

**Becoming a Man in the Age of Fashion:
Gender and Menswear in Nineteenth-Century France, 1830-1870**

by

John Richard Finkelberg

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History)
in the University of Michigan
2022

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Joshua Cole, Co-Chair

Professor Emerita Dena Goodman, Co-Chair

Professor Mary Kelley

Professor Judith Lyon-Caen, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

Professor Emerita, Susan L. Siegfried

John R. Finkelberg

johnrf@umich.edu

ORCID iD: [0000-0003-0614-4788](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0614-4788)

© John R. Finkelberg, 2022

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents, Fila and Alfred Brauer, they made this journey possible and I miss them dearly.

Acknowledgements

This project benefitted from generous institutional support from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, the Weiser Center for Europe and Eurasia, the Sweetland Writing Institute, the Institute for the Humanities, and the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies.

I would like to thank the wonderful people at the Archives nationales de France, the Archives de la ville de Paris, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, the Bibliothèque Forney, and the Musée de la Chemiserie et l'Élégance Masculine, and the Hatcher Graduate Library. I would like to thank in particular Steeve Gallizia of the INPI for his help with the Hayem family brevets. Julie McLoone from the Special Collections Library at the University of Michigan was especially helpful when it came to securing much needed materials. I also want to take a moment and thank Christine Valero for her unconditional support and kindness. Jim Ravin and his private collection were an eye-opening experience, to say the least. Thank you, Jim, for trusting me with your books.

I could not have asked for better dissertation co-chairs: Dena Goodman and Joshua Cole. Thank you both for all of your patience with me and for helping me each step of the way in graduate school. Dena, you have a truly amazing gift for mentoring and helping graduate students refine their ideas and arguments. Everyone complains during their third year that prelims meetings are hard and tedious, but my meetings with you were some of the best parts of graduate school. You always gave me the mentorship and guidance that I needed. Thank you for believing in me and in this project.

Josh is exactly the type of welcoming and engaging professor that every graduate student should have as a mentor when they first start graduate school. Thank you for all the progress reports and random forms I made you fill out. You have been an amazing teacher, mentor, and friend throughout the process.

I am indebted in so many ways to the other three scholars who were part of the dissertation committee. Judith Lyon-Caen has supported my research and work for almost a decade. I am so thankful that I got to work with you during my masters and that you continued to encourage my research. Mary Kelley is, as another graduate student put it, “a model of grace and kindness in academia.” I will always treasure my memories of our History of the Book graduate seminar. Meeting Susan Siegfried quite literally changed my life. I would never have written this dissertation if I had not been given the opportunity to take her graduate seminar. Thank you for taking a chance on me and for giving me the opportunity to work on your project on George Sand.

I want to thank everyone who read chapters and gave insightful comments in the various dissertation writing workshops I had the privilege to be a part of. I especially want to thank the other 2020-2021 fellows at the Institute for the Humanities. I want to also thank Kit French for showing me how to write my first dissertation chapter. I also want to thank the various faculty members in the history department who read and commented on my chapters: Christian de Pee, Mrinalini Sinha, Jay Cook, John Carson, Anna Bonnel Freidin, Matt Lassiter, and Jason Young.

Ann Arbor would have been absolutely unbearable without the love and friendship of the amazing people I get to call my friends: Severina, Molly, Meg, Katie, Amanda, Lamin, Richard, Xiaoyue, Stacey, Isabelle, Bri, Brett, Allie, Hayley, Haley, Aidyn, Frank, Alex, Gio, Luis, and Omer. I also want to thank my amazing friends Liz, Rebecca, and Lucile for always letting me be

myself. Tova, Michelle, Hannah and Isabel you mean the world to me. To all the amazing Bones Gates, I love my bros. Aaron and Andrea, thank you for putting up with all my canceled plans; Alain you will always been my other little brother. Charles and Anaïs you always make me feel at home in Paris. Terri, thanks for being so cool. I love you all.

I would never have been able to do this without the love and support of my amazing family. I know it might sound cliché but it's true. My mother and father have been an amazing support system emotionally (and financially let's be honest). Stephanie and Alexis, I love you both so much and I appreciate how you manage to put up with me and my antics. I know I might complain, but your families always manage to bring me so much joy that I never thought was possible. Eric, frankly there are no words to describe how important you are to me. Thank you for being the best womb-mate a twin could ask for (and I'm sorry I kicked you while in utero, my bad). I owe so much to my grandparents, Fila and Alfred Brauer, and I wish I could share this work with them.

