

The Art of Dress

FASHION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE 1750 to 1820

Aileen Ribeiro

*Yale University Press
New Haven & London*

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Acknowledgements | ix |
| Introduction | |
| Truth and History: | |
| The Meaning of Dress in Art, 1750-1820 | 1 |
| 1 | |
| The Fabric of Society: | |
| Fashion from 1750 to 1789 | 33 |
| 2 | |
| Painters of Modern Life: | |
| Fashion from 1789 to 1820 | 81 |
| 3 | |
| The Stuff of Heroes: | |
| Historical Themes in Dress and Art in France | 133 |
| 4 | |
| Remembrance of Things Past: | |
| Image and Reality in Fancy Dress in England | 181 |
| Afterword | 235 |
| Notes | 237 |
| Select Bibliography | 246 |
| Index | 249 |

1 Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour* (detail of pl. 55).

return to France, an impossibility in the circumstances. In spite of her political beliefs, Mademoiselle Duthé wears the fashions which had been promoted by the French Revolution: the simple white dress, the muslin scarf knotted carelessly round her neck and the plain white silk scarf tied in a bow in her hair. The vast headdresses of the 1780s had given way to smaller hats – the fashion magazines refer to bonnets *à la paysanne*, *à la citoyenne*, *à l'Américaine* – to scarves knotted in the form of the working-woman's headwear and to *bandeaux à l'antique*.

By the summer of 1791 the political situation had deteriorated and many had fled abroad, including the King's brothers, the comte de Provence and the comte d'Artois. Increasingly, the very notion of fashion was under attack as an aristocratic and bourgeois concept. That autumn the American Gouverneur Morris noted that most of the fashionable *modistes* had left Paris, among them Rose Bertin, who took with her 'quinze caisses contenant tout ce qui peut servir à parer la femme, des étoffes, des soieries, des velours, des dentelles, des plumes, des rubans ...'¹⁸ Such luxury fabrics would have been out of place in a France that was rapidly moving towards a republic. The fashion magazines, which had initially welcomed the Revolution, now deplored the decline in fashion which it was felt political events had brought about. There was little scope in the repetition of the same simple styles, the chemise gowns, the jackets and skirts; the *Journal de la mode et du goût* (5 February 1792) stated that it was rare to see a woman in the formal robe (i.e. an open gown with a separate skirt) even at her marriage. A few months before, the *Journal* had commented on the prevailing taste for white: 'Ce costume sied également aux jolies femmes et à celles qui ne le sont pas, aux vieilles comme aux jeunes; tout consiste dans le choix des rubans, des nuances et des formes que la mode établit.'¹⁹

White was both flattering and apolitical, or rather it could be claimed either as the Bourbon colour or as a classical, republican colour; but it suited the simple *toilettes* that political expedience required. David's portrait of *Louise de Pastoret* (c.1792; pl. 91) shows a sitter wearing what is possibly the same kind of dress as Mademoiselle Duthé, but painted in a far more sensitive way, the artist alert to the mood of austerity which permeates this painting. Sitting in front of a stark, unfinished background, Madame de Pastoret wears a white dress with an overbodice (possibly sleeveless), blue sash at the waist and a white kerchief negligently arranged; her hair, in need of setting in curls, falls in loose waves on to her shoulders. David is always sensitive to the implications of dress in his portraits. He can paint costume and accessories with the loving absorption of Ingres, but some of his most moving images, like that of Madame de Pastoret,



91 J.-L. David, *Louise de Pastoret*, c.1792. Oil on canvas. The Art Institute of Chicago. The Clyde M. Carr and Major Acquisitions Funds, 1967, 228. Photograph copyright 1993. All rights reserved.

reflect in their economy of detail and bare essentials, the political and social tensions of the period.

It has been pointed out that most artists in France supported the Revolution; they were, on the whole, middle-class and progressive in their attitudes. Some did leave France in the sense of failing to return from abroad, but only a few were actually classed as *émigrés*, the most famous being Vigée-Lebrun who left in the autumn of 1789.²⁰ Artists enjoyed relative immunity during the revolutionary period, some, like David, taking an active part in politics and involved in state propaganda. Portrait artists, when their aristocratic patrons had vanished, turned to a wider range of sitters, painting them in their simple, everyday costume; at the Salon of 1793:

Les modèles posent dans leurs vêtements quotidiens. Les femmes sont représentées en 'chemise', avec un simple fichu voilant la poitrine. Les perruques ne sont plus à la mode; on porte les cheveux dénoués. Seul un ruban orne la tête. On porte aussi les cocardes républicaines.²¹

Portraits continued to be popular, even though some critics regarded them as a bourgeois concept; in a time of volatile politics with people unsure what the future might hold, a portrait was a personal memento, a permanent record. Modest simplicity in dress was *de rigueur* especially during the years of the Terror (1793–4), as Gérard's *Madame Lecerf* (1794; pl. 93)

90 H.-P. Danloux *Mademoiselle Rosalie Duthé*, 1792. Oil on canvas. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

93 F.-P.-S. Gérard, *Madame Lecerf*, 1794. Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris. (Photo: © Réunion des musées nationaux)

shows. The artist's cousin wears the simplest style of chemise dress with a plain drawstring neckline; the fabric is either cotton or taffeta (the simplest of all silk weaves) and brown in colour. The *Journal de la mode et du goût* (15 January 1792) urged the wearing of such 'moderate' colours, in preference to black, red, white and blue, which the editor felt had become too politicised.

It was impossible, however, to remove ideology from dress. Even though the Republican authorities decreed the liberty of sartorial expression – 'chacun est libre de porter tel vêtement ou tel ajustement de son sexe qui lui convient'²² – it would have been rash, especially during the Terror, to hint at *ancien-régime* luxury in dress. So Madame Lecerf's shawl and fichu

92 (below) J.-L. David, *Madame Sériziat*, 1795. Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris. (Photo: © Réunion des musées nationaux)



are of plain, matte white, and only the silk ribbon in her modest muslin cap provides a small touch of feminine frivolity. In her cap she has placed a tri-colour cockade; these were made compulsory for women from September 1793 (and for men from July 1792) and their use lasted into the Directory period.

There is also a cockade, somewhat half-heartedly added, in David's portrait of Emilie Sériziat (1795; pl. 92); it is pinned to the green silk ribbon of the straw hat which she wears over a lace-trimmed cap. Like Madame Lecerf, Madame Sériziat wears a chemise gown, but a more stylish one, fitted in to the waist, and with a drawstring neckline, the strings of which pass over the shoulders, fastening at the back; David is very exact in these details. It is an ensemble both modest and elegant, suitable for all occasions in a period when nearly all distinctions of dress had disappeared. Mesdames Lecerf and Sériziat wear the kind of dress that most middle-class women (and those of the upper classes who had elected to stay in France) would have worn during the Terror and in the uneasy months after the downfall of Robespierre in July 1794.

Information on women's costume is limited after the fashion magazines fell silent in the spring of 1793; they did not re-emerge until 1797 when it seemed that the political situation had become stabilised. What information exists comes from (unillustrated) fashion supplements in such papers as the *Journal de Paris*, and the famous (although undated) gouaches attributed to Pierre-Etienne Lesueur (see pl. 94)



Une femme se tient placée à la sortie de la Ville, et distribuant des cockades, des chansons, des bouquets, des rubans, et de l'eau de vie aux Volontaires qui partent pour la Vendée.

Jeune fille vêtue à la Grecque.

Jeune fille en bonnet, et s'écrit mentes.

Première manière de ceindre la robe.

Autre manière de ceindre la robe, portant le plus costé.

Citoyenne en Schal.

which record everyday life during the revolutionary years. Lesueur was a member of the Société Populaire et Républicaine des Arts, which had been set up in the autumn of 1793 to discuss the place of the arts in a republic; he may have taken part in their deliberations in April of the following year on the proposal to establish a national costume, and he certainly submitted designs for such clothing for both men and women, although the latter were not seriously considered as candidates for Republican dress (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the various types of national costume proposed by a number of artists).

Plate 82 shows a selection of women's costume from the mid-1790s. On the far left is a working woman dressed in a striped jacket and white skirt, handing out tricolour ribbons and cockades to the volunteers setting off to quell the Royalist uprising in the Vendée in 1793. Next to her is a girl dressed à la grecque in a short-sleeved embroidered tunic, a loose tube of white muslin not unlike the early chemise gowns of the 1780s, but girdled under the bust with a belt containing a cameo. The next three women demonstrate various types of the more structured chemise gowns and the figure on the right wears a rare open gown over a white skirt. In a period when there is little choice in dress, accessories such as shawls and scarves played an important role, providing variety and the opportunity for graceful drapery à l'antique.

How such costumes relate to the advertisements for the fashions, ready-made, available by post in the *Journal de Paris* is hard to say. A Madame Teillard had, in 1790, placed an advertisement in this paper offering a range of ready-made costumes including chemises, levites, and 'economical' robes (which, according to the *Journal de la mode et du goût*, took only half the fabric of ordinary dresses). Three years later, the same dressmaker (this word must now be used, for the ancien-régime distinctions between *couturière* and *modiste* had vanished), advertised in the *Journal de Paris* a wide range of dresses, including a front-buttoning 'habillement à la républicaine' which had a Roman belt fastened at the side. A later supplement in the same paper (of 31 October 1794) presented a further range of costume influenced by the antique, such as a Greek chemise worn with a Juno belt (might this be what Lesueur depicts?), a robe and skirt à la romaine and a round robe à la Diane.

It was with a profound release of pent-up emotion that people celebrated the fall of Robespierre; it took the form of a passion for dancing and for the wildest extravagance in dress in reaction against the Jacobin Republic of Virtue. Louis-Sébastien Mercier in his sequel to the *Tableau de Paris*, the *Nouveau Paris* (1798) described the cathartic *bals à la victime* held in Paris in the winter of 1794, when women wearing the skimpiest of white dresses, added to them red

94 P.-E. Lesueur (attr.), female costumes, mid-1790s. Gouache. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

95 J. Gillray, *La Belle Espagnole, ou la Doublure de Madame Tallien*, 1796. Engraving. British Museum, London.

96 (far right) N. W. von Heideloff, 'New Dress in the Roman Style', *Gallery of Fashion* 1796. Engraving. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT. Paul Mellon Collection.



ribbons in imitation, it was said, of the cut made by the guillotine's blade. Women danced, he claimed, with a kind of religious ecstasy wearing muslin shifts à l'antique over flesh-coloured underwear of knitted silk; their hair was arranged like that of classical busts, and they wore sandals on their feet. This, said Mercier, was known as dressing à la sauvage, and he wondered if the sexual abandon seen in these bals à la victime might have been inspired by Holbein's print, the *Dance of Death*: 'Dans ce lieu enchanté, cent déesses parfumées d'essences, couronnées de roses, flottent dans des robes athéniennes... Là les femmes sont nymphes, sultanes, sauvages. Toutes les femmes sont en blanc, et le blanc sied à toutes les femmes. Leur gorge est nue, leurs bras sont nus'.²³

Mercier is the chronicler of the excesses in fashion which are associated with the raffish society of the Directory, and particularly with such famous *demi-mondaines* as Thérèse Tallien. The playwright Antoine-Vincent Arnault described her as Egeria, the goddess of fountains, and Laure Junot, later duchesse d'Abrantès remembered her elegance in robes of India muslin draped in antique style and her glossy black hair à la Titus. Plate 97 may be a portrait of Madame Tallien by a pupil of David, of about 1794–5. She wears the simplest of muslin shifts, knotted on the shoulders and bound round the waist with a blue silk sash, which echoes the ribbons in her hair, arranged in

classical style. The yellow wool shawl with a Grecian ring design emphasises the graceful curve of her bare arm; Directory beauties placed as much importance on the elegant management of these shawls as the *ancien régime* placed on the perfect deployment of the fan.

The overwhelming impression created by such a dress was of the sexual freedom that many critics found to be the *leitmotif* of high society in the Directory. English caricaturists in particular poked fun at the extremes in classical dress adopted by such *élégantes* as Madame Tallien: Gillray in *La Belle Espagnole, ou la Doublure de Madame Tallien* (1796; pl. 95) depicted her or a lookalike, in a sleeveless décolletée gown of printed muslin, slit to the thigh. It seems likely that Gillray used as inspiration a fashion plate from Heideloff's *Gallery of Fashion* published in February of that year, 'New Dress in the Roman Style' (pl. 96). The dress, more modest than Gillray's version, is a dress of puce-coloured satin with white cambric sleeves and a 'Roman mantle of scarlet kerseymere' (a fine wool).

Gillray has (erroneously) given his 'Madame Tallien' somewhat negroid features in reference, perhaps, to the prominence of Creole ladies in Directory society, the most important being Josephine Beauharnais who married the young General Bonaparte in 1796. Mesdames Tallien, Bonaparte and Récamier formed a trio of the most fashionable ladies

97 School of David, *Thérèse Tallien* (?), c.1794–5. Oil on canvas. San Diego Museum of Art. Gift of Anne R. and Amy Putnam.



whose *toilettes* were occasionally thought to be immodest, but always in the best of taste. These leaders of fashionable society were the models for the deceptively simple and stylish outfits seen in the plates of the *Journal des dames et des modes*, which began in 1797 with the aim of recording immediate fashion, publishing plates, every few days, by such artists as Carle Vernet and Philibert-Louis Debucourt. The editor claimed that the fashions were sketched from life at the places for fashionable promenades in Paris, such as the Tuileries and the Champs-Élysées, but most of all the gardens of Tivoli and Frascati which had opened in the grounds of mansions formerly owned by the aristocracy. These gardens offered elegant walks and waterways, decorative temples and gilded and mirrored apartments where people ate and danced to the new waltz, which shocked English visitors because the dancers held each other closely. The *Lady's Magazine* recorded with a mixture of horror and fascination the extremes of fashion to be seen at Tivoli and Frascati; the issue for May 1798 claimed that French manners had not changed in spite of the Revolution – ‘they are still a dancing nation’ – and that the costume of the women had become indecent in their propensity to dress *à la sauvage* and *à la grecque*. Even the editor of the *Journal des dames et des modes* had to emphasise that the dresses which he illustrated were not taken from ‘filles publiques’ but from the group of about sixty to eighty *élégantes* who set the fashions. If these costumes appeared indecent to his provincial readers, it was just that they had not yet become accustomed to them, in contrast to the Parisians who were quite *blasé* about

the amount of nudity to be seen in the capital.²⁴ Some art critics felt that the semi-nudity of much fashionable dress had contributed to the vogue for indecency in portraiture. Instancing a portrait of Madame Récamier (Versailles) by Eulalie Morin, in which the sitter’s dress almost falls off her shoulder, and Girodet’s *Mademoiselle Lange as Danaë* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts), where the sitter is naked except for an elegant peacock-feathered head-dress which might have come straight from the *Journal des dames et des modes*, a visitor to the Salon of 1799 claimed: ‘Le costume actuel a donné lieu à plusieurs personnes du sexe de se faire peindre nues et par conséquent d’une manière très indécente . . .’ For this tendency he blamed the authorities’ toleration of lax morals and manners.²⁵

Not only did women sometimes appear semi-nude in dresses revealing the bosom and the arms, but the shape of the figure was also outlined by the popular clinging and semi-transparent muslin gowns. In Boilly’s ‘*Point de Convention*’ (c.1798; pl. 98) the woman is dressed *à la sauvage*, with a sleeveless transparent gown (over the briefest of shifts) revealing her bare legs and sandalled feet. Fanny Burney remarked when visiting Paris in 1802, apropos of women’s dress: ‘THREE petticoats? No one wears more than one! STAYS? every body has left off even corsets! – Shift sleeves? not a soul now wears even a chemise’. At the age of fifty, she chose to ignore the fashions which were intended for youth, and aimed to ‘come forth as a Gothic anglaise, who had never heard of, or never heeded, the reigning metamorphoses’.²⁶ Later, Fanny Burney admitted that the very immodest clinging draperies were not as common as popular prejudice suggested, but it was this kind of dress that was only slightly exaggerated in the fashion plates and in the work of such artists as Boilly and Vernet, who christened such fashion victims *merveilleuses*.

The male counterparts to the *merveilleuses* were the *incroyables*, descendants of the *muscadins* and macaronis in their obsession with extreme forms of fashion, which now took on the exaggerated masculine styles influenced by English costume, which had first appeared in the 1780s. In Boilly’s painting, the *incroyable* offering money to the *merveilleuse* wears a tight-fitting coat with huge lapels, two waistcoats (this was a vogue begun in the 1780s) and skin-tight breeches of the sort that critics condemned as immodest. His powdered hair, cut short on top and at the sides to give a fashionable dishevelled look, and his vast green cravat that almost hides his chin, indicate that he is a sympathiser of the exiled monarchy – powder was linked to the wigs of the *ancien régime*, and green was the colour associated with the comte d’Artois, brother to the comte de Provence who in 1795 had proclaimed himself Louis XVIII.

8 L.-L. Boilly, ‘*Point de Convention*’, c.1798. Oil on canvas. Private Collection.



As part of the Thermidorean reaction provoked by the demise of Robespierre, a number of young men chose to wear costume that ran counter to the prevailing Jacobin orthodoxy of unkempt attire and support for the *sans-culottes*. There were battles in the streets between the *muscadins* or *jeunesse dorée* (the name *incroyable* was a slightly later appellation) and the Jacobins; the former attacked the *bonnet rouge*, the red collar and the cockade of their opponents, and the latter attempted to remove the green collars and cravats of their enemies, and even forcibly to cut their hair short, *à la Titus*. With the establishment of the Directory late in 1795, a bourgeois republic with a franchise based on property, the Jacobins were marginalised and middle-class values began to prevail. The characteristics of the dress of the *jeunesse dorée* were tight-fitting coats with huge collars and revers, calf-length breeches or long pantaloons, a cravat of ferocious stiffness which made it difficult to move the head and hair cut unevenly, sometimes with long side-locks called *oreilles de chien*; the *bicorne* hat, said Mercier, stuck out like a dormer window. This is the kind of costume that Carle Vernet depicts in his famous drawings of the *incroyables* of 1797–8 (pl. 99); the term was one of amazement rather than a precise sartorial type, for there were a number of variations on this theme. The *incroyable* here conforms precisely to Mercier's famous description in *Le Nouveau Paris* (1798), paraphrased above.²⁷ What Mercier and others found strange, was the mixture of styles producing a kind of hybrid: the perfume, powder and finicking attention to detail of the fop, allied to the affectation of English dress with its high-collared coats, emphasis on fine starched linen and neckwear, and boots.

