

Dessiné d'après nature: Renditions from Life in the Journal des Dames et des Modes, 1798-9

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Abstract: This paper examines the strengths and limitations of late Directoire *Journal des Dames et des Modes* fashion plates. It observes the phenomenon of 'drawn-from-life' sub-captioned plates from 1798 to 1799, which provide contextualising factual information. The research questions the assumed omnipresence of the sheer, white, short-sleeved, columnal Directoire dress. The *Journal's* plates tell a different story, where certain traditions persist and a much broader range of dress styles, silhouettes and colours subsist. The study demonstrates the limits of broad generalisation and seeks to expand our understanding of classicism's influence on dress and embodiment practices in the late eighteenth century.

Keywords: Directoire, fashion, late 1790s' transitional dress, late eighteenth century, fashion plates

What historians often describe as normative sartorial behaviour is not necessarily so. As increasing numbers of institutions are making their collections available online, unprecedented and vast access to primary sources can lead researchers to probe existing tenets, reformulating long-standing assumptions in many fields and reassessing how source materials are utilised. Drawing from an extensive collection of excised fashion plates from the Palais Galliera, musée de la mode de la ville de Paris, this article aims to question existing knowledge on Directoire fashion and ideology.¹ Going beyond the most striking visuals often repeated in works on the subject, the research concentrates on the early years of the *Journal des Dames et des Modes (JDM)*, a publication in print between 1797 and 1839 that became 'the most successful fashion paper of the Directory'.² This article demonstrates how selecting eye-catching visuals randomly without contextualisation skews our understanding of the subject and the period. Access to large bodies of data allows the reassessment of long-standing stereotypes solidly anchored in popular culture, such as the all-white, transparent and columnal dress of the Directoire. It also lets greater nuances emerge and covers a variety of dress behaviours that may not have been as innovative and thus as interesting to researchers.

If artists relied on to illustrate this period champion colour asceticism and the extreme simplicity of ancient dress, *JDM* plates tell a different story, where certain traditions persist and a much broader range of dress styles, silhouettes and colours are present. In an age imbued with idealism, women's fashions and bodies are nonetheless fertile ground for socio-ideological battles. The *JDM* corpus, particularly plates between 1798 and 1799 with factual sub-captions, provides clues to changing paradigms in dress behaviour, and is a site of both resistance and revolution. This article joins qualitative and quantitative methodologies to understand better the visual rhetoric of the late Directoire by paying close attention to information of significance to the *Journal's* readers. To provide a more sophisticated integration of dress within cultural and social histories, data pertaining to the

nature of cloth, changes in cut, how garments are being worn and a general analysis are provided. The findings shed light on this period of transition and bring added rigour and precision to the subject.

A traditional approach to woman's Directoire dress consists in describing a radical change in silhouette, with high-waist gowns that fall 'straight to the floor', made of 'clinging fabrics such as muslin or linen', many of them sheer, and, as a general rule, 'based on ancient Greek forms and cut with little or no sleeves'.³ Contemporary understanding of dress in France from 1795 to 1799 is consistently – and conveniently – generalised in this manner and illustrated with late 1790s' paintings, drawings and mechanical surrogates. The extent to which these representations are an accurate reflection of the norm remains unexamined. As will be demonstrated, what was in many ways extreme dress behaviour from the very end of this five-year period becomes a focus of attention then and now. While emerging dress practices may forecast what lies ahead and signal important cultural and societal changes, these seductive and revealing outliers have skewed our understanding of the period. A flawed medium of expression, fashion plates in the early *JDM* can nonetheless help us question established knowledge on late 1790s' dress.

Several authors shape my approach and understanding of dress in France from 1795 to 1799 and the place of the *JDM* in this period. Annemarie Kleinert's extensive study of the *JDM* explores the social and political environment and the journey of the journal's founders, Jean-Baptiste Aimé Sellèque and Pierre Joseph Antoine de La Mésangère.⁴ Kleinert's focus on dress is secondary, but she questions the plates' faithfulness and notes that '[i]t would also be interesting to know how the strongest talents were able to combine the need to describe or render the real modern costume and that of creating an idealised work of art, as it has long been thought to be impossible.'⁵ Distrusting renditions of fashion is a legitimate concern. Scholars may be discriminating in their choice of visuals, but good primary sources taken out of context can also mislead. In periods of great transition such as the Directoire, authors often select marginal behaviours that are indicative of things to come and present them as normative in an effort to simplify the story. Leora Auslander concurs that many design historians leap directly from Louis XVI to Empire style in the decorative arts without exploring the transition.⁶ The propensity to move from one distinctive phase to another is also common for dress historians: most publications on Directoire fashion generalise a type of woman's dress not universally adopted. As a result, misinformation remains that justifies further study and careful attention to existing sources.

Few historians have researched transitional dress of the 1790s or the decade's last years and, when they have, it is often via extreme dress behaviours. In time for the Revolution's bicentennial, the Palais Galliera, musée de la mode de la ville de Paris, published *Modes & Révolutions 1780-1804*, which excels in its use of clothing artefacts and fashion plates. The book pertains to dress and politics, but the subtleties of fashion during the late 1790s are not the main focus. This collective work paints a picture in broad strokes where the columnal silhouette seems the only option by 1795 and where both the *incroyables* and the *merveilleuses* – the fashionable young men and women of the Directoire – serve to define dress. If Daniel Roche describes their tastes as strange, Madeleine Delpierre mentions audacity on the part of the *merveilleuses* but exaggeration by caricaturists in regard to their head-dress.⁷ She interprets the *incroyables*' ill-fitting clothing as caricatures of garments worn by polite society. For most authors these outrageous youths are of great interest, and when mention of late 1790s' dress is made, they dominate the conversation. Through the omission of conservative and commonly

accepted practices, exuberant minority dress may thus be perceived as generalised. *JDM* plates can reveal normative behaviours and help identify the exaggeration that now defines the era.

Lynn Hunt's 'Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France', with its reference to 'the transparent whites of the Directorial period', is an example of how scholars can oversimplify and generalise data to reinforce the Directoire dress stereotype.⁸ Examining twenty published plates from 1799 in the *Tableau général du goût, des modes et costumes de Paris*, Hunt explains that nine of the fifteen dresses depicted (60 per cent of the fifteen plates) are white.⁹ She later hypothesises that, with the predominance of white, 'we might be tempted to conclude that the Revolution drove women toward uniformity and sameness and men toward variation and playfulness.'¹⁰ Her sources are few, far from representative of the entire period and vague beyond her cited journal. She fails to acknowledge a substantial 40 per cent of non-white dresses in her conceptualisation of uniformity and sameness, and omits to address the central role of accessories, which are a vital part of the variation and playfulness of women's fashionable *assemblages*. In comparison, this paper observes 145 *JDM* plates between Year 5 (from 20 March 1797) and the end of Year 7 (22 September 1799) of the French republican calendar.¹¹ These plates are a broader late 1790s' sample and allow comparison with Hunt's data. In Year 7 alone, to Hunt's fifteen dresses we find seventy-nine in the *JDM*: fifty-three (67 per cent) are white, but roughly two-thirds of these have coloured accents.¹² This challenges Hunt's ascetic image of monochromatic gowns. While white was prevalent by Year 7 of the *JDM*, a variety of colours continued to be worn, and a wide array of dress behaviours from the previous decades endured, such as the trimming of gowns, novelty accessorising and the wearing of voluminous petticoats that did not result in a columnal silhouette for all and uniformity of dress practices.