Finally, I want to take a moment and recognize the various dogs who have made my life special. Murphy and Bear, you taught me how to love furry friends. Izzy will always be my baby girl. Latke, you are my favorite nephew. Last but not least, thank you to my special boy, Pancake.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	xv
Abstract.....	xvi
Introduction	1
Menswear, Paris, and the Mid-Nineteenth Century.....	2
“Hidden” Masculine Consumption in Images and Texts.....	7
Fashion, Class, and Cultural Capital.....	20
Chapter Outline.....	26
Chapter 1 – Tailor-Made Masculinity: Pierre Ferdinand Humann and Inventing Elite Masculinity in the French Fashion Press, 1830-1870.....	29
1.1 The Celebrity Tailor and Modern Tailoring.....	32
1.2 Advertising the Tailor’s Talents and Social Boundaries	40
1.3 Fashion, Intimacy, and Empire.....	53
1.4 Tailor-Made Elegance, Class, and “Natural” Bodies.....	63
1.5 Conclusions.....	75
Chapter 2 – Inventing the Modern Shirt: <i>Chemisiers</i> and the Sartorial Foundation of the Masculine Body Politics, 1830-1848	77
2.1 The Early Modern Chemise.....	80
2.2 The Chemisier and the Brevet d’invention	84
2.3 Inventing the <i>Chemiserie</i>	99

2.4 Fashion Media and Inventing the Modern Shirt	109
2.5 Conclusions	121
Chapter 3 – Frenchmen and their Wardrobes: Personal Spending and Elite Communities of Dress	123
3.1 Fashioning the July Monarchy	127
3.1.1 Louis-Philippe’s Civilian Wardrobe	129
3.1.2 Uniforms and Staging the Monarchy	150
3.2 The Maupas Community of Dress	159
3.2.1 Dissecting a Community of Dress	162
3.2.2 Charlemagne de Maupas’s Fashionable Wardrobe	169
3.2.3 Credit and the Maupas’s Community of Dress	179
3.3 Conclusions	184
Chapter 4 – Posters of Masculine Fantasies: Advertising ‘Ready-Made’ Menswear	186
4.1 The Rise of Ready-to-Wear Clothing and Advertising	193
4.2 Reformatting Fashion Advertising for a New Audience	211
4.3 Menswear for Everyman and Advertising	218
Chapter 5 – Branding and Modern Menswear: <i>La Maison du Phénix</i> and the French Economy of Display	234
5.1 “Une Cité Ouvrière” and Retail Giant	242
5.2 Inventing a More Comfortable Collar, 1841-1871	249
5.3 Trademarking the Phoenix	259
5.4 The Phoenix on Display	270
5.5 Conclusions	284
Conclusion – Making Modern Menswear	287
Bibliography	295

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Lachoucie (draftsman), “Chapellerie de Desprey,” <i>Le Progrès</i> , July 1852, plate 31. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 36 cm x 47 cm. Private Collection, Toledo, Ohio.	30
Figure 1.2 “Une Visite chez Humann,” <i>La Vie Parisienne</i> , 30 March 1867, 228. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	35
Figure 1.3 Detail from N. (author), “Types Parisienne,” <i>La Vie Parisienne</i> , 22 September 1866, 529. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	36
Figure 1.4 Paul Gavarni, “Modes, Costumes d’Humann,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 20 November 1839. Paper, lithograph, 160 mm. x 160 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	43
Figure 1.5 Paul Gavarni, “Modes de Longchamps, Costume de Humann, Chapeau de Guitar, Rue Richelieu 161,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 5 April, 1841, 3. Paper, lithograph, 237 mm. x 155 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	44
Figure 1.6 Paul Gavarni, <i>Costume d’Automne, par Humann, 83, rue Neuve des Petits-Champs</i> . Paper, lithograph, 230 mm. x 177 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut. 45	
Figure 1.7 Paul Gavarni, <i>Costume de Promenade d’Humann</i> . Paper, lithograph, 217 mm. x 184 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.	46
Figure 1.8 Paul Gavarni, <i>Costume de Bal d’Humann</i> . Paper, lithograph, 215 mm. x 144 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.	47
Figure 1.9 Paul Gavarni, “Modes. Costume d’Humann,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 1 January 1840. Paper, lithograph, 221 mm. x 176 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	48
Figure 1.10 Paul Gavarni, “Modes de Longchamps, Costumes d’Humann; Chapeaux de Des [rue 28 Bd. Des Italiens; Chemises de Longueville R. Richelieu 10,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 5 April 1839, 3. Paper, lithograph, 188 mm. x 186 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	49
Figure 1.11 Paul Gavarni, “Costume de Humann, 83 rue Neuve des Petits-Champs,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 1 October 1841. Paper, lithograph, 235 mm. x 174 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	51
Figure 1.12 Paul Gavarni, “Physionomie des modes: Robe de chambre de Humann,” <i>l’Artiste</i> , 1840. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 200 mm x 189 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.	54