Most Frenchmen, however, avoided the more exaggerated aspects of fashion in preference for a style that was understated yet elegant, a more refined version of the costume of an English country gentleman. This is what Pierre Sériziat wears in his portrait by David of 1795 (pl. 102). Seated in the countryside on his dark green riding cloak with its gold-braided collar, he wears a black high-collared coat, chamois-leather breeches and top boots, double-breasted *gilet* and crisp white linen. French manufacturers were increasingly following the English lead and producing a greater range of woollen cloths which the new styles of tailoring demanded; Monsieur Sériziat's riding mantle is likely to be a coarser, more practical wool, but his coat may be a fine face-cloth (one with a smooth surface) or a similar lightweight woollen fabric emphasising the lines of the body.

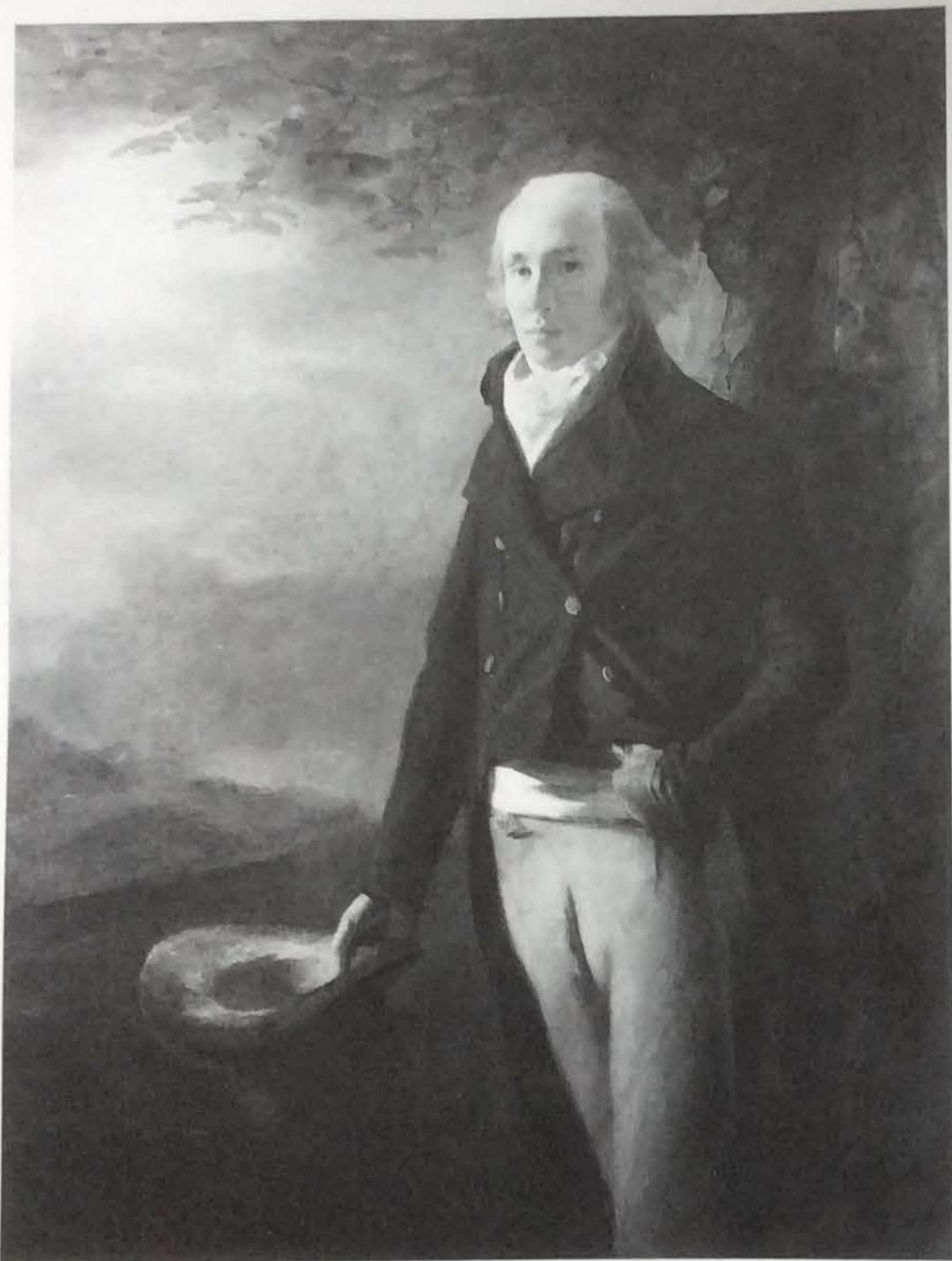
Apart from fashionable pursuits, the image which most men wished to project was that of sober reliability; the beginnings of industrialisation and the events of the French Revolution, had influenced men to appear as though dressed for work – of a profes-



99 C. Vernet, 'Incroyable', c.1797–8. Pen, brown ink and brown wash. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London.

sional or intellectual kind. It is the kind of sober restraint that is reflected in portraits of the time, both in France and England; national differences were revealed more in the nuances of dress than in the basically similar garments which comprised the male wardrobe. The palette is a limited one, dark colours throwing white linen into relief. One of the best examples of this sobriety of costume is Raeburn's *David Anderson* (1790; pl. 100). The black cloth double-breasted coat is cut away at the front so that the bottom of the white waistcoat can be seen above the grey breeches; he holds a wide-awake hat, and the only jewellery which convention allows (gold seals), can be seen at his waist.

This is the kind of costume that was to be adopted all over western Europe and North America by the end of the eighteenth century, and with hindsight the inevitability of its adoption, given the economical and political circumstances of the times, is clear. However, the embroidered silk suit had been for so long a part of very formal costume that it refused to disappear altogether, even though it was far removed from everyday dress. This sartorial confusion can be seen in



100 (above) H. Raeburn, *David Anderson*, 1790. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Widener Collection.

101 Anon., caricature from *Charis*, 1803. Engraving. By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

102 (facing page) J.-L. David, *Monsieur Sériziat*, 1795. Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris. (Photo: © Réunion des musées nationaux)

the satirical frontispiece to the 1803 issue of *Charis* (pl. 101), a German magazine published in Leipzig, 'für das Neueste in Kunst, Geschmack und Mode'. The Janus-like figure is half dressed in a pantaloon suit with high-collared coat, a large cravat and boots; the other half, in powdered wig, sports the style of the *ancien régime*, the embroidered silk coat and waistcoat, knee-breeches and *chapeau-bras*.

Paradoxically, the old style is the newest, as the figure looks forward to 1803 dressed in the kind of costume that continued to be worn at most European courts and which was to be given a further boost under the Napoleonic Empire.

In 1800, Napoleon, now First Consul, moved into the former royal palace of the Tuileries and gradually a court in embryo was formed, with its concomitant

element of etiquette. At first there were some odd juxtapositions of costume, as contemporaries noted, for many government ministers and other visitors to the First Consul's receptions were unused to formal dress; the result, according to A.C. Thibaudeau in his *Mémoires sur le Consulat* was often 'une vraie mascarade'. Some men turned up in formal dress, the *habit habillé*, others in frock coats; 'quelques-uns avaient les cheveux poudrés, le plus grand nombre était sans poudre; il n'y manquait que les perruques...' Although in theory there were no rules about hair, the First Consul let it be known that powder and a black silk bag [*bourse*] would please him; consequently men with short hair when they attended one of his audiences had to powder it and attach the bag to the back of their coat collar.²⁸

Napoleon decreed that on formal occasions the high-collared *habit habillé* or *habit à la française*, with its curved fronts and fine embroidery, should be worn by those who were not entitled to civil uniform; the coat was worn with a white *gilet*, white knee-breeches and white silk stockings. Many men, used to less restricting dress, found this costume most uncomfortable; the artist Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, for example, who had to wear the *habit habillé* when visiting the imperial court (he was tutor to the Empress Marie-Louise), was 'comiquement affublé d'un costume de cour, l'épée au côté, le claque sous le bras, gêné plus qu'on ne







peut dire'.²⁹ And Marshal Ney commented 'If the Emperor wishes to encourage velvet-wearing and embroidery, I am very willing to buy dress coats; but as to wearing them, that is another matter'.³⁰

The *habit habillé* was heavy (with interlining and profuse embroidery) and too ostentatious for most men; it had lost the elegance of the *habit à la française* under Louis XVI and it was quite out of step with the general tendencies in male fashion. For this reason, it is hardly ever depicted in portraits, although there are a number of men painted in the not dissimilar civil uniforms which were established under the Empire. One such is Ingres's *Hippolyte-François Devillers* (1811; pl. 103), dressed in his costume as Director of Probate and Estates, black coat with silver embroidery, cream *gilet* with silver embroidery and white *culotte*. However skilful Ingres's touch in the depiction of such details of dress as the heavy three-dimensional embroidery, the delicate French needle-lace of the shirt frill and ruffles and the diamond-studded sword hilt, the costume looks as if it wears the sitter and not the reverse. The head, unadorned by a wig, and with thinning, receding hair, seems remote from the over-decorated costume, the ostrich-plumed *chapeau-bras* and the sword.

It was difficult for men not used to war to cope with a sword; the formal bicorne hat, or *claque*, also presented problems on formal occasions. With the declaration of the Empire in the spring of 1804, the *Journal de Paris* stated that young men were beginning

to take lessons in etiquette from 'maîtres de tenue, qui leur apprendront à se présenter avec grace, à saluer avec profondeur, à tenir leur claque sans gêne, à porter l'habit brodé avec aisance & l'épée avec dignité'.³¹ Later that year the *Journal* remarked that some pre-Revolutionary fashions were returning, such as embroidered waistcoats, coats lined with silk and swords – all of which looked rather odd when worn with the modern, classically inspired hairstyle: 'l'on voit souvent ce costume français surmonté d'une tête romaine'.³²

Unless one attended court frequently – either in France or England – there was no need to wear the formal embroidered suit; such garments could either be hired or bought second hand if required. Thomas Pougher Russell, from a prominent Birmingham family and a French citizen since 1809, attended the wedding of Napoleon and Marie-Louise in 1810; even though he was a distant spectator in a gallery seat in the Louvre, he had to wear court dress. This he decided to have made, rather than hiring, 'as I may probably have other occasions for using it' – he also wore it to one of the balls celebrating the marriage; but he had to hire a sword and borrow a lace frill and ruffles. His suit still exists in Birmingham; it consists of a dark mulberry-coloured wool coat with cut-steel buttons, an embroidered ivory silk waistcoat, black satin breeches and a black bicorne hat.³³ It must have been a modest costume when set beside the French embroidered *habits habillés* and glittering civil uniforms.

Some years later, in 1818, Henry Angelo visited Paris with the hope of seeing Louis XVIII at the Tuileries, but initially he was refused admission, 'my braided frock coat, lined with silk not being considered a proper habillement'. He went off to a *fripier* (a second-hand clothes dealer) and bought a 'suitable dress' which turned out far too tight, and in which he felt encased as in a suit of armour.³⁴ Angelo does not describe this 'suitable dress', so overcome was he by a sense of grievance that his frock-coat was not thought presentable even for a mere bystander in the presence of the King. In England men had to wear court dress at levees and Drawing Rooms held by royalty; the costume consisted of a silk coat and knee-breeches, embroidered waistcoat and the hair or wig dressed and powdered (see pl. 129). But even in England, where no revolution had intervened to promote Republican styles of dress, the prevailing trend was towards simplicity, and it is rare to find a portrait of an English sitter in the kind of court dress that Beechey paints in his portrait of Sir John Reade (1811; pl. 104). More at ease in this costume than Ingres's Devillers is in his, there is a greater sense of unity about the ensemble, from the powdered wig, the green velvet suit and the restrained embroidery of the

silk waistcoat, to the gestures of the hands. The portrait by Ingres, incomparably the better of the two, depicts the costume in such a way that it brings out the shiftiness and unease of the sitter.

The French had established a complicated hierarchy of civil uniform to give dignity, discipline and structure to a new society, but the style and decoration went against the tenor of the times. This is not to say that men were generally averse to a codified system of clothing which might be brightly coloured and highly decorated – after all, military uniforms played a major part in the appearance of men in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and peacock officers in uniform were a staple of the novels of the period. But a sense of individualism and personal choice in clothing was thought important in an age of burgeoning democracy, even if the result might be, in England particularly, one of sober uniformity. The artist John Hoppner, in Paris with Farington during the Peace of Amiens in 1802, compared the 'picturesque' appearance of Frenchmen whose desire to 'please their own fancies is more their object than to imitate', with Englishmen who aim at an 'appearance of substantial prosperity, which brings them nearer to an equality'.³⁵

The Prince of Wales, the future George IV, was to be seen in Hyde Park, 'dressed as plain as the most humble individual in the kingdom'.³⁶ Affecting bright colours and lavish trimmings in his salad days (and retaining an abiding love for uniforms), by the end of the eighteenth century the Prince in his everyday costume which was noted for an elegance of fit, could rightly be called the First Gentleman in Europe. Robert Dighton's equestrian portrait of the Prince of Wales (1804; pl. 105), shows him in a double-breasted high-collared coat known as a 'Jean de Bry', tight pantaloons and hessian boots; his hair is curled in the fashionable Titus cut and he wears a round hat with a curved brim. Here the costume is worn for riding, but it was an equally fashionable morning walking-dress, as can be seen from the same artist's *Beau Brummell* (1805; pl. 106). The fashion magazine *Le Beau Monde* (1808) is quite explicit on the all-important details of the Prince's taste in dress, cited as a model for others to follow. His

morning dress is either a chestnut brown or bottle green cloth coat with a fancy stripe waistcoat, and light stone-colour musquito pantaloons. The coat is made short in the waist, and the skirts without pockets or flaps with a silk or covered button of the same colour; the cape or collar is made to sit close around the neck with a becoming fall in front, which shows a small portion only of the waistcoat. The lower part of the lapel is not cut in the usual vulgar manner but forms an elegant slope...³⁷

The Prince of Wales, like a later monarch, Edward



VII, was very knowledgeable about fashion. His estranged wife, Princess Caroline of Brunswick, commented sarcastically that 'he understands how a shoe should be made, or a coat cut... and would make an excellent tailor, or shoemaker, or hairdresser, but nothing else'.³⁸ The Prince's two main tailors were Schweitzer and Davidson of Cork Street, and John Weston of Old Bond Street. The Royal Archives, which list the Prince of Wales's expenditure on clothes (which was enormous), indicate, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the most popular colours for coats and greatcoats were sombre – dark blues and greens, grey, brown and olive; these colours were more flattering to the fuller figure, but the styles were tight-fitting and the records also show

104 W. Beechey, *Sir John Reade*, 1811. Oil on canvas. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.



105 (above) R. Dighton, *George, Prince of Wales*, 1804. Pen and watercolour. The Royal Collection, © 1994 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

a constant letting-out of garments to accommodate the Prince's expanding girth. Dighton's image of the Prince is fairly flattering, or at least a tribute to the skills of his tailors, whose subterfuges to restrain the royal belly (clever interlining of the coats, the use of 'belts' or corsets) are also revealed in the accounts; other caricaturists were less complimentary, presenting the Prince as a philandering, obese glutton, the 'Prince of Whales'.

The Prince must occasionally have cast an envious eye over the slim figure of his sartorial mentor, George 'Beau' Brummell, who had resigned his commission in the army to devote himself to a 'life of pleasure'. This mainly consisted of a club-man's masculine way of life, revolving around St James's, to which he brought wit and superb good taste, particularly in dress. He it was who turned the art of masculine attire into the supreme expression of being a

gentleman; he helped to create a look which relied on exquisite tailoring and the careful selection of accessories for its effect. Harriette Wilson's *Memoirs* record how Brummell's word on dress was law; men 'made it a rule to copy the cut of [his] coat, the shape of his hat, or the tie of his neckcloth' – even the Prince of Wales was reputed to watch him dressing. Typical *obiter dicta* included: 'No perfumes, Brummell used to say, but very fine linen, and plenty of it, and country-washing', and, 'If John Bull turns round to look at you, you are not well dressed, but either too stiff, too tight, or too fashionable'.³⁹

Brummell's conception of what a gentleman should wear was based on neatness, cleanliness, harmony and lack of affectation. His views on dress followed those of Lord Chesterfield in the mid-eighteenth century, that an Englishman should choose the happy medium between an excessive reliance on the latest fashions and being quite indifferent to them. In Brummell's *Male and Female Costume*, a survey of dress, part-historical, part-contemporary, which he composed during his exile, he noted that 'there is quite as much vanity and coxcombry in slovenliness as there is in its most extravagant opposite', and he attacked 'the minor poet who goes into company with a dirty neckcloth and straggling locks', just as much as the 'dandy who scorns to have an id-e-a beyond the set of his clothes'.⁴⁰ Brummell's refined sobriety of dress



106 R. Dighton, *George Bryan Brummell*, 1800. Pencil and watercolour. Sale, Christie's, London, 21 March 1989, lot 79.

was quite the reverse to that of the dandy (which he is sometimes erroneously called) whose costume relies for effect on exaggeration. Captain Jesse recalled:

His morning dress was similar to that of every other gentleman – Hessians and pantaloons, or top-boots and buskins, with a blue coat, and a light or buff-coloured waistcoat; of course, fitting to admiration, on the best figure in England. His dress of an evening was a blue coat and white waistcoat, black pantaloons which buttoned tight to the ankle, striped silk stockings, and opera hat; in fact he was always carefully dressed, but never the slave of fashion.⁴¹

Harriette Wilson, visiting Brummell in Calais (he had fled there as a bankrupt in 1816) described his talent as 'that of having well-fashioned the character of a gentleman',⁴² a theme taken up by Virginia Woolf in an essay on Beau Brummell, where she tries to pin down his 'curious combination of wit, of taste, of insolence, of independence'. Her pursuit of his character (as distinct from the idea which we all have about Beau Brummell) failed then as it would now, and the novelist resorts to describing his lasting influence on the male image, 'cool, refined and debonair'. 'His clothes seemed to melt into each other with the perfection of their cut and the quiet harmony of their colour'.⁴³ It is unfortunate that he was never painted by Lawrence, or indeed any artist of note. It is a paradox that Beau Brummell has become entwined in any discussion about dandyism, for his understated elegance in dress is inimical to the excesses of the dandy in England, whose direct line of descent is from the Restoration fop and the eighteenth-century macaroni. Max Beerbohm (*Dandies and Dandies*, 1896) admired Brummell as the 'Father of Modern Costume', his clothing 'so quiet, so reasonable, and . . . so beautiful; free from folly or affectation, yet susceptible to exquisite ordering; plastic, austere, economical'.⁴⁴ It is dress that is both democratic and élitist; democratic in the sense of the practical origin and modest simplicity of the styles of costume, élitist with regard to the expense of high-quality tailoring and accessories, and the privileged existence that the clothing celebrates.