This leaves us to question whether 'the transparent whites' and narrow silhouette commonly assigned to the Directoire are accurate. Were caricaturists communicating the extremes of fashion? Were the *merveilleuses*' radical sheer dress styles 'that leave nothing of their charms to be ignored' broadly adopted?¹³ While trusting fashion plates to represent colours and fabrics accurately is contentious, the observation of a great number of consecutive plates remains critical to the project of reassessing stereotypes. Caricatures and extreme dress behaviour overwhelmingly illustrate the late 1790s. A greater variety of dress practices can be observed through the *JDM*. Transitional late 1790s' styles in various fullness of skirts, sleeve lengths, colours and waist levels are numerous and coexist with the narrow short-sleeved white chemise gown cinched below the bust – the Directoire leitmotif – employed by most present-day authors. Generalising the Directoire with an archetype that dominates only in the last year of a five-year period is flawed. Studying the *JDM* can offer a different perspective and can contribute to a greater understanding of this period of transition.

Fashion plates are a vital part of the *JDM*'s success, and, for a short time during its early years, over fifty plates include detailed notations, conveying an added sense of authenticity. Fifty-two plates from 1798 and 1799 include written factual information pertaining to specific individuals, activities, places and times.¹⁴ This reporting of events, in line with documentary journalism, places contemporary Parisian fashion in greater context.¹⁵ 'True-to-life' plates correspond with the end of the Directoire and serve as rare sources for the study of dress and manners.¹⁶ A right-justified sub-caption in a smaller font than the main caption, indicating in various ways a rendition from life, usually conveys non-dress-related supplementary information.¹⁷ Women are the exclusive focus for all but three of these plates. Of these fifty-two plates, four were dismissed from this study as their



1. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 14 Ventôse, Year 6 (4 March 1798), plate 25.
 Caption: ‘Chevelure en porc-épic, Schall à Mouches. Rubans en Cothurnes’ (‘Hedgehog hairstyle, dotted shawl. Cothurnes-style ribbons [on footwear]’)
 Sub-caption: ‘Dess. d’ap. Nat. sur le Boulevard [*sic*] des Capucines’ (‘Drawn from life on the Boulevard des Capucines’)
 Photograph © Anne Bissonnette from the collection of the Palais Galliera, musée de la mode de la ville de Paris, unless otherwise noted

references to place position them within theatrical performances and thus outside the world of fashion.¹⁸ Of the remaining forty-eight plates, the first nine with sub-captions include some version of the words ‘dessiné d’après nature’ (‘drawn from life’; Fig. 1).¹⁹ The rest of the sub-captions omit these words but follow the same font size and placement. The presence of factual information in these sub-captions codifies the material as following the same realism. This article assesses the strengths and limitations of such plates, aims to integrate them within a body of knowledge about late eighteenth-century history and questions how fashionable late 1790s’ Parisian women dressed.

I. Early Years and the Emergence of Sub-Captioned Plates

The publication begins under the title *Journal des Dames* in March 1797, during the second half of Year 5 of the French republican calendar.²⁰ Although 'et des Modes' is added five months later, the aim of the *Journal* is not modified to increase its focus on dress.²¹ It continues to insert one fashion plate in each instalment, which is typically printed every five days. The printed journal dedicates a half to a full page to the description of an illustration, while the rest of the publication addresses other cultural events (theatre, music, literature etc.), and includes poems, sheet music and lyrics for songs, grammatical enigmas, epigrams, charades and other word games. All illustrations – including occasional supplementary ones – are produced separately, engraved 'au burin' on varnished copper plates and hand-coloured. The quality of the draftsmanship makes them highly sought-after, and they are collected independently. Wrongful identification is frequent under the 'Costume Parisien' heading that frequently appears on these artefacts.²²

Forty-four of the forty-eight selected plates have sub-captions and date between 4 March 1798 and 24 January 1799.²³ Sub-captioned plates stop after this time and are thus a short-lived phenomenon (slightly less than eleven months). Some early plates are missing from the Galliera collection, which means that this phenomenon could begin earlier.²⁴ Mid-way through Year 7, on 13 February 1799, when, at this point, most plates are sub-captioned, de La Mésangère answers a sceptical reader via his editorial and marks an end to this phenomenon.²⁵ He writes: '[o]ur depictions are all drawn from nature and [...] we are careful in choosing styles in the best composed balls, the most honest society, in short in social events of all sorts where no one is admitted whose dress may render [his or her] morality suspect.'²⁶ He adds that:

[i]t is no doubt the nudity of chests that may have appeared implausible to our correspondent. To give him a better idea, it will suffice to describe an event that I witnessed. I was leaving the Feydeau Theatre at the same time as a VERY-HONEST woman, on the arm of her husband. Her breast was absolutely uncovered; but, when she placed her foot on the last stair, in order not to prostitute, no doubt, so many charms to the eyes of a vulgar outsider, the husband drew his handkerchief and covered the nudity of his wife, until the moment when she reached her carriage.²⁷

Extreme breast exposure is seen in plates with and without sub-captions and in portraiture at this time (Figs 2, 3, 4). The sub-captioned plate and editorial reinforce other visual sources that can be seen as artistic licence on the part of painters adhering to certain aesthetic ideals, or illustrators hoping to attract attention to increase sales. Combined, they make for a stronger argument to support the existence of a behaviour deemed extreme then and now. Sub-captions suggest that staff witnessed the act. Once sub-captions are eliminated, behaviours depicted veer away from the factual: where and when one appeared so attired in public is lost. The context is thus erased.

II. JDM Strengths and Limitations

What is featured in the *JDM* and how it is presented to readers is a subjective enterprise. In an 1812 editorial describing the production process, de La Mésangère mentions the time it took to produce a plate (nine days) and the individuals involved.²⁸ What caught the illustrator's attention is the first subjective filter. Additionally, the editor does not send all illustrations to the engraver.²⁹ Colourists apply pigments by hand using a stencil



2. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 5 Pluviôse, Year 7 (24 January 1799), plate 86.

Caption: 'Toque de Velours, Bordée d'une Dentelle d'or, demi corset de Velours Ponceau'
(‘Velvet hat, trimmed in gold lace, half corset of red velvet’)

Sub-caption: ‘Opéra, 27 Nivôse’

to isolate certain areas (the ‘au pochoir’ technique). The editor may indicate the colours seen by the eyewitness, but colourists could get creative.³⁰ Despite this measure, the issue of colour constitutes a limitation that may mislead readers. Researchers might be conditioned to factualise colours if they don’t access the printed journal. Faced with two colourways (Figs 5 and 6), they might think the first, which fits a stereotypical vision of Directoire aesthetics, is more accurate. However, the printed commentary states that the eyewitness always saw the shawl as white, which challenges our assumptions.³¹

Seeking fashion is paramount. The *Journal* reports on a variety of dress behaviours and may specify if what is observed is atypical, whimsical or established.³² Sub-captions can convey exactly where an ensemble is worn, which hints to Paris’s fashionable spaces.³³ Mentioned by name are rue Vivienne and the Avenue des Champs Elysées as well as several



3. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 10 Prairial, Year 7 (29 May 1799), plate 126.
Caption: 'Chapeau sans bord, Orné de Plumes Panachées' ('Brimless hat, decorated with feather panache')

boulevards: the 'Boulevard des Capucines [sic]', the 'Boulevard de la Magdeleine [sic]' and the Boulevard Montmartre.³⁴ Outdoor spaces include the Tuileries and 'Parc de Mousseaux [sic]' as well as pleasure gardens with special attractions, such as the 'Jardin d'Idalie [sic]', with its artificial grottos and temple of 'la reine des amours', Tivoli, with its ponds, rare plants and artificial mountains, and Frascati, where one could enjoy dances, games, concerts and performances and gather in assembly rooms, especially in inclement weather.³⁵ Sub-captions list numerous performance centres: the Théâtre Français de la République, the Théâtre Italien, the Théâtre de l'Odéon, the 'Théâtre Faydeau [sic]' and the Opéra.³⁶ Two sub-captions list one commercial establishment – the Magasin de Modes – by name.³⁷ Lastly, the main caption of plate 17, Year 6, mentions a 'Grisette en négligé du Matin, faisant sa provision au Marché des Quinze-vingts' (Fig. 7) – a market still in existence today.