Figure 1.13. Paul Gavarni, “Costume d’Humann,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 25 March 1841. Paper, lithograph, 200 mm. x 175 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	55
Figure 1.14. Paul Gavarni, “Robe de Chambre de Humann, tailleur, rue Neuve des Petits Champs, Chemise de Dourousseau, Curiosités de Mombro,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 22 January 1842. Paper, lithograph, 197 mm. x 161 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	56
Figure 1.15 Paul Gavarni, “Robes de Chambre d’Humann,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 27 February 1840. Paper, lithograph, 194 mm. x 156 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	57
Figure 1.16 Paul Gavarni, “Robe de Chambre en Cachemire de Humann,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 18 November 1840. Paper, lithograph, 199mm. x 161mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	58
Figure 1.17 Paul Gavarni, “Costume d’Humann; Chapeaux de Desprey,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 13 February 1840. Paper, lithograph, 185 mm. x 149 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	59
Figure 1.18 Paul Gavarni, “Modes. Costumes de Humann,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 11 January 1841. Paper, lithograph, 199mm. x 170 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	60
Figure 1.19 “Modes du Jour – Les Costumes d’Humann,” <i>La Vie Parisienne</i> , 17 April 1869, 319. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	65
Figure 2.1 Catherine Pierret and Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset, “Dessin,” 1836. Paper, 35 cm x 40 cm. INPI 1BA12622.	91
Figure 2.2 Gustave Longueville, “Nouvelle coupe, Confection de Chemise,” 1838. Paper, 35 cm x 45cm. INPI 1BA6837.	93
Figure 2.3 Jacques Jardin, “Figure A,” 1846. Paper, 30 cmx 35 cm. INPI 1BB2816.	95
Figure 2.4 Samson Hadamar, “Figure X,” 1847. Paper, 30 cm x 35 cm. INPI 1BB4906.	96
Figure 2.5 Paul Gavarni, “Toilette du Soir,” <i>La Mode: Revue du monde élégant</i> , vol. 6 (1831), plate 118. Paper, lithograph, 17 mm x 125 mm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	111
Figure 2.6 “Costume de Cheval - Pantalon blanc petite redingote verte de chez Humann, chapeau gris de chez Dufour Bodson, Cheval de chez Gremieux, chemise de Pierret et Lamy [sic] Housset,” <i>La Mode: Revue du monde élégant</i> , vol.8 (1836), plate 514. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 24.5 x 16 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.	115
Figure 2.7 “Chemise à jabots de la maison de Pierret et Lamy Housset [sic],” <i>Le Follet: Courrier des Salons</i> , 14 May 1837, plate 594. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 24 cm x 17 cm. Rijks Museum, Amsterdam, Netherlands.	116

Figure 2.8 “Costumes de Chasse et de Ville,” <i>Le Follet: Courrier des Salons</i> , 15 September 1837, plate 623. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 25 cm x 17 cm. Private Collection, Ann Arbor, Michigan.....	117
Figure 2.9 Paul Gavarni, “Redingotte [sic] du matin. Gilet de cachemire et de piqué de Humann. Chemises de Durousseau, chemisier des princes,” <i>Le Charivari</i> , 19 March 1842. Paper, lithograph, 190 mm x 195 mm, Yale Art Collections, New Haven, Connecticut.....	118
Figure 3.1 Henry Scheffer, <i>Louis-Philippe and His Family</i> , 1836-37. Oil on canvas, 196 cm x 163 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.	130
Figure 3.2 Pierre Roch Vigneron, <i>Portrait of Louis Philippe, King of the French</i> , 1831. Oil on canvas, 32.5 cm x 24 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.....	133
Figure 3.3 Paul Gavarni, “La Mode – Habits à collet de velours et a manches courtes de M. Caillet rue des Moulins, 6 – Pantalons de Casimir,” <i>La Mode: Revue du monde élégant</i> , vol. 7 (April 1831), pl. 18.....	142
Figure 3.4 Emile-Jean-Horace Vernet, <i>Revue de la garnison de Paris et de la Garde royale passé au Champs-de-Mars, 30 septembre 1824</i> , 1824. Oil on canvas, 389 cm x 325 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.....	151
Figure 3.5 French School, <i>Cataract Operation Performed by Guillaume Dupuytren (1777-1835) in the Presence of King Charles X (1757-1836) at the Hotel Dieu</i> , ca. 1827, 375 x 540 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.	152
Figure 3.6 François Gérard, <i>Louis-Philippe Ier, Roi des Français, prête serment sur la Charte</i> , 1833. Oil on canvas, 222 cm x 156 cm. Musée national du Château de Versailles France.	153
Figure 3.7 Franz-Xaver Winterhalter, <i>Louis-Philippe I, King of the French and the Charter of 1830</i> , 1839. Oil on canvas, 260 cm x 190 cm. Musée national du Château de Versailles.....	154
Figure 3.8 François Gérard, <i>Louis XVIII, Roi de France et de Navarre</i> , 1814. Oil on canvas, 320 cm x 230 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.	155
Figure 3.9 François Gérard, <i>Charles X, Roi de France</i> , 1824. Oil on canvas, 276 cm x 202 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.	156
Figure 3.10 Pierre-Louis Pierson, <i>Portrait de Charlemagne Emile de Maupas (1818-1888), Administrateur et homme politique</i> , after 1867. Albumen print, 8.7 cm x 5.4 (image), 10.2 cm x 6.4 cm (mounting). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.	160
Figure 3.11 Emile Desmaisons (Draftsman) and Imprimerie Lemercier (Printer). <i>De Maupas/ Ministre de Police</i> , 1853. Lithograph, 43.5 cm x 33.5 cm (impression). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.	171