Brummell's 'philosophy of clothes' (to use Carlyle's phrase) is less akin to that of the English dandies of the 1820s, with their padded coats and peg-top trousers, than to the French dandy of the mid-nineteenth century, whose severe black and white costume was a protest against bourgeois vulgarity and the self-indulgent sartorial statements of the Bohemian. As defined by Baudelaire, such a dandy was 'the man who is rich and idle, and who, even if blasé, has no other occupation than the perpetual pursuit of happiness . . . whose solitary profession is elegance'; even so,



such dandyism does not just consist in 'an immoderate taste for the toilet and material elegance', for such things are only the 'symbols of his aristocratic superiority of mind'.⁴⁵

Baudelaire's famous discussion of the dandy in his essay *The Painter of Modern Life* (1859) is a celebration of the modernity of dress, a refusal to claim (as many critics did) that the past had produced superior styles in costume. The sober clothing of the man of fashion (reaching its apogee in the French dandy) placed him firmly in the context of the present; it alluded to professional status, the importance of work and to political equality in its uniformity of colour. Dark colours and sombre clothing also hinted at Renaissance portraits and poetry with their complex visual and literary allusions; black in particular, with its context of mourning, emphasised the man of sorrows, the intellectual, the writer. Byron, for example, liked to

107 A.-L. de Roussy
Girodet-Trioson, *François
René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand*,
1807. Oil on canvas. Musée
d'Histoire de la ville de Saint-
Malo.

wear black; it made him look slimmer, made his skin appear whiter and added the air of romantic melancholy appropriate for a fashionable poet with a scandalous private life. Chateaubriand, in his portrait by Girodet of 1807 (pl. 107) has also chosen to be portrayed in black. Exhibited at the Salon of 1810 under the title 'Un Homme méditant sur les ruines de Rome', the author poses, artfully windswept, in black coat and greatcoat, black cravat at his neck. Madame de Rémusat remembered Chateaubriand as being 'most careful and affected in his dress', and here a sombre palette has been used for dramatic effect to create an image self-consciously contrived; the eighteenth-century gesture of placing the hand between the buttons of the waistcoat has been retained, not so much to demonstrate the elegance of the movements of the hands, nor the luxury of lace ruffles (which no longer existed in everyday dress), but as a Romantic expression of feeling, hand on heart. The author's pose, clothing and hairstyle is meant to suggest intellectual ferment, although when Napoleon viewed the portrait it reminded him of 'a conspirator who has just come down the chimney'.

Chateaubriand's appearance of slight dishevelment is not only created by the disorder of his hair, but also by the fact that his coat looks rather too big for him, not sitting particularly well on the shoulders, with sleeves full at the top and extending over his hand. These are features that can be seen in most contemporary male portraits, even that of Brummell himself, and which reflect a preference for ease and comfort in dress over artistic demands for a more sculpted torso. On the other hand, very tight-fitting breeches or pantaloons could cruelly reveal any imperfection in men's lower limbs.

By the end of the eighteenth century, English tailors who had had a long experience of fine cloth (as distinct from silk) to hone their skills, were acknowledged as fashion leaders. This supremacy was the culmination of a process of political and social events which had moved men towards a new 'democratic' self-image, manifested in a preference for modest simplicity of style and fabric. In 1796 *The Tailor's Complete Guide, or A Comprehensive Analysis of Beauty and Elegance in Dress* was published by a 'Society of Adepts in the Profession'. Once and for all it established the credo of the fashionable tailor whose aim, paradoxically, was not so much to be fashionable as to be timeless and classical in his clothes; 'it is but of little consequence to a complete Taylor what the Fashions are; his business is to fit the body, that no constriction or unnatural compression may be felt in any part'.⁴⁶ A good tailor, then as now, was able through his art, to hide a multitude of sins in the shapes and misshapes of his clients, and to bring out their best points. In Pierce Egan's travelogue, *Life in London*, written in 1820, the

stylish man-about-town Corinthian Tom, takes his country friend Jerry Hawthorne to the fashionable tailor Dicky Primefit of Regent Street, whose aim, we are told, was:

The art sublime, ineffable,
Of making middling men look well.⁴⁷

By this time, Regent Street, instigated by the Prince Regent in 1813, rivalled Oxford Street in the elegance of its fashion shops, but the area of Bond Street and around St James's specialised in menswear. From the late eighteenth century we begin to learn for the first time some of the names of fashionable tailors and suppliers of accessories, not just through trade cards and invoices, but through contemporary letters, diaries and novels, all of which reflect the new importance given to the details of men's clothes. In T.S. Surr's satirical novel, *A Winter in London* (1806), the hero Edward Montagu, a foundling, is amazed at the complicated business of being equipped as a man of fashion:

When he stopped at a tailor's in Bond Street, expecting to be measured for a suit of clothes, what was his surprise to learn that Mr. Larolle made only coats; and that they had a dozen doors further to drive before they reached 'the first hand in the world at waistcoats, braces and inexpressibles'. The same 'artist' who excelled at fitting a dress shoe, would have been intolerable as the manufacturer of a pair of boots; and though Mr. Flint the hatter, assured them that for round walking hats and hunting hats, there was not a superior shop in London; yet he would confess that for an opera hat Mr. Breach did certainly 'cut all the trade'.⁴⁸

For most of the eighteenth century, especially at the higher levels of society, customers bought their own fabrics which they took to the tailor; since the cost of the clothes consisted mainly in the fabrics, the profit margins for tailors were low, and some began to turn their attention to offering ready-to-wear goods as well as bespoke.⁴⁹ A reduction in the costs of such fabrics as wool and cotton, a result of the mass production of the new technology, led during the nineteenth century to an increased demand for ready-made clothing. At the top of society, however, men continued to have their clothes made for them and the art of the tailor became even more important in an age when cut and construction had prevailed over luxury of fabric and trimming. By the early nineteenth century the tailor's word was law and the customer was able, with his advice, to select fabrics on the premises. Changes in fashion – often merely modifications of existing styles or slight nuances of detail or colour – were arrived at by a process of consultation between tailor and fashionable customer.

It is not clear, for example, whether it was Brummell or the tailor John Meyer of Conduit Street who invented the strap worn under the instep and attached to the hem of the trouser to prevent it wrinkling.

In Pierce Egan's comic account of life in Regency London, the tailor Dicky Primefit was 'principally distinguished for the cut of his coats', for these were the most important items in the masculine wardrobe and the true tests of tailoring skills. From the *Taylor's Complete Guide* we note that the 'principal part of the Tailor's business is the measuring, cutting and making a coat', and it continues: 'It matters not whether narrow or broad Backs are the Rage of Fashion, stand-up or turn-down Collars, short or long Waists, or whatever turn the cut of the Skirts may take, the ultimate end is to cut and fit well . . .'⁵⁰

Firmly woven woollen cloth best demonstrated a perfect cut when the coat was fastened; the back of the garment was usually only thinly interlined, so that a sculptural, muscular effect could be obtained, at least on a man with a good figure, a fashion-plate ideal (see pl. 109). In addition, there was often judicious padding at the front of the coat to emphasise the pectoral muscles and to give the impression of a more slender waist. The waist also appeared slimmer due to the somewhat top-heavy proportions of the coat, with its very high collar and the bulk of the gathered-in sleeve at the shoulder. The effect could sometimes be one of aggressive masculinity with a slightly comic appearance, as in Rowlandson's *Elderly Buck Walking with a Lady* (c.1800; pl. 108). The artist has segmented the squat figure of the man by emphasising the constituent parts of his costume – the wide *bicorne* hat, the almost square coat and the rectangles created by the turned-down tops of the boots. The man's too-tight coat (it has to be left unbuttoned) and his awkward gait present a caricature image which is the reverse coin of the fashion-plate archetype such as Horace Vernet's *Incroyable* (c.1810; pl. 109) where the cut of his coat with its well set-in sleeves, flattering back seams and crisp vertical pleats is essential to the stylish appearance, together with elegant gestures and deportment.

Coats could either be single-breasted or double-breasted, the latter the more popular style, as contemporary portraiture indicates. They could be cut square across the waistline, or – as in the morning coat – with a sloped front; in both cases, the fabric at the sides and at the back was severely curtailed. Older and more conservative men, however, as is often the case, preferred the fuller, more comfortable and less revealing styles of their younger days – as with women's dress, the new fashions promoted the cult of youth and required a slim figure. Lawrence's *Sir Robert Wigram* (1816; pl. 110) is a portrait of an elderly man, successful in business and a former Member of Parlia-



108 T. Rowlandson, *An Elderly Buck Walking with a Woman*, c.1800. Pen, red ink and watercolour. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT. Paul Mellon Collection.



109 H. Vernet 'Incroyable', c.1810. Watercolour. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London.

ment; sitting in a slightly awkward pose and with rather old-fashioned clothes, but confident of his achievements, he is reminiscent of Hogarth's *Captain Coram* (1740; London, Coram Foundation). But



whereas Captain Coram is shown in his practical greatcoat, a happy acceptance of his humble origins and hard physical work, Wigram appears in the black suit of a prosperous merchant or professional man. The suit consists of a double-breasted coat cut capaciously in an old-fashioned style, waistcoat and black satin knee-breeches worn with silk stockings and black leather pumps. The powder from his hair falls on the collar and shoulder of his coat, a study in contrasts between the light and the dark; a tax on hair powder in 1795 gave the final death-blow to a fashion that had for many years been on the wane, and which by the early nineteenth century was only retained by a small percentage of men, mainly for professional and occupational reasons.⁵¹

The knee-breeches, also, indicate a man of elderly years and traditional habits, for by this time they had been replaced, even at court, by trousers, or what *Le Beau Monde* (1808) called 'stocking-breeches and stockings all in one piece... [a] longitudinal pantaloen'. Knee-breeches were sometimes retained in the masculine wardrobe for summer wear, made of such light materials as nankeen (a washable cotton fabric, closely woven and usually buff in colour) and knitted

silk stockinette which, claimed the *Taylor's Complete Guide*, had to be lined for decency, either with swanskin (fine flannel) or cotton. Leather breeches were worn for sporting occasions and as an informal morning walking costume. Doeskin and chamois leather in particular were soft and malleable enough to cut well, even if on occasion they incurred the wrath of a perfectionist such as Beau Brummell; seeing Lord Frederick Bentinck one day he attacked his 'bad knees, my good fellow, bad knees... and his parting words on leaving were to "be sure to burn those leather breeches of yours"'.⁵² A dress reformer such as Walter Vaughan in his *Essay Philosophical and Medical concerning Modern Clothing* (1792) was not alone in attacking the 'compression of tight leathern Breeches' which could cause numbness, but he was forced to admit that they 'are extremely handsome and very fit to expose a muscular Thigh...'.⁵³

As the coat was cut away so radically at the front and sides, a new importance was placed on men's legs; the tall, slim man with broad shoulders and a kind of indolent elegance of pose was the *ne plus ultra* of masculine style by the second decade of the nineteenth century. It can best be seen Vernet's *Incrovables* and Ingres's drawings of English and French sitters made during his stay in Rome from 1806 to 1820. Horace Vernet, grandson of Moreau le Jeune and son of Carle Vernet who, in the late 1790s, had produced the original series of *Incrovables et Merveilleuses*, was commissioned by the editor of the *Journal des dames et des modes* to produce a new set of images of contemporary fashions; they were engraved between 1810 and 1818. Plate 111 is one such *Incrovable*, c.1811; his stylish arrogance and perfect tailoring acknowledge the supremacy of English modes. The dress-coat is cut away at the front and with abbreviated tails at the back to reveal the full splendour of his legs tightly encased in knit pantaloons. Pantaloons were remotely descended from the tights worn by Pantaleone in the *commedia dell'arte*, but the more immediate derivation lay in the garments which were part of Hungarian hussar uniform. Such hussar costume basically consisted of a dolman (or jacket) fastened with braided loops (frogging), a fur-lined and braided sleeved mantle (or pelisse), tight pantaloons often braided on the upper thigh and boots. Since the middle of the eighteenth century it had been a popular masquerade costume and an influence on men's fashionable clothing. It was a costume which particularly attracted the Prince of Wales. As a child he had appeared with his brother Prince Frederick in an entertainment devised by their governess in 1769 'in rich Hussar Habits of white sattin embroidered with gold & trimm'd with sable';⁵⁴ as an adult his accounts from the 1780s are full of orders for frogged coats, fur pelisses and hussar boots.⁵⁵ Hussar costume with its romantic martial air



111 H. Vernet, 'Incroyable', c.1811. Watercolour. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London.

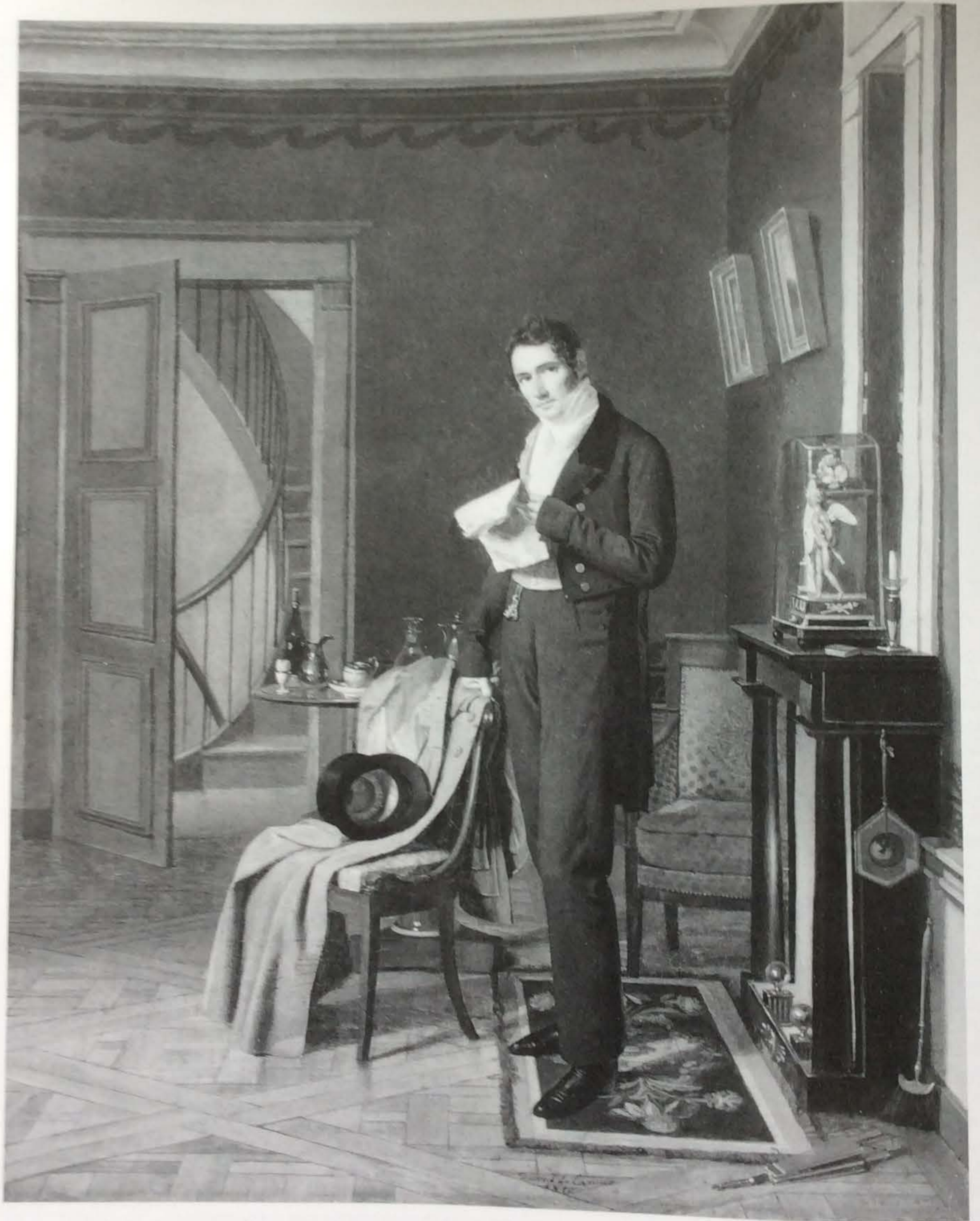
112 J.-A.-D. Ingres, *Lord Grantham*, 1816. Pencil. Private Collection.

must have had particular appeal for a prince who was not allowed to lead his troops himself, but who was fascinated by rich and exotic clothing. He was painted a number of times in hussar costume, including a portrait by Reynolds (1785) (present whereabouts unknown) in masquerade dress and one by Beechey (1798) (Royal Academy of Arts, London) in the braided uniform of the 10th Light Dragoons; under his aegis, this regiment, of which he was appointed Colonel Commandant in 1793, adopted various elements of hussar dress, and in 1805 the name itself – part of that trend towards the appearance of hussar regiments in the early nineteenth-century British Army.