Depicted individuals' identities are usually hard to assess but, judging from the exquisite quality of the prints and the tone of the *Journal*, the upscale target market is considerably



4. *Portrait of a Young Woman in White*, circle of Jacques-Louis David, c.1798, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Chester Dale Collection (1963.10.118)

different from the fashionable shop girls known as ‘grisettes’ in Figure 7. Kleinert describes how, even before the Revolution, publications look outside the court and aristocracy in search of new fashions.³⁸ A *JDM* entry from 1798 about the gardens of Tivoli in which styles are observed describes this setting as a ‘happy mixture of all classes of citizens’.³⁹ Where *JDM* illustrators capture fashion thus goes beyond balls and elitist social events to venture into diverse public spaces. In doing so, the *JDM* might act with agency and play a role in the democratisation of fashion and the establishment of a new social hierarchy. As a wider array of people vied for pre-eminence, staff members sought novelty and did not err on the side of caution.

Why sub-captions begin might have to do with behaviour considered different or eccentric. The first such plate encountered (see Fig. 1) is a case in point. It dates from 4 March 1798 and features a grey long-sleeved trained gown that is, in many ways, ordinary, while some other dress practices depicted are not. Keeping in mind reservations about colour, non-white gowns represent 38 per cent of dresses from the *Journal*’s inception until the time the plate is published.⁴⁰ During this period an overwhelming majority of gowns are long-sleeved (86 per cent).⁴¹ Gowns with trains are ubiquitous.⁴² Neckerchiefs or shawls are common (67 per cent).⁴³ Accessories such as the hand-held white handkerchief, the white stockings with green clocking and the pointed slippers ‘*en cothurnes*’ (with ribbons



5 and 6. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 10 Fructidor, Year 6 (27 August 1798), plate 58.
 Caption: 'Capote Nattée, garnie d'un Papillon. Manches lacées. Schall en Écharpe'
 ('Braided cap, decorated with a butterfly. Laced Sleeves. Shawl 'écharpe')
 Sub-caption: 'Frascati'

encircling the lower leg) are depicted before this plate.⁴⁴ What is quite extraordinary is the short and spiky hairstyle 'en porc-épic' ('hedgehog-style') seen on a boulevard without any head covering. Short hair 'à la Titus' becomes a fashion for men as early as 1790 and increases in popularity following the actor Talma's performance of the play *Brutus* in 1791.⁴⁵ *JDM* plates accessed do not depict short hair on women prior to Figure 1. While readers of a fashion journal expect novelty, the combination of this woman's hair cut short and uncovered in public challenges societal mores and ventures into eccentricity. Suggesting that this behaviour is a fashion at this point in time is premature.

Notable differences exist between portraits and *JDM* plates, and hat-wearing is among them. Unlike most studio portraits, *JDM* plates mainly depict women with head coverings or partial head coverings, such as a bandeau. As the wearing of head coverings in public settings was customary, this difference adds credibility to the *Journal's* claim to depict true-to-life fashions observed in the city. Bare-headedness is rare for *JDM* plates in our period and, when it occurs, it is overwhelmingly within a sub-captioned plate.⁴⁶ This indicates that a few women embraced a change of dress behaviour that the *Journal's* editor may have objected to but chose to record nonetheless. In these few instances bare-headedness in public might be an indirect radical action stemming from a need to flaunt one's short hair – a groundbreaking coiffure. Short hair is slightly more frequent after



7. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 28 Germinal, Year 6 (17 April 1798), plate 17.

Caption: 'Grisette en négligé du Matin, faisant sa provision au Marché des Quinze-vingts' ('Shop girl in morning undress, food-shopping at the "Quinze-vingts" market')

Sub-caption: 'Dess. d'ap. nat. le 28, Germinal'

Figure 1 but is seen with contempt: numerous disparaging *JDM* editorials refer to this objectionable mode as 'têtes tondues' ('sheared heads').⁴⁷ Looking only at portraits, one may not grasp the prominence of accessories, such as head coverings, and the colours, textures and decorative trims, which constitute a main focus of the captions and contribute greatly to the visual rhetoric of dress.

This ability to capture new behaviours out of the ordinary is often lost without contextualisation. Editorials point to such new behaviours when writing about a strange gown deemed fantastical seen on the same person at different public locales, an illustration that engravers first understood as a caricature, which proved to be an actual style 'taken on the street' before it materialised at the Tuileries, and a hat 'given as captured'.⁴⁸ Such commentaries remind readers of the *Journal's* watch, of the ambiguity of certain illustrations and the shifting nature of fashion. Errors also crept in that could mislead



8. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 17 Frimaire, Year 7 (7 December 1798), plate 78.
Caption: 'Variation du Chapeau de Courier. Ceinture Croisée. Robe ouverte sur le Côté'
(‘Variation on a courier hat. Crossed belt. Dress open at the side’)
Sub-caption: ‘Théâtre Italien’

researchers: describing a sub-captioned plate (Fig. 8), the editor comments that ‘The [crossed sash] the illustrator was looking at was even wider than the engraving indicates, and of white ribbon.’⁴⁹ The *JDM* is a nonetheless a precious tool and, even factoring in limitations, sub-captioned plates may prove more helpful than many celebrated portraits, which rarely divulge whether garments were publicly worn and where, or whether they were adaptations that catered to artists’ aesthetic goals.

Illustrators and editor are thus reporting on a variety of dress behaviours they actually witnessed, which provides a wider awareness of actual fashion in the late 1790s. The sub-captions add a sense of journalistic objectivity, but the editorials remind us of the subjective nature of the work. Eccentric dress behaviour is rarely integrated in plates with no sub-captions, which may be a value judgement. Researchers may overlook this fact without the benefit of contextualisation. To return to Figure 1, readers may have absorbed



9. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 20 Vendémiaire, Year 7 (11 October 1798), plate 67.

Caption: ‘Cheveux Courts sous un Chignon tressé. Tunique plissée. Doliman à la Sauvage’ (‘Short hair below a braided chignon. Pleated tunic. “Doliman” [overskirt] “à la Sauvage.”’)

Sub-caption: ‘Tivoli’

other dress innovations in addition to the uncovered short hair. The first is the shawl’s distinctive and eccentric fabric. It reappears months later in a sub-captioned plate (Fig. 9): a ‘*Doliman à la Sauvage*’ uses the spotted fabric, which helps to link the motif to a leopard print.⁵⁰ The editor indicates that ‘it is an old fashion, a fashion of fifteen or sixteen months, that no doubt one wanted to reproduce. [...] we doubt many of these fashions will become widespread’.⁵¹ He also explains the unusual hairstyle, which is short all over except for the back of the head, where long hair is braided and attached to the crown. He describes it as a last resort for women wanting to cut their hair but denied permission to do so by a father or husband.⁵² While today’s reader may not think of this, other cultural references may be hard to grasp as well.

III. References to Classical Antiquity

The fascination with ancient marble statuary is widely recognised as having influenced the lighter palette of late eighteenth-century gowns, but other references to antiquity also exist. Figure 1 is not wearing a white dress, but she is classical in other ways. Her short hair resembles the style ‘à la Titus’ – named after the Roman emperor of the first century CE. Her shoes ‘en cothurnes’ imitate Greek footwear. The leopard-print shawl may refer to Dionysus/Bacchus, the Graeco-Roman deity of wine, ritual madness and ecstasy. While twenty-first-century viewers may not recognise Classical iconography, a 1790s’ audience could draw a parallel to the leopard skin commonly draped around Dionysus’ shoulders in ancient works. These ‘details’ exemplify how classicism goes beyond the main garments that tend to be the focus of researchers.