- Figure 3.12 “Chasse à courre,” *Le Monde Illustré*, December 10, 1859. Wood engraving on paper, 31.5 cm x 48.0 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France..... 178
- Figure 3.13 “Napoléon III et Eugénie, à cheval, en costume de chasse Louis XV, entrant dans la forêt,” ca. 1860. Lithograph, 32.3 cm x 42.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 179
- Figure 4.1 Jean-Alexis Rouchon. *Pest! Mon cher, comme te voilà mis. Hein! A la Redingote grise*, 1858. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 45 cm x 31 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 187
- Figure 4.2 Jean Alexis Rouchon. *Aux Prés aux Clercs*, 1853. Paper, lithograph, 21.9 cm x 144.3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 195
- Figure 4.3 *Aux Armes d’Angleterre... Ouverture des magasins de vêtements*, c. 1858. Paper, Hand-colored lithograph, 126 cm x 95 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. ... 196
- Figure 4.4 *Palais de Cristal, place de la Bourse, rue Vivienne 25. Vêtements d’hommes et d’enfants*. 1855. Paper, lithograph, 88 cm x 63 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 197
- Figure 4.5 Jules Chéret, *Je viens de faire le Tour du Monde... vêtements de la Maison du Grand Bon Marché*, 1876. Paper, colored lithograph, 124 cm x 90 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 198
- Figure 4.6 *Aux Armes de Paris. 205 rue St. Antoine*, 1852. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 167 cm x 99 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France..... 199
- Figure 4.7 *A Maréchal Moncey, maison de confiance, grand magasin d’habillements confectionnés et sur mesure pour hommes et enfants*, 4, Grande Rue des Batignolles, 1865. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 125 cm x 91 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 202
- Figure 4.8 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Galeries des Halles centrales. A J. J. Rousseau*, 1852. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 167 cm x 100 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. ... 203
- Figure 4.9 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Bon Fermier, Maison de confiance. Prix Fixe invariable*, 1852. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 168 cm x 101 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 204
- Figure 4.10 Jules Chéret, *Au Masque de Fer... Nouveautés*, 1872. Paper, Lithograph, 130 x 95 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 205
- Figure 4.11 “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 8 May 1847. Paper, 4 cm x 4 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. 207
- Figure 4.12 Front (left), *Magasin d’habillement masculine “A la Redingote Grise”*: 45, rue de Rivoli à Paris, XIXe siècle, metal. Back (right), *Magasin d’habillement masculine “A la*

<i>Redingote Grise</i> : 45, rue de Rivoli à Paris, XIXe siècle, metal. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France	208
Figure 4.13 “Costumes de Bésin, Place de la Bourse, 10; Chapeaux de Cadessus, Rue du Temple, 131.” <i>Le Lion, Journal des Nouveautés et des Modes d’Hommes</i> . (Avril 1845).....	213
Figure 4.14 <i>Au Chatelet, 43 R. de Rivoli, maison spéciale d’habillements sur mesure et tout faits pour hommes & enfants, modes d’automne & d’hiver</i> , 1859. Black impression on paper x 124 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.....	213
Figure 4.15 “L’Homme du Monde,” <i>L’Homme du Monde, Magasin complet du gentleman français</i> , 10 May 1863. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 31 cm x 49 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.....	214
Figure 4.16 “Chapellerie de Desprey,” <i>Le Progrès</i> , July 1854, pl. 53. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 32 cm x 49 cm. Private Collection, Toledo, Ohio.....	214
Figure 4.17 Jules Chéret, <i>Maison du Châtelet... Pest mon cher comme te voilà mis</i> , 1876. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 126 cm x 89 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	215
Figure 4.18 Jules Chéret, <i>A Voltaire vêtements pour hommes et enfants</i> , 1875. Paper, Color lithograph, 120 cm x 80 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	217
Figure 4.19 Hippolyte Paul Delaroche, <i>Napoleon at Fontainebleau, 31 March 1814</i> , 1846. Oil on canvas, 69.2 cm x 53.2 cm (support, canvas, panel). Royal Collection Trust, Osborne House, Billiards Room, Isle of Wright, England.....	220
Figure 4.20 Jean Alexis Rouchon, <i>45 rue de Rivoli 45 au coin de la rue St-Denis À la Redingote grise...</i> , 1856. Wood engraving, 142 cm x 101 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	220
Figure 4.21 Hippolyte Paul Delaroche, <i>Bonaparte Crossing the Alps</i> , 1850. Oil on canvas, 279.4 cm x 214.5 cm. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England.	221
Figure 4.22 "Un âne chargé de reliques" (bottes, épée, petit chapeau et redingote grise), traverse la grand'rue d'un village, au bord de laquelle, à gauche, les femmes et les enfants manifestent leur joie tandis qu'à droit, les hommes sont respectueusement agenouillés," ca. 1848. Paper, lithograph, 21.5 cm x 29 cm. <i>Collection de Vinck. Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1770-1870</i> , vol. 122, pl. 15139. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.....	221
Figure 4.23 Emperor Napoleon I’s redingote, France, various textiles, circa 1815. On display at Musée de l’Armée, on loan from Musée du Louvre, Département des Objects d’art du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes, Paris, France. Inventory number: MS 199.	222
Figure 4.24 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, <i>A la Redingote grise. On ne passe pas! Ignores-tu qui je suis?</i> 1856. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 138 cm x 100 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	223