Hussar regiments wore some of the most dashing uniforms during the Napoleonic period and it was inevitable that some of this glamour rubbed off on to civilian clothing. Contemporary portraits show men in stylish frogged coats, such as David's *Comte de Turenne* of 1816 (Copenhagen, Carlsberg Glyptothek) and a number of drawings by Ingres, for example *Sir John Hay and his Sister Mary* (London, British Museum) and *Mr and Mrs Woodhead and Henry Comber* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) also of 1816. The characteristic applied braid of hussar pantaloons was not transferred into fashionable pantaloons which were plain and, for daytime wear, light in colour. In

an ideal world they might have reminded the spectator of noble antique nudity, but more often they courted censure as they tended to outline and emphasise the male genital area; no wonder polite society referred to them as inexpressibles. A Persian ambassador to England found such garments 'immodest and unflattering to the figure . . . [they] look just like underdrawers – could they be designed to appeal to the ladies?'⁵⁶ Ingres's *Lord Grantham* (1816; pl. 112) wears pantaloons which, although tight, do not produce the effect of nakedness seen in Vernet's *Incroyable*; what they *do* show is the reality of the horizontal wrinkling of the fabric when pushed into the fashionable boots which fitted closely at the calf – here the boots are hessians, short riding boots curved to a point in front and trimmed with a decorative tassel.

Once the long-established tyranny of the knee-breeches was in decline, men's netherwear could include a wide range of bifurcated garments. From the late 1790s, for example, the Prince of Wales's clothing accounts list pantaloons of nankeen, stockinette and kerseymere; there were 'lilac striped callico Pantaloons' (1798), fine doeskin pantaloons (1801) and 'Brown Silk Pantaloons with feet' (1802) – in other words, tights – which clearly wore out quite quickly, as there are a number of references to such items



needing 'new Legs' or being re-footed. At the same time the Prince was ordering trousers in a variety of fabrics, including kerseymere, flannel, fine cotton and calico. Trousers were distinguished from pantaloons by being looser in fit and humbler in origin, being descended from working-class garments; wide trousers were also worn by sailors, and it was perhaps no accident that they appear to have been first worn by fashionable men at Brighton in the early years of the nineteenth century. As with pantaloons, light colours and fabrics were preferred, *Le Beau Monde* of 1808 laying down the law thus: 'some few striped trowsers we have seen worn, but they are considered as only adapted for dirty weather, or for wearing at the watering places'.⁵⁷ In short, the more practical aspects of trousers, such as the patterned fabrics (see the striped trousers of pl. 109) which might indicate their functional origin, were in England dispensed with in favour of the impractical, light colours that required constant laundering. Trousers could vary in width from the modest proportions of the evening style which was often worn with an instep strap to preserve an unbroken, unwrinkled line, to the very wide 'cossack' trousers named in honour of a visit made by Tsar Alexander I of Russia to England in 1814. These cossacks were cut very full (they were almost as wide as the original sailor's slops, or trousers) and gathered into a waistband; when worn with stays by fashionable dandies, the result was almost feminine as the pleated fabric of the trousers flared over the hips. Abhorring what Brummell would have called such a 'mountebank appearance', *The Ton* (1819) declared: 'The gross error of the shallow-pated Dandies in wearing these loose trowsers is most ridiculous. The first introduction of them was to imitate the Cossacks. Now that the war is over, it was expected that these street Dangers would have been put on the civil list'.⁵⁸

By the 1820s men's trousers had assumed the sober, modest form which appears in the portrait of an unknown man of 1820 by Pierre Duval-Lecamus (pl. 113), and which they were to retain until the end of the century. Formal everyday costume has now become the dark (usually black) cut-away coat and trousers, worn with a short, light-coloured waistcoat and black top hat. Against the creeping sobriety of men's clothing, only the whiteness of the linen stands out, the starched linen shirt collar and neckcloth or cravat acting as a stiffened support for the head. In France as in England, hair powder had been virtually abandoned in everyday life by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and what makes these men look so modern is their hair, cut short and arranged with natural simplicity in a variety of styles ultimately derived from the 'classical' cut of the 1790s, but, increasingly, with the addition of side-burns. Hair was

sometimes oiled (with bear grease, or macassar oil from the nut of the Ceylon oak) to make it darker and a more dramatic foil to the pallor of the complexion. As masculine dress grew darker and less obviously swayed by the vagaries of fashion, the head and neck area were more than ever open to first impressions, to the indication of character; the becoming negligence of the hairstyle and the subtle choice of cravat (*à la Byron* – unstarched and tied in a floppy bow; *à la Napoleon* – untied, but crossed over at the front; and many other types) framed the face and helped to express the personality. The Romantic hero, as Stendhal knew, did not need exotic clothing; he required well-tailored dark clothing, a slim and youthful figure and a face expressive of emotion and sensitivity.

The traits of the ideal modern man are listed thus:

1. Un esprit extrêmement vif.
2. Beaucoup de graces dans les traits.
3. L'oeil étincelant.
4. Beaucoup de gaieté.
5. Un fonds de sensibilité.
6. Une taille svelte, et sur-tout l'air agile de jeunesse.

Furthermore, such a man 'faut être homme charmant dans une soirée, et le lendemain gagner une bataille, ou savoir mourir'.⁵⁹

In the dullness of the post-Napoleonic world, which Stendhal so much deplored, these last aims would be hard to achieve even for one of his heroes possessing the six features listed above. The nuances of men's dress and general appearance might reveal an ardent and poetical soul, but how could it express any sense of drama? The answer lay with the greatcoat, a capacious and swashbuckling garment which had, so to speak, expanded from the late eighteenth-century redingote. The redingote was a garment sanctified to the memory of Napoleon; the Emperor's famous coats (usually grey) of fine woollen cloth from Louviers were simply styled (he preferred ease to fashion) with a high collar and double-breasted fastening. A more fashionable style by the beginning of the nineteenth century was the caped greatcoat, a loose coat with an extra cape or shoulder mantle, such as Ingres outlines in his *Studies of a 'Carrick'* (pl. 114); further studies of this garment exist in the Musée Ingres at Montauban.⁶⁰ These drawings might be related to the artist's *Self-portrait* of 1804 at Chantilly, or they may reflect Ingres's general fascination with the dramatic possibilities of the fall of drapery at the shoulder – such coats appear in a number of portraits.

The fashionable Carrick greatcoat, as it appears draped over the back of the chair in the portrait by Duval-Lecamus, had four overlapping capes. The same style is worn by Augustin Jordan in his portrait by Ingres of 1817 (pl. 115). It is a vast garment, ample

113 P. Duval-Lecamus, *Portrait of a Man*, 1820. Oil on canvas. Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London.



of fabric and reaching to his ankles; with its turned-back front lining and bulky sleeves there is a faint echo of the massive sleeved mantles seen in early sixteenth-century German dress. Ingres makes a point of contrasting the heavy solidity of Jordan's costume with the delicacy of the dress of the child, Adrienne, with her floral headdress and cotton frock trimmed with a fringe and broderie anglaise.

For an artist whose forte lay in the exact depiction of the details of dress, it is curious that sometimes these emerge better in Ingres's drawings than in his paintings. In his portrait of Joseph-Antoine de Nogent (1815; Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum), for example, the sitter stands awkwardly full-length (rare for a small portrait), overwhelmed by a voluminous collared greatcoat; the costume studies for this painting, at the Musée Ingres, look more attractive than the finished garment, possibly because they are less detailed and less clumsily draped over the body. It is unfortunate for Ingres that the portrait of Monsieur de Nogent now hangs next to David's fine portrait of

Emmanuel Joseph, Abbé Sieyès (1817; pl. 116). The Abbé, deputy in the National Assembly (he figures prominently in David's *Oath of the Tennis Court*, seated to the right of President Bailly), constitutional expert (he helped to plot the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire and create the Consulate) and Napoleonic count, was exiled, along with David, at the Restoration. His glossy black double-breasted coat, lined with satin, worn with a white waistcoat and black trousers, is modestly, conventionally fashionable for a man of his age, although the tousled hair *à la Titus* (perhaps a wig) makes him look younger. The bulky coat does not dominate his appearance, but gives *gravitas* to an elder statesman, to a man whom David clearly found sympathetic both as a person and as a politician.

★ ★ ★

As men's dress moved towards uniform sobriety at the end of the eighteenth century, so women's dress also seemed to be infected by a similar desire for modest



115 J.-A.-D. Ingres, *Augustin Jordan and his Daughter*, 1817. Graphite on white wove paper. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop.

116 J.-L. David, *Emmanuel-Joseph, Abbé Sieyès*, 1817. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop.

simplicity in style and a passion for white. English reactions to the French Revolution influenced the way in which dress developed during the 1790s. To begin with there was considerable enthusiasm in some upper and middle-class women towards the events of 1789, and a kind of patriotic pride that many Frenchwomen had adopted informal English styles in dress; but this initial reaction turned into more muted support, and then – with the deepening tragedy of the downfall of the monarchy and the advent of the Terror – ancient antipathies to French manners and dress re-emerged. Accounts of the maenad revels of the *tricoteuses*, of the female radicals who adopted men's dress and the *bonnet rouge*, and of the semi-naked women who danced with pagan abandon at the *bals à la victime* were widely circulated, and a correlation was made between the so-called licentious styles in French dress and the anarchy of successive political systems.

From 1793 Britain and France were at war, and to some extent communication of respective fashions was interrupted. The two countries developed along different lines, although the basic shapes of fashion remained the same. The French pursued a pure, classical style, while the English sought refuge in the comfort of the dress of the more recent past; French dress evidences a love of simplicity of line, whereas English costume is a sometimes cluttered synthesis of the prevailing Neoclassical styles with the addition of Romantic ornament.

In the mid-1790s, however, the prevailing theme in English dress was quiet simplicity; it is the most sober period in the history of dress of the whole eighteenth century. Dresses in the predominant white muslin were softly draped in the style of the chemise gown, or in the popular wrapping-gown. The subjects of both Raeburn's *Jacobina Copland* (c.1794; pl. 117) and Samuel de Wilde's *Portrait of a Woman* (1795; pl. 119) wear wrapping-gowns of white muslin with no adornment whatsoever. The dresses are kept in place by a sash at the waist, but for extra decency the two women wear *chemisettes* or underbodices of fine muslin; in the de Wilde drawing it is attached to a ruff at the neck. In both portraits the hair is long, curled and lightly powdered, but Mrs Copland has wound a white muslin scarf round her head, perhaps in imitation of the radical chic styles, *à la paysanne* or *à la citoyenne*, which had percolated through to the English fashion magazines.

These simple dresses with their slightly rising waistlines are reflected in the most famous of all English fashion magazines, Heideloff's *Gallery of Fashion* which appeared from 1794 to 1802. The *Gallery* claimed to be a record 'of all the most fashionable and elegant Dresses in vogue', rather than a blueprint for the future; it aimed to show the taste and restraint to be seen in English costume, rather than the wild exaggerations of French dress (for example the stark simplicity *à l'antique* of a Madame Tallien, as in plate 97). The result was often a compromise between the



117 H. Raeburn, *Jacobina Copland*, c.1794. Oil on canvas, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

'elegant simplicity' of ancient Greek dress, which the *Gallery* admired, and the English attraction towards such features as Vandyke trimming, Tudor ruffs and various kinds of applied decoration. Even when a nod is made in the direction of the antique, it is never purely classical. A *robe à la grecque* (August 1799) is made of gauze and trimmed with Vandyke lace, and a 'New Dress in the Roman Style' for February 1796 (pl. 96) turns out to be of puce coloured satin, worn with a scarlet mantle embroidered in gold. Even a simple afternoon dress, as illustrated in plate 118, is trimmed with embroidery and lace, the hair being arranged, so the *Gallery* informs us, '*en colimaçon*' (like a snail) and decorated with ribbon bandeaux. These are the kind of fashion details which would be glossed over by such artists as Raeburn, who preferred to concentrate on the slightly hazy effect created by the layers of plain white muslin in the dress, which echoed the pale, powdered, loose curls of the hair.

All kinds of cotton, and especially muslin, were *de*

rigueur for fashionable dress; in an age when distinctions between formal and informal dress were increasingly blurred, fine muslin was acceptable on all occasions. In England raw cotton imports quintupled between 1780 and 1800, the price falling steeply once the plantation system was established in the American south. Cotton was easily adaptable to the new machinery and to the factory system, and there were eager markets for the resulting fabrics both at home and abroad. Fashion magazines promoted a wide range of cotton fabrics in their descriptions of dress and in the accompanying plates; one publication, *Ackermann's Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics* (1809–28) actually included fabric samples as patriotic advertisements for the new technology. In France during the 1790s there was a massive shift from wool and linen to cotton which increased during the Empire and under the Restoration, as a result of mass production.⁶¹

With the trend towards simpler styles in dress and cheaper fabrics, women increased the size of their wardrobes; in addition to clothes made by a dressmaker (the more complicated styles), a woman with moderate sewing ability (or her maid) could make herself plain, everyday clothes and caps. The amount of fabric needed for a dress decreased as the 1790s progressed. When the eponymous heroine of Fanny Burney's novel *Camilla* (1796) was shown some fine lawn, she declared that it was 'enough for three whole dresses; why, it's a whole piece; and I dare say I can get a handkerchief and an apron out of it into the bargain'.⁶²

A piece was thirty yards, so each dress would have taken just under ten yards; a few years later Jane Austen informs us that an average cotton gown would require only about seven yards. By that time, even in England, dresses were becoming more exiguous, with short sleeves and fabric clinging to the body. This trend was taken up by the caricaturists, and Rowlandson, for example (see pl. 108), satirises the young belle aping the extremes of French dress *à la grecque*.

As well as clothing made by the dressmaker, or made at home, there was an increased range of ready-to-wear garments available in London and the main provincial cities. Throughout the eighteenth century a considerable range of ready-made goods could be bought. These were mainly items for the less well-off – caps, cloaks, aprons, quilted skirts, jackets – made usually of the cheaper fabrics such as wool and linen mixtures and the humbler types of woollen cloth, but by the end of the century there were also such fashionable garments as women's greatcoats and Brunswick gowns (long-sleeved sack-backed walking costume). In addition, with the growing emphasis on cottons at this period, specialist linen shops appeared

118 (facing page left) N.W. von Heideloff, 'Afternoon Dress' *Gallery of Fashion*, 1796. Aquatint engraving. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT. Paul Mellon Collection.



and muslin 'warehouses' (the contemporary name for emporia where ready-made goods were stocked) which offered made-up muslin dresses and muslins to buy by the yard or piece.

As might be expected of the country that was the first to move towards industrialisation, England led Europe in terms of the amount and quality of retail establishments. By the end of the 1820s, although there were still some fashionable shops in the City of London, the Strand and Covent Garden (one of Jane Austen's favourite shops was in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden), the widest range of goods was to be seen in Regent Street and Oxford Street, the latter, according to an 1817 guide, possessing the greatest number of fashion shops in one street in the whole of Europe.⁶³ It can be argued that in England, 'the first of the world's consumer societies had unmistakably emerged by 1800'.⁶⁴

However, in terms of fashion, this society was still dependent on the prevailing French styles, even in times of war; the fashion impulse emanating from Paris could not be ignored, particularly once a reasonably firm government had been established and such publications as the *Journal des dames et des modes* began to appear. Furthermore, although England was in Napoleon's words, 'a nation of shopkeepers', it did not have any celebrated dress designers, as was the



case in France. A French title for an English fashion magazine was thought to give that publication extra cachet, so, for example, there were such journals as the *Miroir de la Mode*, *Le Beau Monde* and *La Belle Assemblée*, all of which described, in the words of another magazine, the 'Actually Prevailing Female Fashions of London and Paris'. What helped to make

119 (above) S. de Wilde, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1795. Pencil and watercolour. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT. Paul Mellon Collection.





French fashions irresistible – apart from the long-established conviction held by many Englishwomen that they were innately superior to the home product – was the strong sense of unity in design. By the end of the 1790s, the overwhelming classical influence was to be seen in art, in furnishing and in dress. John Carr, an English visitor to France during the Peace of Amiens, visited a restaurant in the Tuileries Gardens ‘admirably painted after the taste of Herculaneum’, where he saw ‘some beautiful women present, dressed after the antique, a fashion successfully introduced by David’; he noted how the classical statuary in the Louvre had inspired women ‘with new ideas of personal decoration’.⁶⁵

It would not have been altogether surprising if David had helped to create a type of fashionable dress for women; his knowledge of classical costume was great and his interest in contemporary dress was profound. Public viewing of his history paintings encouraged open debate on the clothing depicted therein, and when visitors looked at the dress worn by Hersilia, the central figure in *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799; Paris, Louvre), it was remarked how close it was to current fashion *à la grecque*. In the preparatory drawing for the figure of Hersilia, the costume was an open-sided Greek *peplos* with an over-fold, but in the final picture it became a sleeveless shift girdled under the bust and open down one side. A similar costume (although not, presumably,

open-sided) can be seen in David’s portrait of Henriette Delacroix, Madame de Verninac (1799; pl. 120), whose pose is clearly inspired by an engraving of a Roman matron in André Lens’s *Costume des peuples de l’Antiquité* (1776; pl. 121). Madame de Verninac, with her heavy archaic beauty must have been David’s ideal woman, so close was she to his classical ideal. How real is her dress? It certainly relates to the sleeveless tunics buttoned on the shoulder seen in David’s *Oath of the Horatii* and in his *Brutus* (Paris, Louvre), and one art historian has indicated his view that the artist renounced current fashions in favour of long white tunics which permitted him to concentrate ‘l’attention sur des éléments caractéristiques de la personne, le visage, et les mains. Il peut ainsi concilier son souci de l’individuel et son désir de style’.⁶⁶ Whatever the answer, David has certainly intended to make the portrait a contemporary image, linking the white cotton shift so much in tune with Directoire style, with a fashionable fringed shawl embroidered after an antique pattern in a lotus and palmette design.