Coding may also extend to how a gown is worn: the draping of the train on the right arm recalls the Roman toga.⁵³ From the first *JDM* plate published in 1797, the editor describes the gown’s draping as a ‘*Robe Troussée jusqu’au Molet*’ (‘dress lifted to the calf’) in the caption. This gesture is probably the result of the practical way a woman wearing a trained dress could walk out of doors, especially in bad weather. Such details pertain to embodied fashions actively worn, rather than set in an abstracted universe. It is another strength verifiable in plates both with and without sub-captions.⁵⁴ Even so, infatuation with Graeco-Roman culture may affect this gesture’s popularity. In his *New Picture of Paris* of 1800, Mercier states that there was ‘not a *petite maîtresse*, not a *grisette*, who does not decorate herself on Sunday with an Athenian muslin gown, and who does not draw up the pendant folds on the right arm, in order to drop into the form of some antique or at least equal *Venus aux belles fesses*’.⁵⁵ Classicism has practical and ideological consequences and affects the wearing of dress in dynamic ways.

This admiration of Classical statuary, where sculptors aimed to show an idealised body through dress rather than realistic clothing, also sets in motion a new embodiment of clothing and vision of beauty. To date, I have not found fashion plates in any French or English publications dating before 1797 that show leg delineation through the dress of a standing woman.⁵⁶ The shape of women’s legs is absent due to layers of underpinnings that include a shift and one or more petticoats, which were customary for centuries. The appearance of the lower limbs’ delineation in *JDM* plates is indicative of a new aesthetic that announces an important paradigm shift in late eighteenth-century dress. George Vigarello notes that during most of the 1700s the focus on a woman’s beauty traditionally rests on exposed ‘upper’ parts such as face, *décolletage*, arms and hands, while the ‘lower’ parts are hidden or indistinct.⁵⁷ He mentions how the late eighteenth century saw the emergence of an aesthetic reflection searching for overall unity and promoting the allure of the citizens of ancient Greece.⁵⁸ From the inception of the *JDM* in 1797, the clothes in some plates convey the shape and proportions of the entire body. The second half of the *Directoire* thus witnesses the emergence of an integral appreciation of the body from head to toe through dress. The lifting of the train enables a certain moulding of the lower body and a glance of the lower leg. In the *JDM*’s first few years some plates depict a delineation of the leg(s) through the folds of the skirt – a few of which are the result of the *troussé* gesture.⁵⁹ *JDM* plates can thus record an emerging behaviour; but the practice is far from normative.

The lessening of petticoats was not instantaneous, and another paradigm shift at play pertains to the upper body. For most of the eighteenth century boned conical stays compress, elevate and lump the breasts together to produce a fashionable silhouette visible in



10. Madame Pierre Sériziat, née Emilie Pécoul, sister of Mme David, and one of her sons, Émile, born in 1793, by Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), exhibited at the Paris Salon des Artistes Français of 1795, Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 1282)
Photograph by Gérard Blot © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY

undress, half-dress and full-dress. From Vigée-Lebrun's 1783 portrait of Marie-Antoinette *en gaule* to David's 1795 portrait of Madame Pierre Sériziat (Fig. 10), the chemise dress becomes a popular form of half dress and continues to be worn with typical eighteenth-century conical stays, which did not separate or delineate the breasts. Meanwhile, the 1793 *Nouveau Dictionnaire français* mentions the introduction of quilted and unboned 'corsets', instead of stays in a state of undress, which initiates a change to the 'natural' body seen in ancient statuary, where breasts appear as separate volumes.⁶⁰ The year the Directoire began (1795) is also when shorter, lesser-boned 'transitional stays', which sometimes included cups that separated and supported individual breasts, emerge in the United States.⁶¹ After c.1810, a new construction with gores for individual breasts takes hold in that country, which completes the change of aesthetics to the 'natural' breasts.⁶² *JDM* plates point to this change. Over all, very few plates depict a woman wearing conical stays or bodices that lump the breasts together. The '*demi corset*' of Figure 2 is one of the few exceptions. Dress historian Sandra Ros Altman observed an amalgam of non-cupped transitional stays akin to this half-corset.⁶³ As a short over-bodice it serves to control the

Table 1. Colour in Women's Gowns: 20 March 1797-22 September 1799.

COLOURS (Not counting ribbons at waist that could detach)	Years 5-6 from 20 March to 31 December 1797 (15 women's garments)	Year 6 from 1 January to 21 September 1798 (44 women's garments)	Year 7 from 22 September 1798 to 22 September 1799 (79 women's garments)
White and plain gown	2 (13%)	9 (20%)	19 (24%)
White gown with coloured trim	7 (47%)	24 (55%)	34 (43%)
One colour plain gown	3 (20%)	4 (9%)	11 (14%)
One colour gown with coloured trim	0	5 (11%)	15 (19%)
Multi coloured parts gown	3 (20%)	2 (5%)	0

breasts, and the editorial describes its thin shoulder straps and front apron closing, which further links it to transitional stays.⁶⁴ Most *JDM* plates depict breasts as separate volumes or show a profile that curves under them rather than the straight line that stays produce. A survey of plates demonstrates this situation and suggests that, by March 1797, the new aesthetic was predominant. Sub-captioned plates such as Figure 2, featuring a long-sleeved gown and half-corset, inform the viewer of a migration in appropriateness of said corset to full dress since the action was captured at the opera. This *JDM* sub-caption signals acceptance of the body-conscious 'natural' aesthetic, but only at the chest, as petticoats continue to abstract this woman's lower body.

IV. White Dress Reductionism

Different styles and silhouettes coexist in the late 1790s. It is essential to go beyond the cliché of the sheer, white, short-sleeved chemise gown to understand this age of transition. Looking only at gowns is also incorrect: accessories and hair occupy an overwhelming place in captions and deserve their own study. In many cases gowns and other garments seem to play second fiddle. While this article describes the significance of various elements of dress before the publication of Figure 1 in 1798, observations of such elements until the end of Year 7 (22 September 1799) help further reassess late 1790s' dress.

Were sheer, white, short-sleeved gowns adopted evenly in *JDM* late Directoire plates? From the inception of the *Journal* to the end of Year 7, only five gowns are depicted or described as sheer out of 132 gowns (4 per cent), and most date to the end of the period.⁶⁵ As such, sheerness cannot be an attribute of late Directoire gowns. Remembering limitations regarding colour, plates can still serve to suggest a more nuanced understanding of the fashion for white. Data show white as overwhelmingly chosen for the main part of the gown: white plain and trimmed gowns constitute 60 per cent of garments in the 1797 portion of Years 5-6, increase to 75 per cent in the 1798 portion of Year 6 and regress to 67 per cent in Year 7 (Table 1).⁶⁶ White appears to peak in popularity in the 1798 portion of Year 6. We can conclude that white for the main part of the gown is the predominant choice but not the only one.

From inception to the end of Year 7, monochromatic white gowns are, on average, only half as prevalent as white gowns with coloured trim in red (extremely popular) and other shades such as yellow and pink. Examining the numbers in the 'white gown with coloured trim' category suggests that owners could re-trim their gowns, as was customary with hats. White gowns would require frequent washing, and the lack of real permanence of most dyes entails the removal of coloured trimmings before laundering. This situation may explain the wide variety of plates in that category, as one may choose to make

Table 2. Sleeve Lengths in Women's Garments: 20 March 1797-22 September 1799.

SLEEVES LENGTHS	Years 5-6 from 20 March to 31 December 1797 (14 women's garments)	Year 6 from 1 January to 21 September 1798 (41 women's garments)	Year 7 from 22 September 1798 to 22 September 1799 (66 women's garments)
End at wrist or below	12 (86%)	18 (44%)	29 (44%)
End above or below	1 (7%)	16 (39%)	34 (51.5%)
No sleeves	0	1 (2%)	0
Double sleeves (short over long)	1 (7%)	6 (15%)	3 (4.5%)

changes if coloured trimmings are re-applied to a clean gown. Re-trimming is not out of line with earlier eighteenth-century practices that the *merciers* (dealers of notions, such as ribbons and trimmings) specialised in. One-colour gowns (non-white), either plain or with coloured trims, increase in popularity by Year 7. Even the monochromatic white gowns observed are, in all but one case, worn with colourful accessories such as ribbons and sashes around the waist, shawls and head-dresses. As such, the normative aesthetic of late 1790s' ensembles is neither sheer nor monochrome.