Figure 4.25 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, <i>Au Congrès de Paris 138 rue de Rivoli 138... Prix fixe invariable. Vêtements pour hommes</i> , 1856. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 150 cm x 110 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	224
Figure 4.26 René de Moraine, <i>Congrès de Paris, Signature de la Paix. le 30 mars 1856</i> , 1856. Lithograph, 18.4 x 26.7 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.....	225
Figure 4.27 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, <i>Au Prince Eugène. Vêtements confectionnés</i> , 1849. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 280 cm x 138 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France ...	226
Figure 4.28 Johann Heinrich Richter, <i>Portrait of Eugène Beauharnais</i> , 1830-1833. Oil on canvas, 132 cm x 102 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.	226
Figure 4.29 François Georquin, <i>Gloire nationale. Eugène Bauharnais (sic)</i> . Paris: Pellerin, 1837. Collection Images d'Épinal de la Maison Pellerin. Vol. 1, 1810-1836. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	227
Figure 4.30 <i>Portrait d'Eugène Beauharnais, en pied</i> . Paris: Andre Bourguin (publishers), ca. 1824. Paper, engraving. Collection Michel Hennin, Estampes relatives à l'Histoire de France, vol. 163, Pieces 14246-14337, 1824-1825, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. ...	227
Figure 4.31 <i>Au Prince Eugène 17 Rue Vivienne ouverture le jeudi 24 avril des nouveaux magasins de vêtements d'hommes et d'enfants</i> , 1856. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 130 cm x 94 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	228
Figure 4.32 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, <i>La Maison de vêtements pour hommes. Au Bon Pasteur, robes de chambre à 15 francs</i> , 1854. Paper, lithograph, 108 cm x 69.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	231
Figure 5.1 Bourmancé (draftsman), <i>Manufacture de cols du Phénix</i> , 1868. Paper, zincography, 40 cm x 57.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.	234
Figure 5.2 Detail of La Maison du Phénix's logo from Bourmancé (draftsman), <i>Manufacture de cols du Phenix</i> , 1868. Paper, zincography, 40 cm x 57.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.	235
Figure 5.3 Detail of La Maison du Phénix's label and reference to patents from Bourmancé (draftsman), <i>Manufacture de cols du Phenix</i> , 1868. Paper, zincography, 40 cm x 57.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.	235
Figure 5.4 <i>Exposition Universelle de 1867</i> , 1867. Photography. Conciergerie, Paris, France. ...	235
Figure 5.5 Edgar Degas, <i>Soirée (Barbey d'Aurevilly in the Salon of Mme Hayem)</i> , 1877. Pencil drawing in notebook, pp. 46-47, 24.8 cm x 68 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.....	240
Figure 5.6 Carle Vernet (draftsman), Louis Darcis (printer), <i>Les Incroyables</i> , 1796. Hand-colored stipple, 30.6 cm x 35.5 cm. The British Museum, London.	251

Figure 5.7 <i>L'Art de mettre sa cravate</i> , plate B, <i>recto</i> , Paris: Librairie universelle, 1827. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	252
Figure 5.8 <i>L'Art de mettre sa cravate</i> , plate C, <i>recto</i> , Paris: Librairie universelle, 1827. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	252
Figure 5.9 Isidore Hayem, “Dessin, Cravate-Magique,” 1860. Paper, Hand-colored, 30 cm x 25 cm. INPI 1BB43687.	256
Figure 5.10 Isidore Hayem, “Dessin - Cravate-col de chemise avec fermoir réunissant le col de soie au faux col de chemise, Inventé par Monsieur Hayem (Jeune) 28 rue de Cléry à Paris,” 1859. Paper, Hand-colored, 30 cm x 25 cm. INPI 1BB040230	258
Figure 5.11 “Maison du Phénix,” <i>l'Album illustré de l'Almanach Didot-Bottin</i> (Paris: Léon Estor, 1878), 137.	264
Figure 5.12 “J. Hayem et Cie, à Paris: Maison du Phénix,” <i>Recueil officiel des marques de fabrique et de commerce déposées en conformité de la loi du 18 mars 1883</i> (Luxembourg: 1891), 6.	265
Figure 5.13 Paul Dupont (printer), <i>Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris, palais de l'exposition: plan officiel publié par la Commission Impériale</i> , 1867. Paper, hand-colored, 17 cm x 21 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.	278
Figure 5.14 M. Fellmann (Illustrator), “France. – Galerie des vêtements. – Dessin de M. Fellmann,” <i>Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée</i> , vol. 1 (Paris: Commission Imperial, 1867), 322.	279

List of Abbreviations



AN	Archives nationales de France
AP	Archives de Paris
INPI	Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle
MC	Minutier central des notaires de Paris
SHD	Service Historique de la Défense

Abstract

“Becoming a Man in the Age of Fashion: Gender and Menswear in Nineteenth-Century France,” investigates the evolution of the menswear industry in France from the July Revolution of 1830 to the collapse of the Second Empire in 1870. Drawing on a wide range of archival materials – including newspapers, fashion plates, posters, advertisements, state records, patent records, bankruptcy records, probate records, family papers, portraits, and visual ephemera – this project first argues that in order to drive profits and support France’s reputation as an industrial powerhouse, the fashion industry mobilized gendered and classed discourses to encourage particular forms of sartorial consumption while also delineating the limits of appropriate behaviors for elite, middle-class, and eventually working-class men. Second, this work argues that elite and middle-class men participated actively in the design, procurement, and maintenance of their wardrobes throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Although there is no question that women played the most important and often overlooked roles when it came to dressing themselves and their families, the history of menswear between 1830 and 1870 reveals how dress and fashion were essential to how elite and middle-class men navigated the social and political dimensions of the world in which they lived. Before 1850, the fashion industry focused most of its attentions on encouraging consumption amongst elite men. In the 1830s and 1840s, tailors and shirt makers advertised themselves as the only artisans capable of understanding what it took to properly dress elite male bodies. In the 1850s, however, new businesses that specialized in cheap ready-to-wear menswear began using both new and retooled advertising strategies to encourage lower middle-class men and working-class men to also think of clothing as an essential part of