David’s portrait of Madame de Verninac might depict an ideal dress or a real one, but in the latter case – in spite of the comments made by critics of women’s costume – it would have been worn with an under-bodice veiling the nipples and providing some support for the bust. Many portraits which show sitters in what appear to be garments of negligent simplicity, such as David’s *Madame Récamier* of 1800 (pl. 122), on closer observation represent dresses which have a firm bodice structure and well set-in sleeves. Juliette Récamier was famous for her beauty and the perfect taste of her salon; John Carr noted that she was ‘one of David’s most enthusiastic admirers, and has carried the rage for Grecian undress to an extremity’. Her bedroom, he continued, was one of the sights of Paris, the bed ‘upon which this charming statue reposes’ having ‘on each side . . . altars on which are placed Herculaneum vases of flowers, and a large antique lamp of gold’.⁶⁷

David poses his sitter on a replica of an antique *chaise-longue* which he had had made, together with other ‘antique’ furniture, for use in his studio;⁶⁸ perhaps Madame Récamier wished to look like a wall painting from Herculaneum, to match the decor of her bedroom. Whatever the genesis of the painting, she disliked the portrait, found it too frigid and did not like being portrayed with bare feet. It remained unfinished as David refused to alter it, a beautiful if slightly intimidating icon of Neoclassical art. Understandably, maybe, the sitter preferred Gérard’s later portrait of 1805 (pl. 125) where the costume and pose are infinitely more coquettish; for, in David’s portrait the costume is quite severe, with its reinforced bodice supporting the bust and cut modestly high in the front

121 Illustration of a Roman matron, from A. Lens, *Costume des Peuples de l’Antiquité*, 1776. Engraving. British Library, London.

120 J.-L. David, *Henriette Delacroix, Madame de Verninac*, 1799. Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris. (Photo: © Réunion des musées nationaux)



and at the back. As distinct from the original chemise with its simple T-shape, or the sleeveless cotton shift worn by Madame de Verminac, the dress worn by Madame Récamier is of quite a complex cut, with a separate bodice and skirt sewn together at the waist. Late eighteenth-century dressmakers usually left some surplus fabric at the top of the skirt at the back, hanging down inside after the skirt had been pleated on to the bodice; this allowed for later alterations, but also gave a fashionable fullness and slight bounce which can be seen in a number of portraits, including that of Juliette Récamier. The fullness of the pleated folds of muslin at the back of the dress is even more clearly emphasised in a portrait of Lady Pamela Fitzgerald and her daughter (pl. 123) attributed to an artist identified only as 'Mallary', about whom nothing is known. The sitter was the illegitimate daughter of Madame de Genlis and Philippe Egalité; she was the wife of the revolutionary Irish politician Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was killed in 1798. If the portrait is to be dated c.1800, it is curious that she does not wear mourning for her husband; however, she was known for the occasional eccentricity of her dress (sometimes affecting 'the dress of a Peasant'⁶⁹), which is not altogether surprising given her parentage. In this portrait the gathered white muslin dress is worn over an underbodice and there might be a small

pad of fabric at the back which helps to create the flowing lines of the rear drapery. The affection between mother and daughter is emphasised by the identical fabric of their dresses; both frocks appear to have a drawstring neckline, which was a simple but effective way of varying the pleats of the fine muslin.

By the end of the 1790s the waist was very high, sometimes right under the bust, as in Ingres's drawing of a woman, possibly Gerard's mistress Barbara Bansi (c.1800; pl. 124). Sitting on a parapet overlooking a southern landscape, she is dressed suitably *à l'antique* in a high-waisted round gown of cotton, with short sleeves of dimity (a cotton with a small raised pattern, often of spots). This kind of dress would have a drawstring neck so that the pleats could be arranged becomingly over the bosom, and a drawstring under the bust at the top of the skirt which would form a kind of bibbed front, separate from the bodice. The variety of dress fastenings at this period is immense, with drawstrings, tapes, buttons, and so on; they cannot be easily 'read' in portraits and require a knowledge of how the garments are made – luckily, a considerable number of these dresses survive.

Barbara Bansi's hair is bound round her head in Grecian style, with a plait acting as a bandeau, and the front and side locks carefully curled like *cedilla* ac-

cents; Madame Récamier's front hair in the David portrait is styled in a similar fashion. Both women look as though they have dressed their hair with the fashionable 'huile antique' which was popular in France. John Carr noted in 1802: 'The French ladies every morning anoint their heads with the antique oil; their sidelocks are formed with small circles . . . and the hair behind is rolled into a rose, by which they produce a perfect copy of the ancient bust'.⁷⁰ Antique statuary, both male and female, inspired women's hairstyles and the wigs which every *élégante* had on her dressing table. From 1798 some fashionable Frenchwomen began to wear their hair cropped à la Titus (in England this style appears slightly later, being mentioned for the first time in 1800 in Heidehoff's *Gallery of Fashion*). The *Journal de Paris* (1802) commented: 'plus de la moitié des femmes élégantes ont actuellement les cheveux ou une perruque à la Titus', and a few days later: 'Les coiffeurs ne peuvent assez promptement fournir toutes les perruques à la Titus qui leur sont demandées'.⁷¹ In his *Nouveau Paris* (1798) Mercier observed the rage for wigs among Parisian ladies, claiming that they metamorphosed women into a 'gallery of pictures'; his complaint was not against the style of such wigs, but the expense of time and money which women devoted to such frivolities.

Given the views of many artists on the superiority of classical over contemporary dress, it is not surprising to find that they tended to approve of hairstyles which looked more natural and revealed the shape of the head. Henry Angelo, in his *Reminiscences*, recalled with distaste women's hairdressing in the 1780s, 'the frizzed toupé and large drop sausage-curls on the neck, hiding that beauty which extends from the ear to the shoulder'. He continued: 'The portraits of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir William Beechy, and Shee, when speaking of the present coiffure, compared with those of Sir Joshua Reynolds &c must convince any one, though of little judgement, of the *vrai modèle* of beauty'.⁷²

The *vrai modèle*, according to Angelo was the 'Grecian style', which brings us back to Barbara Bansi sitting on the parapet with its antique relief. Not only would her dress have been thought to be Grecian in style, but her accessories also. On her feet she wears *cothurnes*, a kind of buskin worn by actors in the classical Greek theatre and described in the *Journal des dames et des modes* (1798) as 'des sandales attachées avec des rubans qui s'entrelacent autour de la jambe'. At about the same time the *Journal* carried articles on how to drape the fine shawls of wool or cashmere which were the indispensable complement to the classical white gowns. Such shawls were both warm (essential in a chilly northern European climate) and elegant; they could, in the words of *La Belle Assemblée*

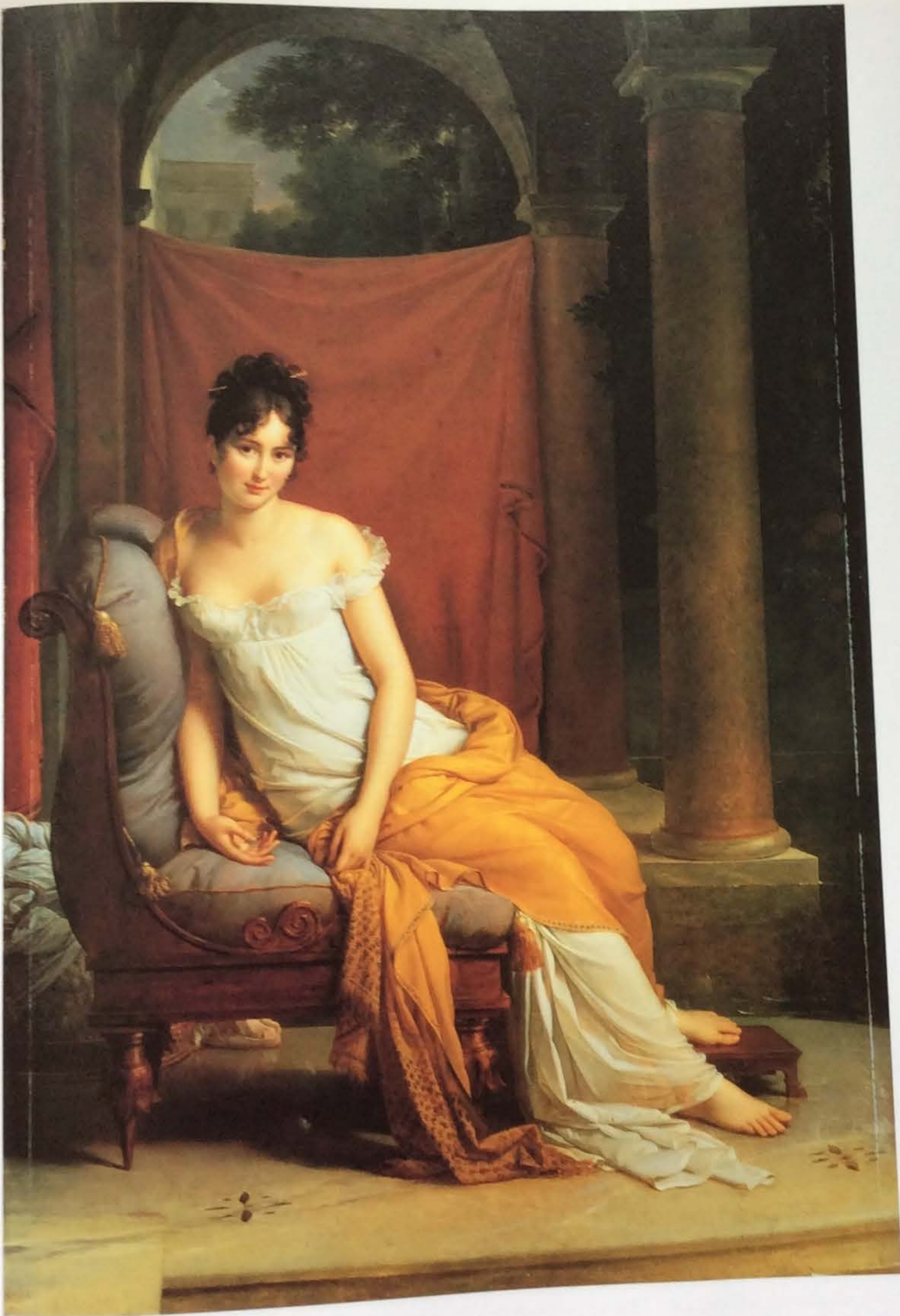


(1808), be arranged on the figure 'like the drapery of our Grecian statues'.

Fine woollen shawls had been brought back from India to England from the 1760s; originally a masculine garment in Indo-Persian societies, in Europe they were adopted by fashionable women as the perfect accessory for the simpler styles of dress of the late eighteenth century. The *Journal de la mode et du goût* for 5 June 1790, described (and illustrated) a cashmere shawl as a 'toilette à l'anglaise', part of the prevailing Anglomania, and it was rapidly adopted by Frenchwomen. The finest shawls of cashmere (the wool of the Kashmir goat) draped wonderfully well, as Barbara Bansi's indicates, and they had immense seductive appeal, which Gérard demonstrates in his portrait of Madame Récamier (pl. 125).

123 'Mallary', Lady Pamela Fitzgerald and her Daughter, c.1800. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.





124 (facing page) J.-A.-D. Ingres, *Barbara Bansi(?)*, c.1800. Pencil. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris. (Photo: © Réunion des musées nationaux)

125 (F.-P.-S Gérard, *Madame Récamier*, 1805. Oil on canvas. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

This portrait reveals more of the sitter's charms than in her earlier image by David. She is, in fact, painted in the flimsiest of muslin shifts (which deliberately gives the impression of underwear) but her bosom is supported either by an under-bodice, or by a lightweight 'divorce' corset which was designed to separate the breasts and push them forward. Madame Récamier was famous for her shawl dance which she performed at her soirées, and which showed off the splendours of her breast and naked arms. 'With a long scarf in her hand she went through all the poses, wherein the light tissue becomes in turn a girdle, a veil and a drapery. Nothing could be more graceful, more decorous, or more picturesque than this succession of harmonious attitudes, worthy to be perpetuated by the pencil of an artist.'⁷³

Madame Récamier's 'attitudes' were possibly inspired by those of Emma Hamilton, although they appear to have been less 'artistic' and more obviously sexual; this, at any rate, is the impression which Gérard conveys. However, the antique-inspired dress and shawl gave the performance a certain *ton*, and possibly inspired the appearance in *Corinne* (1807), a romantic novel by Madame de Staël, of the eponymous Greek lyrical poetess 'qui se montre sur un char antique, en costume de Sibylle, avec un châle de l'Inde roulé en turban autour de la tête'.⁷⁴ The author herself was painted by Vigée-Lebrun (c.1808; Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire) as Corinne, holding a lyre and dressed in a sleeveless shift embroidered round the neck, and with a similarly embroidered mantle wrapped around the lower half of her body. It is a somewhat unfortunate image, for the simpering expression and the classical tunic are better suited to a young girl than to a woman of her mature years.

The French Revolution, claimed Madame de Genlis, had removed many of the distinctions in dress between formal and informal, between old and young. In pursuit of the currently fashionable youthful image, older women had to be careful not to adopt styles which were more suited to the *jeune fille*, but to still appear *à la mode*. White was thought flattering to all ages, from maid to matron. *La Belle Assemblée* (1808) admired 'the chaste, neat and simple elegance of the white robe', and in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814) we are told, 'a woman can never be too fine when she is all in white'. It was advisable, however, for the older woman to wear fuller gowns with sleeves, and to cover the décolletage with a fichu or *chemisette*. The popular round robe could be covered with a tunic top, or an over-gown, often of transparent material. Girodet's *Angélique-Adélaïde de Meliand, Marquise de la Grange* (1809; pl. 126) shows the sitter in a white dress, and an over-gown of muslin caught under the bust with a cord of plaited yellow silk. This over-gown has a

flattering, softly ruffled collar which helps to frame her face, as does the fashionable hat of yellow felt trimmed with ribbon and ostrich plumes; the only jewellery is a fine bracelet of gold chain with a small diamond. Altogether it is a costume both fashionable and unostentatious, suitable to the gravity of the occasion – the marquise holds a letter referring to the battle of Wagram (a French victory over the Austrians) in which one of her sons was wounded.

Wearing one gown over another, of similar or contrasting colours and fabrics, varied the wardrobe and provided scope for personal taste. The *Empress Josephine* was painted by Gros in 1809 (pl. 127), in a dress of cream-coloured cashmere, with a deep woven border based on a design of stylized flowers and palmettes, which she wears over a short sleeved dress of muslin or silk gauze. Over her shoulder and round her waist is draped a long red cashmere shawl with a black border print, and over her head a transparent 'Roman' veil of gauze edged with gold, held in place with a long antique pin similar to that which Madame Récamier wears in her hair in Gérard's portrait.

Josephine was particularly fond of shawls; Madame de Rémusat said that she had so many of these that 'she sometimes had them made into gowns, or bed-quilts, or cushions for her dog'.⁷⁵ In a list of her clothes made in 1809, there are so many shawls that they are listed by colour – red, amarante (a purplish colour), yellow and white are the most popular – and then mixed colours (woven or embroidered designs, and 'schals rayés de plusieurs couleurs').⁷⁶ An inventory of effects made after her death in 1814 includes a large number of shawls and 'sept robes de cachemire de différentes couleurs et qualités...'.⁷⁷ Many of these shawls were supplied to her by the couturier Louis-Hyppolite Leroy who was as assiduous in his self-promotion and flair for design as Rose Bertin under Marie-Antoinette. First heard of as an employee of a *magasin de nouveautés* (the new name for mercers), and then of a well-known *couturière* Madame Raimbault, he seems to have been introduced to the future Empress Josephine towards the end of the Directory. By the time of the coronation, in December 1804, he was well enough established in high society to provide the costumes for Emperor, Empress and the new court. His skill was not in the art of design, but in interpreting designs from an impressive stable of artists, including Philibert-Louis Debucourt, Jean-Baptiste Isabey and a theatre designer called Auguste Garnerey who was particularly fond of costume and accessories *à la style troubadour*.

Leroy's registers in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris list orders from the Empress, such as gowns of cashmere, muslin and Chambéry gauze (Canterbury muslin). In the *Compte general des dépenses faites pour les atours de Sa Majesté... pendant l'année 1809*, there are

de Roussy
son, Angélique-
Meliand, marquise
1809. Oil on
niesen, London.



Leroy robes of crepe and tulle (net), various *robes de bal* and court dresses. These last-named are referred to, in the old style, as *grands habits*, so, for example, we find 'un grand habit velours bleu impérial et la robe en tulle brodé or et pierres', and again, 'un grand habit complet tout brodé en plain dessin plumes de paon . . .', the design embroidered in gold, silver and rubies.⁷⁸ It was not surprising that although Josephine had 600,000 francs per annum for clothes and personal expenses, she usually spent far more; the 1809 inventory, for example, shows that she spent 920,816 francs in that year.