Colour is only one of many elements in flux. Table 2 shows the fluctuation of sleeve length in the late 1790s documented in the *JDM*. Data indicate that sleeves ending at the wrist or below are by far the most prevalent (86 per cent) in the year of the *Journal's* inception, 1797.⁶⁷ Long sleeves are half as prevalent as they were by the 1798 portion of Year 6, but the transition goes to an intermediary stage when double sleeves achieve increased popularity (Figs 8 and 12). While the use of long sleeves remains steady by Year 7 at 44 per cent, the double sleeves and sleeveless garments lose favour and their portion of use is transferred to short sleeves, which constitute 51.5 per cent of sleeve types in Year 7. This is neither showing a prevalence nor a mass adoption of short sleeves during the Directoire. These numbers reveal rapid change in the 1798 portion of Year 6 and debunk the myth of the stereotypical short-sleeved gown of the Directoire. While short sleeves represent slightly above half the sleeve types of Year 7, this is but the last year of a five-year Directoire period and thus should not be seen as characteristic.

V. Embodiment Changes

JDM coverage of the late Directoire can serve to examine dress as an embodied practice. As Joanne Entwistle mentions in 'The Dressed Body,' '[c]onventions of dress transform flesh into something recognizable and meaningful to a culture and are also the means by which bodies are made 'decent', appropriate and acceptable within specific contexts'.⁶⁸ The previously cited 'nudity of chests' example from 1798 points to a shifting approach to modesty, which should be explored for its meaning, evaluated in comparison with other dress behaviours reported at this time and understood as part of the period's classicism. The first change in embodied practice is the wide acceptance of the classically inspired 'natural' breasts – depicted through dress as distinctive volumes and abandoning traditional eighteenth-century stays – at the inception of the *Journal* (March 1797). Cinching of garments below the bust makes breast contours more visible and is thus popular. Nonetheless, elevated waistlines that are not placed directly below the bust are still present: 33 per cent in the 1797 portion of Years 5-6; 20 per cent in the 1798



II. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 2 Pluiose, Year 6 (21 January 1798), plate 3. Caption: 'Chapeau de Velours bordé en Jais blanc. Robe ouverte, garnie d'une Gance en Chenille entrelacée' ('Velvet hat edged with white jet [beads]. Open gown trimmed with interlaced chenille strip')

portion of Year 6; 7 per cent in Year 7. The decline is progressive, pointing to a rapid change in aesthetics that increasingly values the display of the breasts' contours.

As naturalised breast shapes become more the vogue, lower limbs are not similarly discernible from inception to the end of the Directoire. The practice of wearing one or several petticoats remains as depictions of voluminous skirts continue through Year 7.⁶⁹ Comparing plates reveals diverging dress behaviours. To quantify these behaviours is difficult but useful in order to understand the spectrum. Of the thirty-five fashionable women with visible skirt volumes in the 1798 portion of Year 6, the following four categories are visible: a) most voluminous; b) voluminous to A-line; c) columnal (no leg definition); d) clingy (some leg definition). The most voluminous skirt category is akin to styles of the first half of the 1790s and represents 8.5 per cent of the whole. Figure II



12. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 20 Prairial, Year 6 (18 June 1798), plate 46.

Caption: 'Manches courtes relevées avec des Glans sur les Manches de satin. Rosettes sur le devant de la Robe. Sac à ouvrage' ('Short sleeves draped with tassels on the satin sleeves. Rosettes on the front of the gown. Work bag')

Sub-caption: 'Tivoli 30 Prairial'

illustrates this silhouette and shows a gown similar in cut to Madame Sériziat's (see Fig. 10).⁷⁰ Figure 11 is an example of the lingering 1780s' silhouette probably portrayed by Jacques-Louis David between 1794 and 1795.⁷¹ The next category still has skirt volume, but to a lesser degree, and is A-line at the least. Figure 12 is an example of this intermediate stage (26 per cent of cases). Next is a narrower columnal silhouette that does not provide lower limb definition. Figures 5-6 portray this popular silhouette (48.5 per cent of cases). Although these categories may be hard to distinguish, the difference is clear in Figure 13, where the illustrator depicts a clinging type of dress with leg definition (17 per cent of cases). This is the most extreme example and the first *JDM* plate to offer a delineation of the wearer's buttocks – a part of the anatomy Mercier referenced in his '*Vénus aux belles fesses*' ('Venus with beautiful buttocks'). This categorisation



13. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 14 Prairial, Year 6 (2 June 1798), plate 40.
Caption: 'Jeune élégante Revenant de la Promenade en négligé du Matin' ('Elegant young woman coming back from a walk in morning undress')
Sub-caption: 'Dessiné Rue Vivienne'

within a nine-month period does not change from voluminous at the beginning to clingy at the end: these styles coexist for the duration. The percentages remain similar during Year 7 and help to define the late Directoire as a period of immense variance in terms of skirt volume.⁷²

The deviation of such embodiment practices is better understood through the inclusion of sub-captions. The fact that Figure 13 is sub-captioned is in line with eccentric behaviour discussed earlier.⁷³ It serves to emphasise the erroneous nature of the assumption that all Directoire gowns were this clingy, because this plate is found in the *JDM*. What is extremely interesting with this plate is the combination of caption and sub-caption. The main caption indicates that the gown is a morning 'négligé'. However the sub-caption indicates

it was worn on rue Vivienne, thus well outside one's private quarters and within the category of half-dress rather than undress. This level of lower-body delineation is novel, daring dress behaviour and probably why it was sub-captioned. Comparing this plate with the *JDM* corpus helps to understand it as a realistic yet extreme dress behaviour in a public setting, rather than a caricature.

By Year 8, the large volumes found in the first category of skirts are no longer depicted. Distribution shifts to 9 per cent for voluminous to A-line skirts, 59 per cent for columnal skirts with no leg definition and 32 per cent for clinging skirt portions with some leg definition. The transition to a columnal and clinging silhouette has reached a turning point. While many dress historians limit their discussion to this last Directoire silhouette which is columnal or even clinging, late 1790s' *JDM* plates demonstrate the presence of a wider variety of silhouettes, which are likely to have been even more diverse during the entire five-year span of the Directoire. Without looking at *JDM* plates collectively, the use of underpinnings that hid the shape of the lower body would be difficult to assess and unfeasible through the study of clothing artefacts. Many portraitists use greater embodiment as a way to classicise eighteenth-century sitters. Resulting portraits can seldom be relied on to convey a sense of realism: narrow skirts clinging to the body are acceptable in earlier eighteenth-century art but not in real life.⁷⁴ Through a careful quantitative analysis of *JDM* plates, we may assess the progress of this paradigm shift, which took much longer to be accepted. This resistance is understandable, as lower-body delineation defied century-old notions of modesty. The much higher percentage of columnal silhouettes demonstrates this situation, but the revolution in dress remains immense and symptomatic of the period's changing mores.

VI. Conclusion

The *JDM*'s search for novelty, attention to detail, art direction and witty editorials made it a favourite for generations. Its engravings and commentaries are a testament to the changing customs of the period, when classes mixed and established a new sartorial code. As Pierre de La Mésangère scrutinised dress behaviours, the reader can map the geography of fashionable places and observe what is worn there through the short-lived phenomenon of sub-captioned plates. This study maps how garments and accessories were worn – from singular beginnings to wider adoption. With access to the *JDM* corpus, it begins to assess what is peculiar and what is normative behaviour during the last few years of the Directoire.