how they performed their gender and class identities. Finally, using the men's ready-to-wear industry as a point of entry, this work argues that the menswear industry in France is an example of how entrepreneurs and businesspeople contributed to the articulation of modern legal practices as well as production techniques that have come to define industrial capitalism, including the supremacy of advertising, modern intellectual property rights, mass-production, and a devaluation of "feminine" forms of labor.

Introduction

This dissertation examines the creation of a new vestimentary vocabulary that went hand in hand with the elaboration of a new politics of male dress; the emergence of new gendered discourses that focused on individual bodies; the rise of advertising, branding, and marketing as powerful tools for motivating consumption; the development of new production, retail, and consumer practices including the industrialization of clothing production and the introduction of ‘ready-to-wear,’ and the reification of a class based hierarchy in mid-nineteenth-century France. Through a close examination of the evolution of the menswear industry between 1830 and 1870 this dissertation makes three main arguments. First, men participated actively in the design, procurement, and maintenance of their wardrobes throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Although there is no question that women played the most important and often overlooked roles when it came to dressing themselves and their families, as feminist historians have shown, the history of menswear between 1830 and 1870 reveals how dress and fashion were essential to how men from across the socioeconomic spectrum navigated the social and political dimensions of the world in which they lived. Second, in order to drive profits and support France’s reputation as an industrial powerhouse, the fashion industry, which included manufactures, designers, artisans, laborers, as well as the publishers, editors, journalists, and illustrators of the Fashion press, mobilized gendered and classed discourses to encourage particular forms of sartorial consumption while also delineating the limits of appropriate behaviors. Third, in the interest of encouraging sales, the clothing industry contributed to the articulation of modern legal practices as well as production techniques that have come to define industrial capitalism,

including the supremacy of advertising, modern intellectual property rights, mass-production, and a devaluation of “feminine” forms of labor.

This dissertation engages with three broad historiographical bodies of work. First, I situate my research within a body of literature that has identified Paris in the mid-nineteenth century as a focal point for the development of a modern consumer culture and industrial practices. Then I explain why it is significant to focus exclusively on the menswear industry given the attention that has already been placed on the development of the womenswear industry during the same period. Finally, I show how this work fits into a broader conversation about class and social identities in nineteenth-century France.

Menswear, Paris, and the Mid-Nineteenth Century

This dissertation focuses on the history of the Parisian menswear industry between the rise of the July Monarchy in 1830 and the final collapse of the Second French Empire in 1870-71. It was in the mid-nineteenth century that the menswear industry went through a period of transition from an artisanal service industry to a modern and industrializing engine of mass-production and consumption. During this period the menswear industry used modern forms of advertising; developed new retail practices, labor, and manufacturing practices; and contributed to the articulation of new gendered forms of consumption all in the name of driving profits. While a study of modern menswear could start earlier, the first ready-to-wear garments for men were in fact available in the 1820s.

I focus on Paris during this period because historians of fashion and consumer culture including Valerie Steele and Hazel H. Hahn have identified Paris in the mid-nineteenth century as a crucial cite for the development of modern consumer practices. In her groundbreaking cultural history of Paris fashion, Valerie Steele has shown that in many ways Paris was the

fashion capital of Europe in the nineteenth-century. Two parallel phenomena, in particular, Steele identifies contributed to the development of Parisian commercial culture in the mid-nineteenth century. One is the maturation of a robust print culture, spurred by technological developments in printing, that encouraged men and women to engage in consumer culture; and second, is how “capitalism radically transformed the production and consumption of fashionable dress.”¹ For example, the capitalist desire for profits contributed to the development of new retail practices and establishments like department stores. The historian Hazel H. Hahn, following Steele, has also shown in her study of nineteenth-century France that a “modern consumer culture” arose in France as early as the July Monarchy “in which a shared, collective imaginary about consumption as well as consumer products spread through the press, advertisements, illustrated books and other cultural and commercial sources, creating new meanings of consumption and new consumer identities influenced by shared urban sociability around sites of consumption.” As Hahn demonstrates, it was the first time that a significant portion of the urban population of Paris could consume both “goods and representations of consumption” which coincided with a consumer fascination with the new.²

In their studies of Paris fashion and consumer culture both Steele and Hahn emphasize the role that the city itself played in the development of a modern consumer culture. This follows a historiography that has shown how during the July Monarchy and the Second Empire the city itself experienced urban transformation, an expansion of the city’s boundaries, as well as an increase in population.³ The evolution and growth of the French clothing industry was one aspect

¹ Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1998), 13.

² Hazel H. Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 3.