By far the most popular fabric in this 1809 inventory is cotton, some two hundred gowns in various styles but mainly round gowns, or tunics of embroidered muslin to be worn over satin dresses. Josephine's daughter Hortense recalled how the First Consul hated the ladies of his court wearing English muslin, and when he questioned his wife or step-daughter they would reply that their dresses were made of Saint-Quentin linen; however, their smiles would give them away, resulting in gowns torn by an enraged Napoleon – 'Ce désastre des toilettes se répéta plusieurs fois, et il fallut en venir au satin et au velours'.⁷⁹ The establishment of an imperial court provided further encouragement towards the wearing of such luxury fabrics as satin, velvet and lace.

The Leroy registers give some idea of how sumptuous dress could be at the court. The two clients with the largest number of orders during the last years of the Empire, were Caroline Murat, Queen of Naples, and Catherine of Württemberg, Queen of Westphalia. Caroline Murat had a particular love of luxury fabrics, ordering, for example, in 1812 a white cashmere hunting costume embroidered in silver and a *grand habit* of rose-coloured tulle lined with rose satin. In the same year Queen Catherine ordered, among other items, two court dresses, one of blonde (silk lace) lined with satin and the other of lilac tulle lined with satin; robes of embroidered tulle; robes 'Bingalines' (Bengal muslin) and redingotes of cashmere.⁸⁰

Like any famous couturier, Leroy was able to come to terms with the shifting political fortunes of the times. In 1810 he provided the trousseau⁸¹ for the new French empress, Marie-Louise, whose 'marked absence of elegance' (in the words of the duchesse d'Abrantès) ensured that even his stylish toilettes did not have the same impact as they had had on Josephine. Napoleon's valet Constant stated that Marie-Louise had little idea how to dress and underspent her annual allowance of 500,000 francs. It was unfortunate that she was so tall (she loomed over Napoleon) for the high-waisted style of dress made her look even taller, particularly when worn with the long court train. However, even after the downfall of

Napoleon, Marie-Louise (now Archduchess of Parma) continued to order clothes from Leroy, as did many of the Bonaparte ladies. The couturier was also quite happy to provide outfits for the ladies of the Allied generals and politicians, such as the Duchess of Wellington, who in 1814 ordered a court dress of silver-spangled tulle and a number of hats.⁸²

Leroy was able to provide every kind of dress and accessory that could be required. When Napoleon decided – in imitation of the *ancien-régime* custom for hunting liveries – that each member of his family should have an *habit de chasse* for their individual courts, Leroy supplied them. Madame de Rémusat remembered:

The costume of the Empress was amaranth velvet, embroidered with gold, with a toque also embroidered in gold, and a plume of white feathers. All the Ladies-in-Waiting wore amaranth. Queen Hortense chose blue and silver; Madame Murat, pink and silver; Princess Borghese, lilac and silver. The dress was a sort of tunic, a short redingote in velvet, worn over a gown of embroidered white satin; velvet boots to match the dress, and a toque with a white plume.⁸³

Like the great Charles Frederick Worth, couturier to the court of the Second Empire, Leroy's skills extended to the execution of fancy dress, both for the carnival (which had been restored by Napoleon in 1801), and for the elaborate *bals masqués* which celebrated great occasions of state, such as the birth of the heir, the King of Rome, in 1811.

In his pre-eminent status and the diversity of his talents, it has aptly been said that Leroy was to fashion what David was to art. It was Leroy who supplied the coronation and court costumes that David depicted in the *Coronation of Napoleon* (1807–5; pl. 162). It is Leroy's celebrated outfits that are worn in the official portraits of the royal Bonaparte ladies wearing the *robes de cour* based on the costume worn by the Empress Josephine at the coronation (discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

One example of this court dress must suffice: in Gérard's *Marie-Julie Bonaparte, Queen of Spain, with her Daughters Zenaïde and Charlotte* (1808–9; pl. 128), Marie-Julie wears a dress of white satin embroidered in gold, with long (detachable) sleeves; her court train fastened under the bust is of red velvet embroidered in gold. It is a costume that is both regal and in the spirit of contemporary dress, with its high waist and delicate embroidery. Aided by Talleyrand, Josephine was determined to introduce a stylish court, the model for others to follow. Some aspects of *ancien-régime* etiquette were re-introduced, such as formal presentations, the royal arm-chairs (only the imperial couple were allowed these chairs) and the old court



127 A.-J. Gros. *Empress Josephine*, 1809. Oil on canvas. Musée Masséna, Nice.



128 F.-P.-S. Gérard, *Marie-Julie Bonaparte, Queen of Spain, with her Daughters Zenaïde and Charlotte*, 1808-9. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

ritual of ceremonial dressing for the day was revived for the Empress. Emigrés were encouraged to return and were asked to recall details of court life under Louis XVI, as was Madame Campan, who had been First Woman of the Bedchamber to Marie-Antoinette and who now kept a school for young girls.

There was considerable debate as to the form which court dress was to take, some women worrying that hoops and powder might be revived. 'Elles voyaient juste', said one contemporary, 'car de vieilles matrones de la cour de Louis XV soutenaient que l'on n'avait point bon air avec les modes grecques et romaines, et que la corruption des mœurs datait des

cheveux à la Titus, et des robes dessinant les formes'.⁸⁴ However, there was no real likelihood of court fashions reverting to Bourbon styles, as Napoleon wished for his own distinctive imprint on a new kind of court. As he admired the high-waisted, short-sleeved dresses which Josephine wore with such grace, he was keen that court dress should relate to contemporary styles, but be made of luxurious French fabrics. The resulting costume consisted of a white dress, embroidered, with short sleeves (to which long sleeves could be added for very formal occasions) and a court train of coloured silk, usually velvet, also embroidered.

Embroidery played a key role in formal dress during the Empire; it replaced the ribbons, frills and furbelows which had characterised court dress during Bourbon rule. Costume now provided flat painterly surfaces on which the embroiderer could display his or her skills in design, incorporating not just the Napoleonic bee, but a range of classical and exotic motifs, as well the ever-popular flowers. For court-wear dresses and trains could be embroidered in real gold and precious stones; less expensive embroidery might include spangles, coloured silks and foil, and bugle (glass) beads.

The Napoleonic court (and the satellite courts linked to it) had come into being through military conquest; at its heart it was a military and administrative machine, a court for men rather than for women. Apart from the royal princesses, the wives of courtiers and the ladies in attendance on the Empress, there were not that many women at court. Full court dress with a train was only worn on such occasions as presentation to the Emperor and Empress, New Year's Day, formal court balls and functions held in the *grands appartements* at the Tuileries; it appeared alongside men's court uniform and the *habit habillé*. But, whereas the men could find hardly any other occasion to wear the *habit à la française*, the women, discarding their trains, could wear the elegant high-waisted dress as formal fashion.

At the Restoration the *robe de cour* was retained in its Empire style, but with the addition of lace lappets (streamers) in the hair; the delicate spiky lace collar called a *chénusque* (which can be seen in plates 128 and 141) was abandoned in favour of a broad, heavy lace collar. Some women, like the comtesse de Boigne disapproved of these additions which were felt to be too fussy for the graceful Neoclassical lines of Empire court dress:

'To the imperial costume all the paraphernalia of the former style of dress was added, and this was singularly incongruous. To our Grecian style of hairdressing, for instance, these ridiculous lappets were added, and the elegant *chénusque*, which

completed a garb copied from Van Dyck, was replaced by a heavy mantilla, and a kind of pleated plastron . . .⁸⁵

In fact, according to the comtesse, the new First Lady (Madame) at the French court, Louis XVIII's niece, the duchesse d'Angoulême, had wanted to restore hoops in court dress, in the style of the *ancien régime*, but this was overruled as being, in the words of the duchesse d'Abrantès, akin to 'the barbarism of the middle ages'. One can sympathise with this comment, if we compare the stylish court costume of the First Empire, with the overblown dress worn at the English court, as in plate 129, *Court Dress*, 1807, from *Le Beau Monde*. Here, the woman's dress has the three-dimensional trimmings and large hoop of the eighteenth century, which looks absurd with the high waist of contemporary fashion. In 1810 Louis Simond watched Englishwomen attending the King's Birthday: 'The ladies who go to court on the birth-day are dressed in the fashion of fifty years ago, as more suitable, I suppose, to the age of their majesties'. When these ladies sat in their sedan chairs, he continued, 'their immense hoops are folded like wings, pointed forward on each side'. He concluded that their appearance 'does not ill resemble a foetus of a hippopotamus in its brandy bottle'.⁸⁶ To a Persian observer at about the same time, English ladies in court dress 'seemed to be standing in full-blown tents . . . [with] Phoenix-like feathers in their hair'.⁸⁷ In the light of such comments (and because Englishwomen themselves on the whole found this dress archaically cumbersome) it is hardly surprising that there are no portraits depicting female court dress in England in this period.

Towards the middle of the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, a gradual trend in the direction of fuller, more decorated costume can be seen, even in France. The Neoclassical look of extreme simplicity began to disappear; dress no longer clung to the figure as it had at the turn of the century. On the eve of the coronation, late in 1804, the *Journal de Paris* regretted the decline in women's dress which had been inspired by 'la pureté des dessins de David . . . l'élégance des formes antiques'; fashionable women, it was claimed, no longer wore just a simple robe, but a *collerette*, a redingote and sometimes a cashmere shawl as well.⁸⁸

The *collerette*, a ruff of lace or cotton, was a popular historical revival, one of the first intimations of the romantic *style troubadour* which affected dress in France, particularly from the second decade of the nineteenth century. The *Journal de Paris* throughout 1804 noted the popularity of these ruffs which looked pretty, but which made it as difficult for a fashionable woman to move her head, as it was for a man to



move his wearing a stiffened cravat. These *collerettes* were called *à la reine Mathilde*, after the wife of William the Conqueror, in imitation of the ruff worn by a popular actress in a current theatrical production; there was a further allusion to Queen Matilda with the display of the Bayeux Tapestry (which she was, erroneously, supposed to have worked with her ladies) in Paris from October 1803 to January 1804, while Napoleon prepared for an invasion of England. These *collerettes* continued to be widely worn until the

129 Anon., 'Court Dress', from *Le Beau Monde*, 1807. Coloured engraving. Private Collection.



end of the period; they looked as attractive with dresses of white cotton (see pl. 130) as with the gowns of satin and velvet that returned to favour in the decade 1810–20. Vernet's *Merveilleuse* of c.1812 wears a *collerette* of starched muslin with her dress of white cotton which is trimmed with *broderie anglaise* at hem and cuffs. The dress, although white, is no longer imitative of classical styles; the bodice, now back-fastening, is pleated on to a skirt which is increasingly wider at the hem. This new emphasis on the fullness of the skirt (aided by the introduction of gores, wedge-shaped inserts which added width) was further stressed by decoration at the hem such as multiple flounces and pleating (see pl. 138), lace, embroidery and padded trimmings such as *rouleaux*. Sleeves became more complex and while the short puffed sleeve was often retained, the arm was sometimes covered in a transparent over-sleeve of silk gauze, called an *aerophane*, quite modest in style as worn in the Vernet fashion drawing, but much larger and more prominent towards 1820, as can be seen in Constable's *Mrs James Andrew* (pl. 133).

In France the establishment of an imperial court helped to revive the silk industry which had suffered badly during the Revolution and the succeeding years of political instability. Even under the Consulate, when fine muslins had been all the rage, but when the wearing of silk was gradually being made a political priority by Napoleon, women of fashion adopted

compromise costumes of transparent cottons, gauzes and nets over silk under-dresses. Gauzy, floating fabrics softened the silhouette and added subtleties of colour; Zenaïde and Charlotte Bonaparte, for example (pl. 128) wear frocks of pink silk under gossamer dresses of white muslin.

Satin was particularly popular as winter formal wear during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Sometimes it could be mixed with muslin, as in David's *Comtesse Daru* (1810; New York, Frick Collection) where the white satin dress has short puffed sleeves slashed to reveal a white muslin under-sleeve. Her rosy, homely face with its unflattering bathing-cap-like headdress of white flowers, is painted with the same dispassionate quality that David brings to all his portraits, including those of his wife and daughters. The artist's portrait of his wife, *Marguerite-Charlotte David* (1813; pl. 131), is the reverse of the obsequious image which a society painter might depict. Is it possible to sense something of their troubled early marriage in her wary expression and his calculated portrayal of her plain features made even more so by the corkscrew curls of her hairstyle and the over-elaborate *toque* with its ostrich plumes? There is a slightly odd conjunction of the middle-aged head with the girlish body which is emphasised by the simple satin dress with its short puffed sleeves. Madame David's beautiful arms however, draw our attention by the way the artist paints the supple cashmere shawl, an area of vibrant colour as a contrast to the pallor of the dress and headwear.



The plain shawls (*schals unis*) of the late eighteenth-century, with their simple border designs, had by the establishment of the Empire, given way to larger, wider rectangular styles with elaborate oriental motifs, such as the popular pine-cone and the 'Paisley' pattern still familiar today; a good example is the shawl seen in Girodet's *Marquise de la Grange* (pl. 126). By the early nineteenth century imitation cashmere shawls were being produced in Norwich, Paisley and Edinburgh, either of cotton or silk mixed with wool, or very fine wool. In France the couturier Leroy commissioned designs from Isabey and Vernet for home-woven shawls with European designs of bouquets and garlands; some of these shawls, produced by the textile firm of Ternaux in 1811–12, were presented to the Empress Marie-Louise. Nothing, however, could match the real cashmere shawls for lightness and warmth and this preference is clearly marked in contemporary portraiture, particularly in France where an element of conspicuous expenditure played an important part in Empire society.



There were, however, other fashionable alternatives to the large wide woollen or cashmere shawls. These included narrow stoles of lace, net or gauze; of fur or swansdown lined with satin; of striped silk, known as Circassian scarves (see pl. 137); and of plaid – part of the French fascination with things Scottish – an example of which can be seen as worn by Vernet's *Merveilleuse*. Cashmere shawls, however, provided the best possibilities for graceful drapery and were widely worn even on formal occasions. In 1814, after the first defeat of Napoleon, one English visitor to the Opéra in Paris found the French ladies too 'undressed' in their 'high flower-pot bonnets and shawls'; in the following year, at the same venue, another Briton noted the Parisiennes in 'high-crowned plume-covered bonnets and shawls; the latter a most favourite article of their dress, and the most acceptable present from their admirers'.⁸⁹

Elegantly arranged though these shawls appear in portraits, to a British eye they created in reality a muffled look, which reminded one observer of 'matrons taking care of a cold and sore throat'.⁹⁰ The English fashion magazine, *La Belle Assemblée* (1806) thought that shawls were more likely 'to conceal and vulgarize, than to display the contours of an elegant form';⁹¹ it may be for this reason that they are less likely to appear in British portraiture. Also, it has to be said that the loose draperies which a shawl created were more in tune with the more classically harmonious and unified styles of French dress than with the exaggerated quasi-historical costume which the English had evolved. When, in 1814 and in 1815, English and Frenchwomen met for the first time after many years of warfare, they surveyed each other's costume with surprise and not a little hostility. The English visitors were amazed at the towering feathered hats and the high-waisted dresses of the Parisian *élégantes* who took 'little mincing Chinese steps' beneath their wide flounced skirts.⁹² In return, the French deplored the dress of Englishwomen with their tight-waisted bodices, fierce corsetry and small, poky headwear. The French view of English dress is seen in Vernet's caricature 'Costumes anglais', from the journal *Le Bon Genre* (1814; pl. 132); the artist has drawn attention to the rigidly boned stays which emphasise the bust and waist, the fussy details of the bodice and sleeves and the unbecoming head-dresses. James Simpson, in his *Paris after Waterloo*, recalled meeting a Frenchwoman in the Tivoli Gardens who 'screamed with mirth when she described the English long waist and little shell of a bonnet'.⁹³ The return to the natural waistline in English dress (though vastly exaggerated by critics and caricaturists) encouraged a revival of tightly laced and more heavily boned stays, 'deformity once more drawing the steeled bodice upon the bruised ribs', in the words of the *Mirror of the Graces*, 1811. The editor of this fashion and etiquette compendium regretted the abandonment of 'the easy shape and flowing drapery' in dress, in favour of tight-fitting costume supported by corsets that pushed up the bosom, to make 'a sort of fleshy shelf, disgusting to the beholders, and certainly incommodious to the bearer'.⁹⁴ This is one of the aspects of English dress which Vernet has emphasised, even in the dress of the most fashionable woman in his satire, leaning on the arm of her beau dressed in his frogged pelisse coat. This woman's rigid bodice further emphasises the breasts by its decorative trimming, but

132 H. Vernet, 'Costumes anglais', from *Le Bon Genre*, 1814. Engraving. Private Collection.



133 J. Constable, *Mrs James Andrew*, 1818. Oil on canvas. Tate Gallery, London.

along with the English waist, she has included such elements of French dress as the ribboned hem and sleeves *à la mameluke* (that is arranged in puffs of material), a style named after the Battle of the Nile in 1798.