The corpus serves to debunk firmly anchored Directoire stereotypes. It challenges and brings greater nuance to visions of transparent white dresses as the main aesthetic of the last few years of the period. It is now apparent that sheer gowns are rare, and that white – though a prevalent choice – is accompanied by coloured trim, sashes, shawls and accessories that undercut the claims of extreme asceticism. Descriptions of accessories dominate captions in *JDM* fashion plates. Accessories apparently gain greater importance following the near abandonment of gowns with patterned fabrics, a traditional feature long used as a defining social marker. While monochromatic fabrics triumph, colours endure in the main gown's trimmings and in accessories. It is also likely that the long sleeves depicted in great number at the inception of the *Journal* in March 1797 were more important for the Directoire over all. Short sleeves gain ground in the 1798 portion of Year 6 and represent only half the depictions by Year 7. The evidence serves to revise the long-held claims for sheer, white, short-sleeved dress as the

standard of Directoire fashion. A reassessment of the norm identifies monochromatic gowns trimmed and accessorised with coloured fabrics and most prevalent in white and with long sleeves as the standard. The aesthetics of the era also forecast other significant innovations.

Classicism gives rise to new forms of body delineation through clothes. From its inception the *Journal* charts the representation of 'natural' breasts as distinct volumes. An elevated waistline, mostly situated below the bust, help to accentuate this new feature. Skirt volumes take much longer to decrease to allow lower limb definition. Columnal gowns outnumber other silhouettes in the 1798 portion of Year 6 and in Year 7 and are depicted in close to half of these plates. Clingy dresses that allow some leg definition remain steady at 17 per cent during the same period and do not rise in popularity until after the end of the Directoire. Combined, they are an important portion of the overall numbers, but they coexisted with a wide array of skirt volumes until the end of the period, suggesting the complexity of options at hand for fashionable women. As part of the continuum of dress behaviours seen at the onset of the Directoire, voluminous garments worn with a number of petticoats remain a choice. More flesh is made progressively visible through the rise in popularity of short sleeves, and stockinged calves can be seen in the *trousée* of skirts. Several anatomical components thus gain greater visibility through dress and gestures.

Given the wealth of data covered by this source, it is clear that assuming that any one plate selected from the *JDM* corpus necessarily represents normative dress behaviour is incorrect. This is an important caveat for all those lightly employing this source for illustrative purposes only. This point is easily proven with the example of the one and only plate depicting a white gown and accessories with no touches of colour and divergent behaviour such as bare-headedness in public spaces encountered in a few sub-captioned plates. All *JDM* materials should be compared and contextualised before either generalisation or dismissal occurs, as in case of the 'transparent whites' and the baring of bosoms in 1798. With or without either printed journal access or sub-captions, the *JDM* corpus helps bring to light a more complex story that has yet to be fully investigated regarding the Directoire period and the aesthetic, ideological and moral changes that were demonstrated in changing dress behaviours. In addition to gowns, fashionability resides in accessories and hairstyles, which should occupy a central place in future studies. *JDM* staff observed ongoing practices as well as changing paradigm shifts in Parisian dress behaviours. Their work transmits this information across space and time and offers important information to researchers seeking a greater and more rigorous understanding of this pivotal period.

NOTES

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1. While these sources were consulted in person in 2006, many similar continuous fashion plates can be consulted online. See, for example, the digital archive of the Bunka Gakuen University Library, Tokyo.

2. Martyn Lyons, *France under the Directory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.142. In Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988), p.153.

3. Phyllis G. Tortora and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume*, 5th edn (New York: Fairchild Books, 2010), p.310.

4. According to Kleinert, both de La Mésangère and Sellèque were *JDM* founders, and while the former's work was unsigned before July 1799, the present article assumes he is the author of editorial comments. Annemarie Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes' ou La Conquête de l'Europe féminine (1797-1839)* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001), p.17, 24.

5. 'Il serait aussi intéressant de savoir comment les talents les plus affirmés ont réussi à combiner le besoin de décrire ou de peindre le costume moderne réel et celui de créer une œuvre d'art idéalisée, car on a longtemps été persuadé que c'était impossible.' Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.301. All translations are my own.

6. Leora Auslander, 'Regeneration through the Everyday? Clothing, Architecture and Furniture in Revolutionary Paris', *Art History* 28:2 (April 2005), p.228.

7. Daniel Roche, 'Apparences révolutionnaires ou révolution des apparences', in *Modes & Révolutions 1780-1804* (Paris: Edition Paris-Musées, 1989), p.126; Madeleine Delpierre, 'Petite chronologie d'une révolution dans la mode', in *Modes & Révolutions 1780-1804* (Paris: Edition Paris-Musées, 1989), p.18.

8. Lynn Hunt, 'Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France', in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (eds), *From the Royal to the Republican Body* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), p.242.

9. Hunt, 'Freedom of Dress', p.245.

10. Hunt, 'Freedom of Dress', p.245.

11. Several plates went unused because they cannot always be dated properly, in terms of when in Year 8 they are from (and thus if they fall before or after the end of the Directoire, on 9 November 1799).

12. When different colourways were encountered, they were considered individually for colour analysis. Some plates depicted more than one garment.

13. 'les Merveilleuses, se vêtent de transparentes mousselines qui ne laissent rien ignorer de leurs charmes'; Delpierre, 'Petite chronologie', p.18.

14. The holding of *JDM* plates at the Galliera is incomplete. Findings could change as the research progresses.

15. On the state of journalism, acute political censorship and comparison with other fashion journals of the era, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, Chapter 2.

16. The period covered by this article lasts two years, six months and seven days, from the beginning of the *JDM* on 20 March 1797 to c.27 October 1799 (c.5 Brumaire, Year 8) (plate 166, Year 8). As the Directoire ends on 9 November 1799, the study's main focus ends thirteen days before this date. For the beginning date of the journal, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.16, 20, 371. Editorials were accessed via the Bibliothèque nationale de France's website, which – but for a few months at the beginning – corresponds with the appearance of 'true-to-life' plates. For earlier periodicals using the words 'true-to-life' in reference to fashion plates, see Paul Cornu, *Galerie des modes et costumes français dessinés d'après nature 1778-1787: réimpression accompagnée d'une préface par M. Paul Cornu Bibliothécaire au Musée des Arts décoratifs* (Paris: Lévy, 1912), p.vi-vii.

17. Situational information is found in main captions (two plates in Year 6, two in Year 7, one in Year 8), but mostly in sub-captions (twenty-seven plates in Year 6, twenty in Year 7).

18. While stage productions were a source of influence for new fashions and a mode of diffusion, character depiction could affect the outcome. For example, in supplementary plate 50, Year 6, Clotilde's dress exposes a breast, a style indebted more to the *Diane chasserresse* tradition than to fashion.

19. Year 6 (1798 in all cases), plates 17, 21, 22, two plates labelled 25 (because of the changing labelling system), 31, 40, 43, 44.

20. For a reproduction of the first issue, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.373-80. In early plates the Gregorian calendar is used. The republican system begins with the 10 April 1798 issue. Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.44-5.

21. Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.2, 16.

22. Several individuals depicted made the heading plural, and indication of the supplementary nature of a plate may also appear. For original prices, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.33-4, 65.

23. With the exception of a facsimile of the first issue featured in Kleinert, this author did not access *JDM* printed journals before 27 August 1798. As such, the month and day for the first sub-captioned plate encountered (plate 25, 1798) was found in Ribeiro, un-paginated central colour plate no. 8.

24. This study accessed only twenty-three of an estimated initial forty plates from the *JDM*'s inception before 'drawn-from-life' type sub-captions occurred. However, changing calendar formats, relabelling and origin issues abound and could affect this assessment. Reproductions of *JDM* plates were found that are labelled differently. The British Museum holds the Frankfurt-based *Journal des Modes*. In this publication issue no. 3 (15 July 1798) features plate 3 with no sub-caption. It is similar to the original *JDM*'s plate 46, Year 6 (see Fig. 12), sub-captioned 'Tivoli 30 Prairial'. The Frankfurt-based journal's issue no. 4 (23 July 1798), includes plate 4, with the same main caption as the original *JDM* (plate 47, Year 6). However Frankfurt sub-captions differ: 'dessiné à Tivoli le 12 juillet' in the copy, 'Champs élysées [sic]' in the original. Therefore, the Frankfurt plates were not used.