³ François Loyer, *Paris Nineteenth Century: Architecture and Urbanism*, trans. Charles Lynn Clark (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988); David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York: The Free Press, 1995); Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, La Ville, (1852-1870)* (Paris: Editions L’Harmattan, 1998); Colin Jones, *Paris: The Biography of a City* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004); Barrie M. Ratcliffe and Christine

of this transformation of the city. New retail business as well as manufacturers opened in the commercial districts on the right and left banks of the Seine introducing Parisians to new types of shopping experiences, including the development of readily available ready-to-wear clothing.⁴ Historians of French department stores, moreover, have shown how new business models and retail practices helped define Paris as the center for modern luxury goods and retail.⁵ In bringing to light the dynamics of this modern consumer culture based in Paris, however, historians have explored in less detail some of the transformations in the menswear industry. This dissertation focuses on the ways in which the menswear industry changed in this period and how those changes contributed to the development of a modern consumer culture. The menswear industry is significant because the evidence this dissertation presents suggests that the menswear industry was one of the first industries that adopted new retail, production, and advertising techniques paving the way for a modern consumer culture to take root in France.

I focus on the period marked by the rise of the July Monarchy and the fall of the Second Empire in order to better understand how the menswear industry adapted to the economic and political changes that laid the groundwork for the development of modern industrial capitalism in France after 1870. The July Monarchy and the Second Empire are significant because this period saw a concerted effort on the part of the French government to encourage trade, economic development, and industrialization. I will note, however, that many of the transformation I

Piette, *Vivre la ville. Les classes populaires à Paris (1ère moitié du XIXe siècle)* (Paris: La Bibliothèque de l'histoire, 2007).

⁴ Henriette Vanier, *La Mode et ses métiers: Frivolités et luttes des classes, 1830-1870* (Paris: Kiosque, 1960); Philippe Perrot, *Les Dessus et les Dessous de la Bourgeoisie: Une Histoire du vêtement au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), 74-107.

⁵ Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marche: Bourgeois Culture and Department Stores, 1869-1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); François Faraut, *Histoire de la Belle Jardinière* (Paris: Belin, 1987); Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

discuss in this work are intertwined with practices and ideas that date much earlier than 1830, and to be sure the July Monarchy was not the first French government to focus on encouraging the French economy. Many of the menswear industry's practices examined in this dissertation had roots in the Old Regime guild system in which legally incorporated and protected bodies represented certain industries, regulated how labor was organized, set standards for goods, and regulated prices. The clothing industry was for the most part incorporated into several privileged entities each setting its own standards and labor practices which had lasting effects on the nineteenth-century clothing industry.⁶ Labor in the nineteenth-century tailor's workshop as well as the shirt makers shop followed the leftover labor practices associated with guilds.⁷ I focus on the mid-nineteenth-century in order to examine how the rise of a modern industrial economy was just as much about retooling old practices for new purposes as much as it was a watershed moment for the new.

Between 1830 and 1848, King Louis-Philippe and his government pursued a conservative political agenda, that gave way at times to liberal policies, centered on catering to wealthy elites and business development following a pattern of state intervention meant to encourage economic development after the French Revolution.⁸ Louis-Philippe's government for example lowered taxes on printed goods and newspapers which resulted in a rise in for-profit advertisements in the press but conversely, they also imposed high protective tariffs which resulted in an economic

⁶ Emile Coornaert, *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968); Steven Laurence Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Michael Sonenscher, *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

⁷ Clare Haru Crowston and Claire Lemerrier, "Surviving the End of the Guilds: Apprenticeship in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France," in *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis, 282–308 (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

⁸ Jeffery Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1830* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2008).

boom in the 1840s.⁹ While the regime was far from fully embracing laissez-faire economic policies, it did uphold ideas about the importance of private property and encouraged economic development that paved the way for the modernization of the French economy after 1848. During the Second Empire, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte would continue to pursue a pro-business agenda.¹⁰ Examples of Bonaparte's economic ambitions include the series of *Expositions Universelles* hosted during the Second Empire in Paris, when the government was concerned with presenting the French economy as robust, powerful, and able to compete on a global stage.¹¹ In focusing on the period between 1830 and 1870 I am able to examine how these initiatives that sought to encourage economic development coincided with the development of retail, labor, and consumer practices that created new opportunities for consumers, producers, and laborers as well as new anxieties, uncertainties, instability, and competition. Some of the new developments in the industry included the invention of new luxury goods, the wide availability of ready-to-wear clothing, and the rise of modern advertising campaigns.

Conversely, the changes in the menswear industry also brought to the fore anxieties about a social hierarchy in flux. I examine how individual artisans and entrepreneurs used modern advertising techniques such as creating a recognizable brand name as well as modern legal practices including patents and trademarks to create demand for new consumer goods while also establishing the clothing industry's reputation as a major contributor to French industry. Men and

⁹ H. A. C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830 – 1848* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1988); Victoria Thompson, *The Virtuous Marketplace: Women and Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830-1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Mathew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹¹ Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991); Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth-Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

women learned to consume in new ways between 1830 and 1870. I aim to show, through a history of menswear, how industrialization was a cultural transformation as much as it was a material transformation. The debates about the nature of industrializing in Europe in the nineteenth-century stress the importance of technological transformation as well as political changes that resulted in the emergence of industrialized economies especially in France and England.¹² Following a growing body of literature on the cultural history of the economy in the eighteenth century, what the history of menswear in the nineteenth shows is that while technological developments such as the invention of the sewing machine were important in the evolution of the clothing industry, ideas about gender, class, and national prestige also helped shape industrialization in France.¹³