Although the fashion magazines, both French and English, describe a bewildering variety of headwear – turbans, caps, bonnets and hats – the French preference seems to have been for straw hats (as in the illustration of Vernet's *Merveilleuse*) or for *toques* of varying fabrics (see Girodet's *Marquise de la Grange* and David's portrait of his wife), all decorated with soft and becoming ostrich plumes. By comparison, Englishwomen had no sense of loyalty to a particular style, embracing a vast array of headwear, including the unappealing (at least to French eyes) poke bonnet; this originated in the late 1790s, and has been chosen

as a typically English style by Vernet for his 'Costumes anglais' – it is second from the left in plate 132. Just looking at one year of an English fashion magazine gives some indication of the jostling and varied fashion influences at work within the realm of headwear. *La Belle Assemblée* for 1808, for example, offers in February, pearl-trimmed Mary Queen of Scots coifs, fringed gold or silver Chinese turbans and muslin (Chambéry) turbans; in March the editors suggested an 'Anne Boleyn cap of black lace, tamboured in shaded green silk or chenille'; in April there were Minerva bonnets and Grecian 'mobs' (caps), followed by a number of other 'antique' styles over the next few months, such as bandeaux, diadems and coronets; and, finally, in December we read about Spanish hats of 'satin, frosted velvet, and gold or silver tissue', which, doubtless could be worn with the costume recommended for September, 'a plain Spanish robe of white or pea-green sarsnet, with . . . [a] hinged ruff *à-la-Cléopâtre*'.

The next two portraits of English sitters, painted towards the end of the period, show two of the styles mentioned by *La Belle Assemblée*, the mob cap, as worn by Constable's *Mrs James Andrew* (1818; pl. 133), and the turban, as seen in Beechey's *Lady Catherine Manners* (pl. 134), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820. Mrs Andrew wears a dress of white silk gauze over greeny-white satin, the bodice trimmed with horizontal bands of piping and a large satin bow at the high waist; *aerophanes* of silk gauze cover the arms and make the skin beneath appear whiter, the shimmering movement of the fabric reflected in the loose handling of the paint. There is no idealisation in the way the artist paints the strong, plain face, which (like that of Madame David) seems slightly at war with the artificial curls of the hair and the elaborate head-dress; Mrs Andrew's cap is of muslin, trimmed with net and tying with long silk tassels at the side. The dress, with its layered horizontal look created by the frilled net collar of the *chemisette* and the piped satin bodice decoration, is a style more suited to the slimmer figure which the fashion magazines assiduously promoted, claiming that 'excessive repletion' not only led to unattractive weight gain, but to 'disorders of the complexion'. Furthermore, said the *Mirror of the Graces* (1811) there was an increased movement towards greater demarcation in dress among women of different ages; young women looked best in pastel colours, whereas the 'lady of majestic deportment' was better advised to choose 'the fuller shades of yellow, purple, crimson, scarlet, black and grey'. Old, neglected notions of the suitability of dress for different ages, classes and occasions, were on the verge of being revived and were to turn into the full-blown panoply of Victorian sartorial etiquette.



134 W. Beechey, *Lady Catherine Manners*, 1820. Oil on canvas. Private Collection. (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

As we approach 1820, it once again becomes easier to distinguish types of dress, from the formal to the informal. The hierarchy is not as complicated as it had been in the eighteenth century and was to become by the middle of the nineteenth century, but clearer than it had been during the Revolutionary and immediately post-Revolutionary period, which affected dress all over Europe. It is clear, for example, that while Mrs Andrews is wearing day dress, Lady Catherine is in evening costume, a high-waisted satin dress with a wide, low neckline edged with lace; the short, puffed sleeves are looped up with braid in imitation of Renaissance slashed sleeves and the mixture of the historical with the exotic (in the form of the jewelled and plumed turban) is particularly English. Alongside, and gradually replacing the muslin dresses and *demi-robés*, were tunics, scarves, veils and mantles of lace, tulle, blonde and net. Lace had been revived for court dress in France, and although it was never to regain the importance it had during the eighteenth-century, it had remained in favour for wedding dresses and trousseaux, accessories and layettes. The inventory of the Empress Josephine's effects in 1814 included dresses and redingotes of lace as well as fichus, *mantelets*, *chemisettes*, ruffs, jabots, veils and aprons of

lace both French and English.⁹⁵ The catalogue of the clothes of Queen Caroline of Brunswick, who died a few weeks after the coronation of George IV in the summer of 1821, contains dress accessories, spencers (short jackets) and dress trimmings of various kinds of lace. The royal wardrobe (which was sold at auction in February 1822, fetching £972 17s 3d) included dresses of net and gauze trimmed with lace, in the dramatic colours which she favoured, so alien to English notions of restraint and quiet luxury.⁹⁶

It was Beau Brummell's theory, perhaps developed during his exile in France, that in women's costume, there should be 'one predominating colour to which the dress should be subordinate'; to clothe the top half of the body in one colour and the bottom half in another, he declared, was far too theatrical and inharmonious.⁹⁷ This was a reference to the various forms of short jackets, some sleeved, some sleeveless, which had been in fashion from the 1790s; these included the spencer, which derived from the *pierrat* (see pl. 88), and the *canezou*. Both spencer and *canezou* (differences in style are slight) could be made of a wide range of fabrics and trimmed according to the prevailing taste; by the second decade of the nineteenth century they were usually coloured, in contrast to the white of the dress. As these jackets were tight to the body, they appeared as a kind of bodice to the skirt of the dress beneath; this ensemble, then, forms a bridge between the gown made in one piece and the totally separate bodice and skirt style which came into being by the end of the period.

It is rare to find these short jackets making an appearance in portraiture; perhaps because they were too informal, but also because they broke up the line of the dress with its flowing drapery. Artists encouraged their sitters to drape scarves around themselves instead, or to wear long-sleeved garments like the *douillette*, a kind of indoors redingote. The distinction between these two garments is not very clear. The *Journal de Paris* (1804) states firmly: 'une douillette sert dans l'appartement, et on sort avec une redingote',⁹⁸ but the fashion magazines list both types of coat as being made of a wide range of fabrics from wool and velvet to cotton. The Empress Josephine's redingotes, as listed in the 1809 and 1814 inventories, are made of fabrics as diverse as casimir (fine woollen cloth), satin, vicuna, knitted silk and muslin; some are lined with fur for outdoors and others, like the *redingotes Lévantines*, may be indoor wrapping gowns. Such indoor gowns were a stylish and more practical alternative to the shawl, particularly for older women, as Marie-Laetitia Bonaparte, 'Madame Mère' in Gérard's portrait of 1803, (pl. 135). Napoleon's mother, by then in her fifties sits close to a sculpted bust of her son, with a view of the Tuileries, where he resided as First Consul, in the background. The image of this



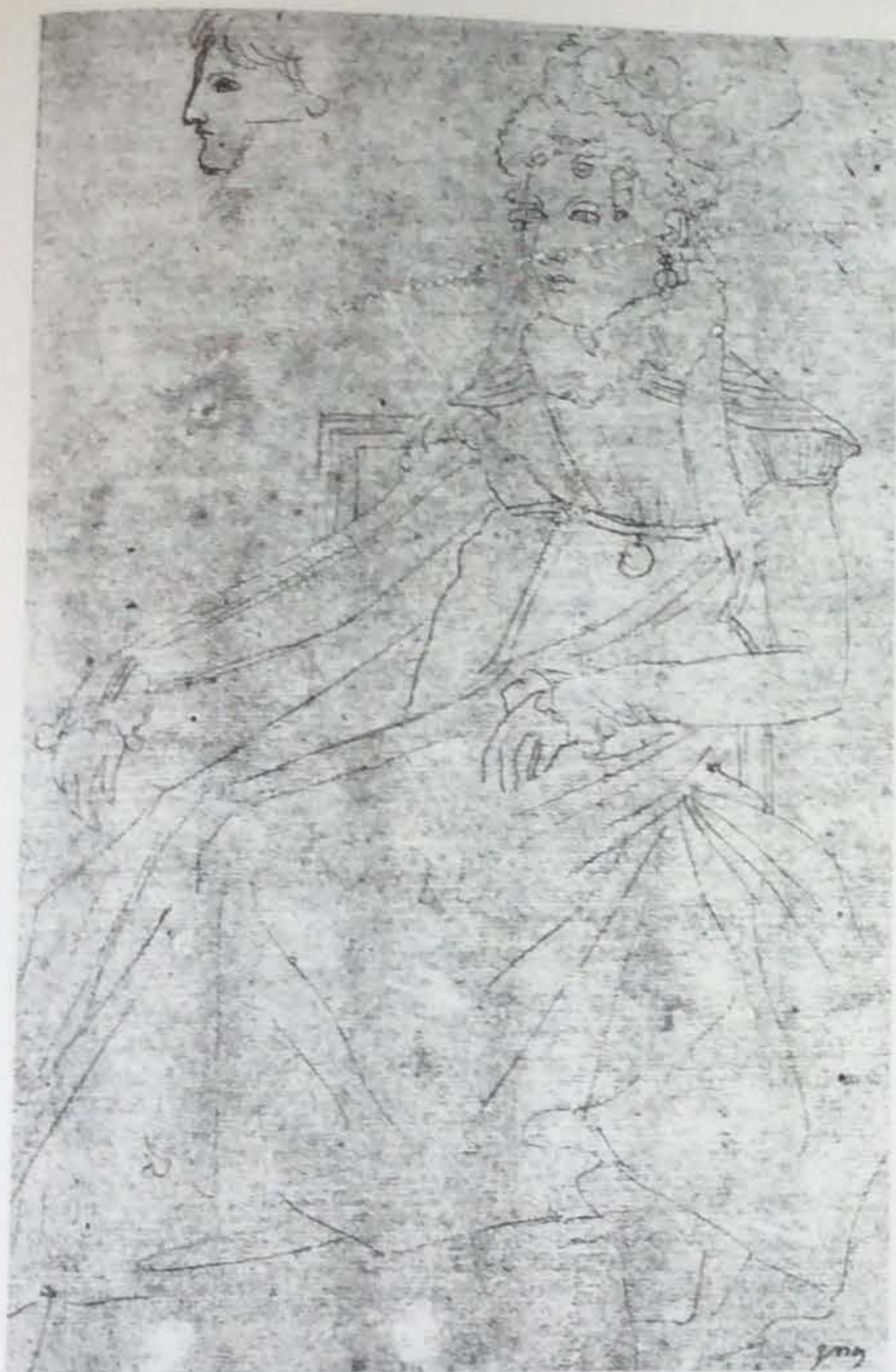
135 F.-P.-S. Gérard, *Marie-Laetitia Bonaparte, Madame Mère*, 1803. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

mother to a dynasty is one of dignified splendour, her head dressed in the curls, diadem (of gold, pearls and a cameo) and veil of a noble Roman matron. Her dress is of white silk embroidered in gold, over which is worn a green velvet over-gown, probably a *douillette*; a red cashmere shawl is draped over the arm of her chair.

Another coat-like garment which may relate to the redingote is the pelisse. Originally, in the eighteenth century this was a fur-lined cloak with slits for the arm; Mrs Siddons, in Gainsborough's portrait (pl. 78) wears such a garment, edged with fox fur. By the early nineteenth century the pelisse had become a fairly close-fitting sleeved coat, sometimes lined with fur; in Leroy's registers, for example, Queen Caroline of Naples is listed as ordering a blue velvet pelisse lined with grey fox in 1814.⁹⁹ How far this type of pelisse is similar to the *witzchoura*, a fur-lined coat of Polish origin, which is mentioned from about 1808, is not clear; possibly the *witzchoura* was less fitted and sometimes appears with a hood. It was a popular garment with Josephine, and her 1814 inventory lists 'videchouras' of white satin lined with sable, poppy velvet lined with chinchilla and *nacarat* (orange-red) velvet lined with golden fox.¹⁰⁰

By this time, the pelisse had also become a kind of indoor dress, the *pelisse-robe*, front-fastening all the way from neck to hem and made of a variety of fabrics, including wool, silk and cotton. The duchesse d'Abrantès remembered one of the outfits worn by the ever-stylish former Empress after her divorce, during her last years: 'a robe of fine soft India muslin, delicately wrought with small stars... made in the form of a pelisse', worn over a turquoise silk slip and fastened with turquoise silk bows all the way down the front.¹⁰¹ Queen Caroline of Brunswick, at her death, had a number of pelisses, for both outdoor and indoor wear; these included, for example, a pelisse of white velvet lined with fur and 'superbly embroidered in gold, with bullion tassels', and an 'elegant purple lutestring Pelisse, lined white silk, and beautiful Vandyke trimming'.¹⁰²

The graceful lines of the pelisse with its high waist, cross-over bodice and long tight sleeves extending well over the wrist, can be seen in Ingres's drawing of Caroline Murat (c.1814; pl. 136). This study probably relates to a recently discovered full-length portrait of the Queen of Naples¹⁰³ wearing a totally black ensemble – velvet dress, lace ruff and mantle, and hat trimmed with ostrich feathers; the costume would appear to be mourning for the Empress Josephine and was completed after Ingres returned to Rome from Naples. Queen Caroline was noted for her stylish toilettes, Queen Hortense recalling: 'nulle autre ne posséda comme elle l'art d'attirer et de charmer par une grâce qui avait quelque chose de la noblesse asiatique et séduisante des odalisques'.¹⁰⁴ This trait would undoubtedly appeal to Ingres, who in the drawing illustrated here, has given the Queen a kind of stylized oriental immobility of pose and features, emphasising the tall, plumed *toque*, from under which a few curls of hair escape, and the pendant three-drop (*girandole*) earring.¹⁰⁵



The pelisse is *the* fashionable day dress of the 1820s, and has begun to appear in portraits by that time. Painted in 1820 (dated the following year), David's portrait of the Bonaparte sisters (pl. 137) shows Charlotte on the left in a blue silk pelisse trimmed with satin ribbon; the frilled silk ruff and the ruched upper sleeve are 'Renaissance' features influenced by *le style troubadour* (see Chapter 3). Zenaïde wears a more formal costume of black velvet, trimmed with embroidered net; her sleeves, with their puffed satin inserts, also reflect the historical theme. The two daughters of Joseph Bonaparte (seen as young girls with their mother, the Queen of Spain, in pl. 128) retain elements of their former grandeur in the heavy Empire sofa of red velvet embroidered with golden bees and in their jewelled fillets – Charlotte's of pink topazes and tiny pearls set in gold and Zenaïde's of coral cameos in gold.

In a sense, this dress with its opulence and luxury fabrics, looks forward to the bourgeois society of the

1820s and 1830s so vividly illuminated by Stendhal and Balzac. More characteristic of the period are two final images which summarise the grace and elegance of costume in France and England towards 1820. Plate 138 is Géricault's portrait of Laure Bro (c.1818), his landlady and the wife of a noted Bonapartist who had taken part in many military campaigns. Géricault painted relatively few portraits, mainly those of his friends, and this image of Laure Bro is a labour of love in every sense of the word, a sympathetic yet honest depiction of character, with a painter's eye for textures, contrasts and place. Seated in an almost bare room, Laure Bro wears a dress of white muslin, bound under the bust with a blue silk girdle, the colour echoed in her satin shoes with their ribbon lacing. This is not a portrait of an *élégante*, although the dress derives from the kind of fashionable styles illustrated in Vernet's *Merveilleuses*, such as plate 130 (incidentally, Géricault was a friend of Vernet whose studio, close by, was a meeting place for artists,

136 (above left) J.-A.-D. Ingres, Study for *Caroline Murat*, c.1814. Pencil. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

137 J.-L. David, *Charlotte and Zenaïde Bonaparte*, 1820–1. Oil on canvas. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.



138 J.-L.-A.-T. Géricault, *Laure Bro*, c.1818. Oil on canvas. Sale, Sotheby's Monaco, 3 December 1989, lot 510.

138a Géricault, *Laure Bro* (detail of pl. 138).

writers and liberal politicians). Madame Bro's costume is simple and unadorned, the bare neckline emphasising the beauty of her shoulders and her long neck, in the same way that the severity of the hairstyle stresses the bone structure of the face. The artist has used the classic gesture of crossing the arms over the belly, reinforcing the elegant display of the arms and hands by painting one white silk glove on (pl. 138a); these gloves are as beautifully painted, and as moving, as those curiously over-large kid mittens lined with white satin that are worn in Ingres's *Mademoiselle Rivière* (Louvre). The *tour de force* of Géricault's portrait, however, must be the painting of the Italian straw bonnet, with its gauzy muslin veil draped over it. We are to assume that the sitter has just come in,

taken off her hat and draped her shawl over her chair; slightly warily, she waits for the artist to begin his work. Some art historians have seen this portrait as dating from after Géricault's departure for England in





1820. The style of the dress would not support this argument, but the poetic quality of the portrait and the lyrical landscape (of rural Paris, looking towards Montmartre) indicate a familiarity with English art.

The last image in this chapter demonstrates the English affinity between costume and landscape which characterises the period of this book. It is Turner's *England: Richmond Hill on the Prince Regent's Birthday* (c.1819), of which plate 139 is a detail. The curve of the river and the rounded foliage of the trees echo the costume and accessories. The general style of dress in this most romantic of periods consists of high-waisted dresses with full, softly rounded sleeves and small neat hairstyles with plumed hats *à la Renaissance*. Turner is adept at catching the salient details of dress, even in a landscape painting where the figures are quite small. He has noticed how the waistline had become very high as we approach 1820; this has the result, as in the woman third from the right, of pushing up the bust into tightly corsetted globes. The short-bodied gowns are cut quite full at the back and the artist has caught the graceful folds of drapery of the seated figures in the centre. The dresses flare out gradually towards the hem and additional slight movement is created by shawls and summer pelisses. In the right-

hand group, for example, the central figure wears a pelisse over a gown and she gestures to the woman next to her who wears a yellow dress with a loose white mantle.

Certain aspects of costume and appearance have often fascinated artists. Fuseli, for example, seems to have been obsessed with the elaborate hairstyles of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which he exaggerated in his art. Turner was attracted to the way in which the long, swan-like necks of high fashion were emphasised by the swept-up hairstyles, small neat *toques* and the necklines of the gowns cut quite low and straight across at the back. This type of neckline and hairstyle was influenced by mid-seventeenth century Dutch fashions; the high-waisted gowns of satin or velvet, with their rounded, softly pleated sleeves were inspired by early sixteenth-century costume. It is a period when revivals of this kind are cleverly incorporated into contemporary fashion, such artistic references being particularly pleasing to an artist such as Turner (and to Ingres also) who was well versed in history. This kind of gentle romanticism in dress blends past and present, in modest fulfilment of an enduring strain in English art.

