the Polaire Weissman Fellow at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where she studied John Singer Sargent and fashion. Anna holds an undergraduate degree from Cambridge University, a Diploma from Christie’s Education, and a Master’s degree in the History of Art from The Courtauld Institute.

Aileen Ribeiro, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London England

Georgina Ripley, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland
Georgina Ripley is Principal Curator of Modern and Contemporary Design and Head of the Modern and Contemporary design section at National Museums Scotland (NMS), where she is primarily responsible for fashion from 1850 to the present. She is editor of a forthcoming publication on the little black dress that will
accompany a major temporary exhibition (postponed due to Covid–19). Her exhibitions include the international touring exhibition *Body Beautiful: Diversity on the Catwalk* and she was lead curator for the National Museum’s permanent Fashion and Style gallery, which opened in 2016. Her current research interests include the museum’s extensive archive of British fashion designer Jean Muir (fl. 1962–1995), and constructs of intersectional masculinities in contemporary menswear and image–making. Georgina is a member of The Advisory Board of The Journal of Dress History and board member for the ICOM Costume Committee. She holds a Master’s degree in the History of Art from The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

**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 Simončić, The University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

Dr. Katarina Nina Simončić 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. Simončić 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 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, 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.

ADH membership is open to anyone with an interest in the study or professional practice of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day.

The ADH receives no public funds, is a non-profit educational charity run by a team of unpaid volunteers, and is wholly funded by annual memberships and donations. As Registered Charity #1014876 of The Charity Commission for England and Wales, your membership dues contribute to our ongoing support and promotion of the study and professional practice of dress history.

ADH memberships are only £10 per year and can be purchased on our website at www.dresshistorians.org/membership.

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

Please mark your calendar for these upcoming ADH conferences.

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 (Covid-19 permitting). The Call For Papers submission deadline is 31 January 2022. For additional information about the Call For Papers, please visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp-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. For additional information about the conference, please visit www.dresshistorians.org/cfp-sport.

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.

Curation and Conservation: Dress and Textiles in Museums
Deadline: 23:59 GMT, 1 December 2021
Topics of potential articles could include Conservation (ie, planning and intervention problems; applied studies and diagnostic analyses) or Museum Displays (ie, organisation and exhibition curation between past and present; exhibition practices and museography).

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.