25. By this point, the practice of including sub-captions was prominent rather than an exception. In the first five months of Year 7 (26 September 1798-13 February 1799) twenty plates have sub-captions, only six do not, and two are missing in action.

26. 'nos figurines sont toutes dessinées d'après nature, et [...] nous avons soin de choisir nos modèles dans les bals les mieux composés, les sociétés les plus honnêtes, enfin dans les réunions où l'on n'admet aucun individu,

dont le costume puisse faire soupçonner la moralité.' *JDM*, 25 Pluviôse, Year 7 (13 February 1799), p.453. Included in Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.22.

27. 'C'est, sans doute, la nudité des gorges qui a paru invraisemblable à notre correspondant. Pour lui en donner une idée, il suffira de lui citer un trait dont j'ai été témoin. Je sortais du théâtre Feydeau en même-temps qu'une femme TRÈS-HONNÊTE, à qui son mari donnait le bras. Son sein était absolument découvert; mais au moment qu'elle mit le pied sur la dernière marche de l'escalier, pour ne point prostituer, sans doute, tant de charme aux yeux d'un profane vulgaire, l'époux tira son mouchoir et en couvrit la nudité de sa femme, jusqu'au moment où elle joignit sa voiture.' *JDM*, 25 Pluviôse, Year 7 (13 February 1799), p.453.

28. Pierre de La Mésangère, *JDM* (25 November 1812). Quoted in Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.28.

29. For surviving examples of plates with 'non-gravé' (not engraved) annotations, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.26.

30. For instructions to colourists, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.28. For discrepancies in the pages of the *JDM*: 25 Fructidor, Year 6 (11 September 1798), p.8, mentions a cap's two most popular colours for trim – neither of which corresponds to plate 61, which it describes; 5th complementary day, Year 6 (21 September 1798), p.9, has the cap's trim matching the colour in the commentary, but the base colour not; 5 Vendémiaire, Year 7 (26 September 1798), p.12, notes on an error in the most popular colours made in the previous week's editorial.

31. For printed commentary in the *Journal's* editorial pages, see *JDM* 10 Fructidor, Year 6 (27 August 1798), p.8.

32. Commentaries within the pages of the *JDM* to indicate that an element is not in general use: Year 6 on 10 Fructidor (27 August 1798), p.8; Year 7 on 20 Vendémiaire (11 October 1798), p.57; 11 Brumaire (1 November 1798), p.128; 25 Pluviôse (13 February 1799), p. 453. A whim rather than a fashion: Year 6 on 30 Fructidor (16 September 1798), p.11; Year 7 on 5 Pluviôse (24 January 1799), p.389; 20 Floréal (9 May 1799), p.108. Generalised fashion or in the process of being so: Year 7 on 17 Frimaire (7 December 1798), p.244; 15 Pluviôse (3 February 1799), p.421; 25 Pluviôse (13 February 1799), p.453; 10 Ventôse (28 February 1799), p.501; 20 Messidor (8 July 1799), p.147; 15 Nivôse (4 January 1799), p.328.

33. Main captions may also do this (see plate 166, Year 8 (c.27 September 1799), with 'Vue de Frascati' in the main caption).

34. Rue Vivienne: Year 6, plate 40. Champs Elysées: Year 6, plates 25, 31 (which mentions 'Dess. à Longchamp,' which is a reference to Easter strolls on the Champs Elysées), 47 and 52 (both of which refer to 'Champs élysées'), 59 (only refers to 'Elysée'). For Longchamp reference, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.80. 'Boulevard des Capucines [sic]', 1798, plate 25. 'Boulevard de la Magdeleine [sic]', Year 6, plate 21. Boulevard Montmartre: Year 6, plate 44.

35. Tuileries Garden: Year 7, plates 73, 80, 82. 'Parc de Mousseaux' [sic]: Year 6, plate 51. 'Jardin d'Idalie [sic]' (also non-capitalised as 'idalie' at times): Year 6, plates 22, 43, and Year 7, plate 68. Grottos at the 'Jardin d'Idalie [sic]', see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.76. Temple of 'la reine des amours': *JDM*, 25 Vendémiaire, Year 7 (16 October 1798), p.65. Tivoli references: Year 6, plates 45, 46, 49, 53, 54, 57, 60, 62, 63; Year 7, plates 64, 65, 66, 67, 159. Tivoli landscape, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.76. Frascati: Year 6, plates 58, 61; Year 8, plate 166. For amusements, see Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.76. For rooms: *JDM*, 30 Fructidor Year 6 (16 September 1798), p.1.

36. Théâtre Français de la République: Year 7, plate 70. Théâtre Italien: Year 7, plates 71, 75, 76, 78. Théâtre de l'Odéon: Year 7, plate 72. 'Théâtre Faydeau [sic]': Year 7, plate 74. 'Opéra', which may refer to the theatre: Year 7, plate 81. Discarded theatrical plates mention the 'Théâtre de l'Opéra' (Year 6, supplementary plate 50), 'Théâtre du Vaudeville' (Year 6 supplementary plate 55 – the second supplementary plate 55 that year), and 'Théâtre Montansier' (Year 7, supplementary plate 133). For scholarship on melodramatic spectatorship at this time, see Denise Z. Davidson, 'Making Society "Legible": People-Watching in Paris after the Revolution', *French Historical Studies* 28:2 (spring 2005), p.275-8.

37. Year 7, plates 84, 85.

38. Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes'*, p.13. See also Annemarie Kleinert, 'La mode – miroir de la Révolution française', *Francia* 16:2 (1989), p.77.

39. For 4 March 1798 entry, 'un mélange heureux de toutes les classes de citoyens', see Kleinert, 'La mode – miroir de la Révolution française', p.78.

40. Coloured gowns (not including gowns trimmed in a minor way with a contrasting colour) constitute six out of fifteen plates of women's gowns between 20 March and 31 December 1797 and two out of six plates between 1 January and 3 March 1798. However, an estimated seventeen plates are missing between 1 January and 3 March 1798.

41. Long-sleeved garments constitute thirteen out of fifteen plates depicting women between 20 March and 31 December 1797, and five out of six plates between 1 January and 3 March 1798.

42. Fabric touches the floor in back (minor or major way) in every plate where a woman is not lifting her skirt or seen from the front between 20 March and 31 December 1797, and in three out of four plates where this portion of the gown is visible between 1 January and 3 March 1798.

43. Neckchiefs or shawls constitute eleven out of fifteen plates depicting women between 20 March and 31 December 1797 (the type of shawl covering the back and shoulders and reaching in front below the knees make six of these), and three out of six plates between 1 January and 3 March 1798.

44. White handkerchiefs held in the hand constitute three out of fifteen plates depicting women between 20 March and 31 December 1797, and one out of six plates between 1 January and 3 March 1798. Light stockings (probably white) constitute all fourteen plates where women's feet are visible between 20 March and 31 December 1797 (two of those had green coloured 'clocks'), and all five plates of those visible feet between 1 January and 3 March 1798 (one of those had colour 'clocks'). Shoes 'en cothurnes' constitute three out of fourteen plates between 20 March and 31 December 1797, and one of five plates of those between 1 January and 3 March 1798.

45. The issue of the *Journal de la Mode et du Goût* dated 15 November 1790 notes that men's hair is 'cut and curled as those of an Antique head' ('coupés et frisés comme ceux d'une tête antique'); see Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution*, p.146. A secondary source by A. Jullien mentions the actor Talma's hair in his 30 May 1791 play, see Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution*, p.146.

46. Of the plates depicting women (not on the stage): of the forty-five plates in 1798 portion of Year 6, six are bare-headed and five of those are in sub-captioned plates. Of the seventy-seven plates in Year 7, three are bare-headed; one of those is in a sub-captioned plate, and the other two occurred when sub-captions were no longer used.