139 J. M. W. Turner, *Richmond Hill on the Prince Regent's Birthday* (detail), c.1819. Oil on canvas. Tate Gallery, London.

66. The *Gallerie des Modes* first refers to the *polonoise* in 1778. The origin of the term is obscure, for styles of costume à la *polonoise* in the eighteenth century usually indicate that they are trimmed with fur. Two kinds of popular *polonoise* gowns in the 1770s and 1780s, the *sultane* and the *circassian* are sometimes trimmed with fur. A not altogether fanciful suggestion is that the kilting up of the *polonoise* skirt into three swags of material might refer to the first partition of Poland by her three powerful neighbours, Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1772.
67. J.-M. Philpon-Roland, 'A Trip to England', 1784, in Roland (1800), p. 184.
68. W.T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough*, London, 1915, p. 231. This seems quite likely, for William Jackson also remarked that dolls were used for *The Mall* (*The Four Ages*, London, 1788, p. 167). Perhaps Gainsborough first learnt to use such dolls when he worked in the artist Gravelot's studio in the 1740s.
69. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, London, LI, 1781, p. 57.
70. *Betsy Sheridan's Journal*, ed. W. Lefanu, London, 1960, p. 58.
71. See B. Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, London, 1991.
72. Métra (1787-90), VII, p. 293.
73. *Georgiana: Extracts from the Correspondence of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, ed. the Earl of Bessborough, London, 1955, p. 91.
74. *The Jerningham Letters, 1780-1843*, ed. E. Castle, 2 vols, London, 1896, I, p. 37.
75. Archenholz (1789), II, p. 135.
76. *Lichtenberg's Visits to England, as Described in his Letters and Diaries*, trans. and ed. M.L. Mare and W.H. Quarrell, Oxford, 1938, pp. 89-90.
77. 'Was Venus ever chiselled with a high tete or was ever Euphrosyne or Thalia depicted with a cushion on either of their heads? And yet the ancient sculptors and painters were certainly as good judges of beauty as any modern connoisseurs. But if the ladies will not be satisfied with these authorities, let them consult Sir Joshua Reynolds'. From the *Town and Country Magazine*, 1779, quoted in Leslie and Taylor (1865), II, p. 227.
78. Quoted in Penny (1986), p. 388.
79. Barker (c.1780), pp. 17, 43.
80. Métra (1787-90), I, p. 179.
81. *Encyclopédie méthodique*, ed. J.M. Roland de la Platière, Paris, 1785, I, p. 133.
82. Mercier (1982), VI, p. 307.
83. See Ribeiro (1984a), pp. 51-2, for information on the dolls which were sent out all over Europe; the practice overlapped the early fashion magazines, but had largely died out by the end of the eighteenth century. These dolls were well used by metropolitan and provincial dressmakers and must sometimes have ended up as toys for small girls.
84. See F. Tétart Vittu, 'La Gallerie des modes et costumes français', *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, March 1987, 91, pp. 16-21.
85. Roche (1989), p. 473.
86. R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, London, 1747, p. 208.
87. Quoted in Williams (1831), I, pp. 124-5.
88. - Adams, *Woman. Sketches of the History, Genius, Disposition, Accomplishments, Employments, Customs and Importance of the Fair Sex*, London, 1790, p. 366.
89. A. Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, London, 1833, VI, p. 163.
90. *the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution*, London, 1794, p. 34.
91. Villiers (1789), p. 312.
92. Wollstonecraft, p. 437.
93. See Lee (1969).
94. *Ibid.*, I, p. 199.
95. In fact he could be wearing knee-breeches (*culotte*) or trousers cut off above the knee; he also wears a Phrygian cap. He helps to carry and aged and infirm man in a chair, a reference which one historian has seen to an incident in Plutarch's *Lives*, when the old and blind Appius Claudius was borne through the Roman forum to the Senate House to deliver a stirring speech recalling the former glory of Rome and rejecting the peace overtures of the invading army of King Pyrrhus. See A. Kagan, 'A Classical Source for David's *Oath of the Tennis Court*', *Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, no. 856, 1974, pp. 395-6. According to the Kagan thesis, Appius Claudius, although a patrician, had attempted to expand the suffrage and could possibly be equated with those members of the Second Estate (the nobility) who had joined the Third Estate. It is a slightly far-fetched argument, which is not helped by the (wrong) identification of the old man's garment as a toga; it is, in fact, a wrapping greatcoat.
96. Duval (1841-2), IV, p. 4. Barras recalled Robespierre's 'frigid attitude, his scorn of courtesies', and likened him, curiously, to Potemkin. He describes in his *Memoirs* a visit to Robespierre who was 'wrapped in a sort of chemise-peignoir; he had just left the hands of his hairdresser who had finished combing and powdering his hair' (Barras, 1895-6, I, p. 182).
97. Duval (1841-2), I, p. 228.
98. *Journal de la Mode et du Goût*, 5 Feb. 1792, p. 3.
99. H.M. Williams, *Letters from France*, ed. J.M. Todd, 2 vols, New York, 1975.
100. J. Moore, *A Journal during a residence in France from the beginning of August to the middle of December 1792*, London, 1793, 2 vols, II, p. 430.
101. Walpole (1937-83), XXXIV, p. 164.
102. *Madame Tussaud's Memoirs and Reminiscences of France*, ed. F. Hervé, London, 1838, p. 177.
103. The Musée des Arts de la Mode in Paris has a tricolour cotton coat and tricolour striped stockings. The Musée de la Mode et du Costume in Paris has one *gilet* of cream taffeta with satin tricolour stripes and the front pieces of another with embroidered tricolour hearts and the motto 'Vaincre ou mourir'.
104. *Memoirs of the Duchesse de Gontaut*, trans. J.W. Davies, 2 vols, London, 1894, I, p. 30.
105. Nouvion (1911), p. 164. Bertin's business continued while she was abroad - it supplied the imprisoned Marie-Antoinette (see M. Delpierre, 'Le Garde-robe de la famille royale au Temple', in Paris, 1989b). In 1800 Bertin was finally granted the right to return to France, keeping her shop in the rue de Richelieu until her death.
106. *Journal de la Mode et du Goût*, 5 Dec. 1791, p. 2.
107. Dowd (1959), pp. 131-3. Dowd points out that David was ready to use his influence to protect even those of his fellow-artists with whom he disagreed politically, and he ensured that Vigée-Lebrun's name was eventually dropped from the list of official émigrés.
108. Tulard (1989), p. 47.
109. Quoted in Roche (1989), p. 62.
110. Mercier (1798), III, pp. 135-6.
111. *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 9 April 1799, p. 14.
112. Quoted in Tulard (1989), p. 73.
113. *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. J. Hemlow, 10 vols, Oxford, 1972-82, V, p. 290. 'Corset' here means a kind of quilted or lightly stiffened bodice, as distinct from the 'stays' which were boned.
114. Mercier (1798), IV, p. 251, and V, pp. 222-3.

2 Painters of Modern Life

1. Behrens (1967), p. 126.
2. Ségur (1803), II, p. 227.
3. M. Wollstonecraft, *An Historical and Moral View of*

28. Thibadeau (1827), p. 16.
29. Bouchot (1895), p. 147.
30. *Memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantès*, 8 vols, London, 1831-5, VII, p. 141.
31. *Journal de Paris*, May 1804, p. 1577.
32. *Journal de Paris*, Nov. 1804, p. 383.
33. A letter in the British Museum (Add. MS. 44993, fols. 23-4) from Russell to his father, dated 7 April 1810, describes his sartorial preparations for the Imperial wedding. See also S.H. Jeyes, *The Russells of Birmingham*, London, 1911, pp. 291-4. I am grateful to Helen Spencer from the Museum and Art Gallery in Birmingham who provided me with these references and sent me the details of the suit which is in her care.
34. Angelo (1828), II, pp. 447.
35. Farington (1978-84), V, p. 1849. Simond (1817), remarked on the uniformity of Englishmen who wore 'outside garments of a dull, dark cast' (I, p. 28).
36. Egan (1821), p. 148.
37. *Le Beau Monde*, London, 1808, p. 292.
38. Quoted in V. Cumming, 'Pantomime and Pageantry: The Coronation of George IV', in Fox (1992), p. 40.
39. Wilson (1825), I, p. 101.
40. Brummell (1932), p. 122.
41. Jesse (1844), I, p. 62.
42. Wilson (1825), IV, p. 208.
43. V. Woolf, *Beau Brummell*, New York, 1930, p. 3.
44. Quoted in E. Moers, *The Dandy*, London, 1960, p. 33.
45. Baudelaire (1964), pp. 26-7.
46. *The Taylor's Complete Guide*, London 1796, p. 7.
47. Egan (1821), p. 136.
48. Surr (1806), II, pp. 82-3.
49. See A. Ribeiro, 'Provision of Ready-made and Second-hand Clothing in the Eighteenth Century in England', in *Per una Storia della Moda Pronta. Problemi e Ricerche*, eds. G. Butazzi and C.A. Piacenti, Florence, 1991, pp. 85-94.
50. *Taylor's Complete Guide*, p. 7.
51. Those exempt from the tax (which was one guinea) included the royal family and their immediate servants, the army and navy, and clergy with less than £100 per annum. Those who paid the tax were known in vulgar parlance as guinea-pigs. The word may derive from an account (apocryphal) of a tailor, who being insulted by a beau wearing '2 lbs of powder on his scone' cut off the tail of his hair with his shears - just as piglets had their tails cut short. See the anonymous verse *New Fashions; Or a Puff at the Guinea Pigs*, 1795.
52. Wilson (1825), I, p. 224.
53. Vaughan (1792), p. 45. A French doctor, L.J. Clairian, urged on grounds of health that men should wear breeches which were not too tight-fitting but which were reasonably supportive, and they should avoid loose trousers which gave no support. See his *Recherches et considérations médicales sur les vêtements des hommes*, Paris, 1803.
54. See A. Ribeiro, 'Hussars in Masquerade', *Apollo*, CV, no. 180, 1977, pp. 111-16. It was fashionable to dress black servants in hussar costume. In Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* (1732), Plate 2 shows the small black page in a feathered turban and a coat frogged à la hussar. In an equal confusion of ethnic identities, William Hickey in 1780 dressed his Indian servant Nabob 'very smart as a Hussar.'
55. There are also references in the correspondence of the Prince of Wales to the ordering of hussar pantaloons for his brother Prince Frederick in Hanover; they occur in 1781, for example, as 'hussa breeches quite down to the ancles with a strap under the foot of white ram's skin' (Aspinall, 1963-71, I, p. 53). The Prince himself might very well have worn something similar with the 'Huzzar Jacket and Waistcoat lined with cotton' listed in his Accounts for 1798 (Windsor, Royal Archives).
56. *A Persian at the Court of King George 1809-10. The Journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan*, trans. M.M. Cloake, London, 1988, p. 137.
57. *Le Beau Monde*, 1808, p. 339.
58. *The Ton*, London, 1819, p. 77.
59. Stendhal, *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, 2 vols, Paris, 1817, II, pp. 158, 187.
60. Nos. 867. 270 and 867. 272.
61. W.M. Reddy, *The Use of Market Culture. The textile Trade and French Society, 1750-1900*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 91.
62. F. Burney, *Camilla*, London, 1796, p. 691.
63. See *Johnstone's London Commercial Guide*, London, 1817.
64. N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, London, 1982, p. 13.
65. Carr (1803), pp. 81, 88-9.
66. L. Hautecoeur, *Louis David*, Paris, 1954, p. 189.
67. Carr (1803), pp. 133-4.
68. Charles Blanc in his *Ingres: sa vie et ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1870, stated that he painted the lamp and the stool in David's painting of *Madame Récamier*. The Musée Ingres at Montauban possesses Ingres's drawings of the lamp and the stool, and a sketch of Mme Récamier on a chaise longue; it is thought, however, that these drawings were probably done as a record of Ingres's studies with David.
69. See the letter from Lady Mary Boyle Roche, 1793, Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS. 5391; 'She affects the dress of a Peasant and she sometimes wears Black stockings with Red Cloacks and a Black Gown with Cockle ribbons which we have an idea here is the Jacobin Uniform in France and when her head is bound up with a dirty handkerchief people suspect it is soiled with the Blood of Louis the 16th...' Quoted in M. Dunleavy, *Dress in Ireland*, London, 1989, pp. 129-30. The date of the portrait by 'Mallory' is problematical. Lady Pamela had a daughter in 1796 and another conceived before the death of her husband in 1798; if the date of the portrait is c.1800, it is more likely to depict the younger child.
70. Carr (1803), p. 89.
71. *Journal de Paris*, April 1802, pp. 1257, 1321.
72. Angelo (1828), II, p. 380.
73. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Madame Récamier*, trans. I.M. Luyster, 4th edn, Boston, MA, 1867, p. 5. An English publication on fashion and etiquette, *The Mirror of the Graces*, London, 1811, includes among its cosmetic recipes one for 'Madame Récamier's pomade', which consists of the fat of a red stag or hart mixed with olive oil and virgin wax, it was intended to be put on the limbs after exercising or dancing and claimed also to be good for rheumatism.
74. L. Bertrand, *La Fin du Classicisme et le Retour à l'Antique*, 1896, p. 365.
75. Rémusat (1880), II, p. 108.
76. 'Original Documents Relative to the Empress Josephine', 1809, Box 6, pp. 27-31 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).
77. Grandjean (1964), p. 49.
78. In 'Original Documents', Box. 86. UU. 2.
79. Beauharnais (1927), I, pp. 68-9.
80. 'Registres des dépenses de la Cour sous l'Empire et la Restauration (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), MS. 5931, 1812-18.
81. This included court dresses, *robes de bal* (including one 'habit rose et argent à la François 1'), day dresses (tulle was a particularly popular fabric), redingotes of velvet and satin, *habits de chasse*, etc. See Maze-Sencier (1893), pp. 317-18.
82. Bouchot (1895), p. 226.
83. Rémusat (1880), II, p. 362.
84. Thibadeau (1827), p. 17.
85. *Memoirs of the Comtesse de Baigne*, ed. C. Nicoullard, 3 vols, London, 1907-8, I, p. 296.
86. Simond (1817), I, p. 208.
87. Khan, pp. 103, 137. With the accession of George IV in 1820, hoops were abolished in English court dress which - finally - followed the French style. One lady attending court with her daughter, wrote: '... the Drawing-room was very full, but as hoops are abolished, it was much pleasanter and less fatiguing... The costumes were all the same as at the French court, and I think very pretty. Fanny and I had white net gowns prettily trimmed, and blue gros de Naples trains three yards and a quarter long'. (*An Irish Beauty of the Regency. Compiled from 'Mes Souvenirs', the Unpublished Journals of the Hon. Mrs Calvert, 1789-1822*, ed. W. Blake, London, 1911, p. 344).
88. *Journal de Paris*, Nov. 1804, p. 416.
89. *Paris in 1814. From the Journal of William Ross*, ed. H.A. Ogle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1909, p. 47.
90. Simpson (1853), p. 104.
91. Simpson (1853), *ibid.*
92. *La Belle Assemblée*, Feb. 1806, p. 63.
93. *The Private Correspondence of a Woman of Fashion*, 2 vols, London, 1832, I, p. 172.
94. Simpson (1853), p. 127.
95. *Mirror of the Graces*, p. 96.
96. Grandjean (1964), pp. 52-3.
97. See *A Catalogue of the Magnificent Furniture and other valuable Effects of her late Majesty Queen Caroline*, London, 1822. Examples of her taste in dress: 'a Superb Dress, elegantly embroidered in flowers on crimson satin, with deep flounce, trimmed with silver lace and fringe' (p. 83) and 'a beautiful black figured Gauze Dress, flounced with 2 rows of costly deep lace' (p. 86). She appears to have been particularly fond of red, and the catalogue lists, for example, a 'splendid orange colour cashmere dress' and a 'superb new crimson Velvet Dress'; the portrait by Lawrence of 1804 (London, National Portrait Gallery) shows her in a dress and hat of red velvet.
98. Brummell (1932), p. 313.
99. *Journal de Paris*, Nov. 1804, p. 2855.
100. 'Registres des dépenses', MS. 5931, fol. 206.
101. Grandjean (1964), p. 68. One of Horace Vernet's fashion plates in the series of *Merveilleuses* depicts a woman in a *utzchouna*, of cream satin lined with fox fur (1814).
102. Abrantès (1831-5), VII, p. 203.
103. *A Catalogue of the Magnificent Furniture*, pp. 85-6.
104. The portrait, in a private collection, is discussed in an article by Hans Naef, 'Un Chef-d'oeuvre retrouvé: le portrait de la reine Caroline Murat par Ingres', *Revue de l'Art*, no. 88, 1990, pp. 11-20.
105. Beauharnais (1927), II, p. 135.
106. Another study for this portrait shows the head of Caroline Murat with grandole earrings (Montauban, Musée Ingres, 867.341).

3 The Stuff of Heroes

- Bertrand (1896), pp. 106, 108.
- Ibid.*, p. 105.
- Parker (1937), p. 62. Parker points out that not all the *philosophes* agreed on this, Condorcet, for example, believing that the ancients had 'no true notions of natural liberty, equality or the rights of man' (p. 99).
- A.D. Smith, 'The "Historical Revival" in Late 18th-century England and France', *Art History*, II, no. 2, 1979, pp. 156-72.
- Quoted in Bertrand (1896), p. 286.
- See S. Eriksen, 'Marigny and Le Goût Grec', *Burlington Magazine*, CIV, no. 708, 1962, pp. 96-101; the author dates the appearance of furniture in the Greek style from c.1756-7.