47. 'Têtes tondues' in Year 6: *JDM*, 10 Fructidor (27 August 1798), p.8; *JDM*, 30 Fructidor (16 September 1798), p.10. In Year 7: *JDM*, 15 Vendémiaire (6 October 1798), p.42; *JDM*, 20 Vendémiaire (11 October 1798), p.57; *JDM*, 1 Brumaire (22 October 1798), p.100; *JDM*, 15 Ventôse (5 March 1799), p.516 (in reference to both men and women in this case).

48. For the twice-worn strange gown: see 'Nous avons vu le même costume à Tivoli et à l'Elysée, mais sur la même personne; et à dire vrai, quoiqu'il ait déjà à-peu-près figuré dans les bals, c'est moins une mode qu'un objet de fantaisie' ('We have seen the same costume at Tivoli and the Elysée, but on the same person; and, to be honest, while it has somewhat been seen in balls, it is less a fashion than a fantastical thing'), *JDM*, 30 Fructidor, Year 6 (16 September 1798), p.11. For the non-caricature illustration, see 'le graveur prenait le dessin pour une caricature. Caricature ambulante car le modèle en a été saisi dans la rue un instant avant d'être produit aux Tuileries' ('the engraver thought the drawing was a caricature. [It was a] walking caricature as the style was captured on the street an instant before materialising at the Tuileries'), *JDM*, 22 Brumaire, Year 7 (12 November 1798), p.161. For the hat: translation of 'Ce chapeau, que nous donnons comme nous l'avons pris' ('This hat, which we present as we saw it'), *JDM*, 7 Frimaire, Year 7 (27 November 1798), p.208.

49. 'Celle que le dessinateur avait sous les yeux était encore plus large que ne l'indique la gravure, et en ruban blanc', *JDM*, 17 Frimaire, Year 7 (7 December 1798), p.244.

50. 'Sauvage' can refer to the wilderness and, in French culture, to non-European indigenous people such as the 'bon sauvage' (noble savage) living close to nature.

51. 'C'est une vieille mode, une mode de quinze à seize mois, que sans doute on a voulu reproduire. [...] nous doutons beaucoup que cette mode se généralise.' *JDM*, 20 Vendémiaire, Year 7 (11 October 1798), p.57.

52. 'C'est la dernière ressource de celles à qui le mari ou le papa dit: Vous ne les couperez pas. Que faire, quand on se trouve pressé entre deux puissances contraires, quand l'autorité de la Mode commande ce que l'autorité paternelle ou maritale défend? On cherche alors un terme moyen qui concilie les deux partis opposés. On ne se fait pas tondre, mais on tâche de paraître tondu.' *JDM*, 20 Vendémiaire, Year 7 (11 October 1798), p.57.

53. As copper etchings are drawn in reverse, the accuracy of the right arm may or may not have been planned. Not all plates depicting lifted skirts are draped on the right arm.

54. Women with lifted skirts in Years 5-6 (20 March 1797-21 September 1798) constitute thirteen out of fifty-eight plates – eight of those are draped over the arm (three of which are in sub-captioned plates). In Year 7, lifted skirts constitute twenty-nine plates out of seventy-five – four of those are draped over the arm (two of which are sub-captioned plates and two after sub-captions are abandoned). In the portion of Year 8 that is part of our focus (1 January 1799-27 October 1799) only one lifted skirt is depicted on a woman on the street, but it is not draped on her arm.

55. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *New Picture of Paris*, vol. II (Dublin, 1800), p.163, quoted in Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution*, p.128-9.

56. The first plate to delineate the legs on standing women is English: however, it is less about fashion than about the effects of high winds. See figs 134 and 135 in N. Heideloff's *Gallery of Fashion*, 1 April 1797. Soon after is *JDM* plate 2, published c.4 April 1797.

57. Georges Vigarello, *Histoire de la beauté: le corps et l'art d'embellir de la Renaissance à nos jours* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2004), p.20, 23, 109, 253.

58. Vigarello, *Histoire de la beauté*, p.95, 130. For references to literature on beautiful corporeal proportions published at the end of the eighteenth century, see Vigarello, *Histoire de la beauté*, p.130. Vigarello also mentions the introduction of the full-length 'psyche' mirror in the 'ultimate years of the [eighteenth] century', which is also indicative of this search for overall bodily proportions. Vigarello, *Histoire de la beauté*, p.110.

59. For lifting of the skirt, see note 54. Plates depicting some form of leg delineation through the draping of the skirt in a standing woman (not part of theatrical performance): six out of fifteen plates between 20 March and 31 December 1797 (40 per cent); seven out of forty-one plates between 1 January and 21 September 1798 (17 per cent); and eighteen out of sixty-five plates between 22 September 1798 and 22 September 1799 (28 per cent).

60. Cited in Vigarello, *Histoire de la beauté*, p.108.
61. Saura Ros Altman, *Past Patterns #038: A Partially Boned Transition Stay Drafted from the Original at the Connecticut Historical Society, circa 1793-1820* (Dayton, OH: Past Patterns, 2009), p.1.
62. Altman, *Past Patterns*, p.1.
63. Altman, *Past Patterns*, p.2-5.
64. 'accompagnée du demi-corset [...] qui tient par d'étroites épaulettes à une petite bavette quarrée qu'on attache par devant, au-dessous du sein. Il paraît destiné à assujettir les formes et à faire ressortir leur éclat par la couleur foncée qui caractérise ordinairement sa bordure' ('accompanied by a half corset [...] that is held by narrow shoulder straps to a small apron that gets tied in the front, underneath the breast. It seems destined to control volumes and to bring out their radiance by the dark colour that typically characterises its edges'). *JDM*, 5 Pluviôse, Year 7 (24 January 1799), p.389.
65. The presence of numerous sheer shawls demonstrates the ability of illustrators to depict sheer fabrics. Therefore lack of skill is probably not an issue. For sheer fabrics in gowns see 1797, plate 5 (described as 'Robe Blanche sur un Transparent'); Year 7, plate 43 (described as 'Tunique de Linon sur un Transparent') and depicted as sheer in Year 7, plates 141, 147, 154.
66. When assessing colour, each colourway of the same plate was counted individually.
67. Over a third of these long sleeves end in a point that reaches the knuckles. By the 1798 portion of Year 6, this specific knuckle-length type is seen only once, but it returns as the most popular type in Year 7.
68. Joanne Entwistle, 'The Dressed Body', in Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson (eds), *Body Dressing* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p.33.
69. Very voluminous skirts: plates 75, 83, 86, 98, Somewhat voluminous skirts: plates 77, 78 (see Fig. 8), 92, 118, 128. The subjectivity of the coding scheme is much greater for this Year 7 assessment. The positioning of the figures also increases the difficulty. Nonetheless, if one uses Fig. 13 as a comparison, the assessment of skirt volumes is on the conservative side. See also note 59 for the fluctuation in leg delineation March 1797-October 1799, which can help to assess a lack of volume in the skirt. Lastly, it is important to note that very supple shifts and petticoats may continue to be worn under a columnal skirt as they are depicted under some lifted gowns with clearly depicted narrow silhouettes during Year 7 (see plates 85, 95, 101, 104, 141, 147, 151, 154).
70. While Fig. 11 is delineated at the natural waist and below the bust, Sériziat's wide sash serves a similar function. As an open-gown, Fig. 11 is less progressive than Sériziat's close-gown.
71. Important skirt volume in a long-sleeved gown is seen in Year 7, plates 75, 83, 86 (Fig. 2), 92, 98.
72. Skirt silhouettes in Year 7 (22 September 1798-22 September 1799): a) most voluminous: 8.3 per cent; b) voluminous to A-line: 33 per cent; c) columnal (no leg definition): 41.6 per cent; d) clingy (some leg definition): 16 per cent.
73. Sub-captioned plates constitute 60 per cent of the plates depicting women (not including theatrical performers) in the 1798 portion of Year 6 (1 January-21 September 1798). Not all sub-captioned plates indicate excessive behaviours, but these instances are typically sub-captioned.
74. Naomi E. A. Tarrant, 'The Portrait, the Artist and the Costume Historian', *Dress* 22 (1995), p.69.

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