“Hidden” Masculine Consumption in Images and Texts

While the historiography on fashion has tended to focus on women as active consumers, and the gendering of fashion as feminine, cultural forces similar to those acting on women in the nineteenth century also applied to men, spurring them too to become active consumers of sartorial goods.¹⁴ In other words, the fashion industry’s regulatory discourses applied to both

¹² For more on the debates about industrialization see: Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage, 2014); Jeffrey Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1830* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2008); David Landes, *Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change And Industrial Development In Western Europe From 1750 To The Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003 [1969]); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹³ Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex*; Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

¹⁴ Susan Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 1, 7. Jennifer Michelle Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion, and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 2-3; 60-75; Steele, *Paris Fashion*; Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 20-23, 140-149; Victoria Thompson, *The Virtuous Marketplace: Women and Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830-1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 10.

men and women. Encouragement and restriction, two opposing forces, worked simultaneously to define proper forms of masculine consumption that encouraged men to use the adorning and dressing of their bodies as a means of displaying a self-fashioned identity, or what Terence Turner has called “the social skin,” while delineating the boundaries of appropriate behaviors based on gender and class.¹⁵ In his highly influential study of the English menswear industry in the nineteenth-century, the historian Christopher Breward has shown that despite the overwhelming focus of advertisers, manufacturers, retailers, and commentators on women as consumers, the focus on women “does not imply in itself that men were excluded from the experience of fashion.”¹⁶ Rather, a specific cohort of advertisers, producers, and retailers actively recruited men as consumers of sartorial goods. For Breward, men became “hidden consumers” in the nineteenth-century; as different forms of consumption were differentiated by gender, masculine consumption became hidden from sight. In this dissertation I aim to show how France created its own national version of “hidden” consumers who learned how to think of their consumption as a form a necessary, productive, and masculine endeavor. The fashion industry, which included editors, writers, advertisers, illustrators as well as artisans, manufacturers, and retailers, encouraged first an upper echelon, and then a broader elite of bourgeois men to consider attaining a certain level of fashionable “elegance” through adorning their bodies in fashionable garments as a means of displaying both their masculinity and their Frenchness.

The “hidden” nature of modern masculine consumption is also, I argue, a product of the historiography on menswear, especially an overwhelming focus on dark clothing and especially on suits. The historian David Kuchta has shown that between 1650 and 1850 the three-piece suit

¹⁵ Terence Turner, “The Social Skin.” HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory vol. 2, no. 2, (2012): 486–504. doi:10.14318/hau2.2.026.

¹⁶ Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 16.

made up of a jacket, pants (or breeches), and a waistcoat became the standard format of modern menswear. The three-piece suit, according to Kuchta, is the manifestation of a particular type of masculinity defined by productivity, authority over subordinates including women, and a masculine form of rationality.¹⁷ Scholars, such as John Harvey, however, have noted that the color black has played a significant role in the history of menswear since the early modern period and has evoked a range of meanings each marked by the particular historical context in which the meaning of the color black was defined. It has been associated with mourning and death, juridical or religious authority, power, commerce, productivity, and in the mid-nineteenth century with elegance, refinement, and formality.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Harvey opens his chapter on black in the nineteenth-century with the following declaration: “Colour dies in menswear in the nineteenth century, leaving color and brightness to women.” Harvey goes on to explain that at this time black became the ultimate symbol of masculine elegance defined by “the world of work and professional dignity.”¹⁹ The prevalence of black and dark colors, moreover, has contributed to arguments such as the psychologist J. C. Flügel’s assumptions that in adopting the black suit men somehow gave up or relinquished the desire and rights to dress in elaborate and decorated ways. For Flügel, the period this dissertation examines should thus be understood as “The Great Masculine Renunciation.” In this period, he concludes, men only thought of clothing as “useful;” they “abandoned [their] claim to be considered beautiful.”²⁰

While there was a significant simplification of menswear in the nineteenth century, arguments such as Flügel’s oversimplify the reality of what constituted a complete masculine

¹⁷ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁸ For more on the particular histories of the color black in menswear from the early modern period through the twentieth century see John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁹ Harvey, *Men in Black*, 195.

²⁰ J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Howgarth Press, 1950 [1933]), 136.

wardrobe in this period. One of the reasons why black suits seem to us ubiquitous in the nineteenth-century is because of the types of sources, both textual and visual, that have been used in historical accounts of menswear in the nineteenth-century. Harvey's material evidence for the preeminence of black as a marker of elegance are prints as well as paintings that represent men in formal evening wear. For the most part, elite men did not have their portraits painted in casual or informal clothing, which might have been more colorful. Harvey also took as evidence, for example, the August Renoir paintings *Dance in the Country* and *Dance in Town*, as well as literary representations of men in dark clothing.²¹ As in formal portraiture, where men are shown in their most elegant clothing, black dominates the two male bodies in Renoir's pictures, completely enveloping both men. Here, however, the black attire of the men is juxtaposed with the bright colors of their partners' dresses. In this case the dark attire of the men in the Renoir paintings is functional in that it contrasts with and sets off the colorful attire of the women, thus creating an aesthetic effect that emphasizes gender difference. In her recent study of clothing in art, the art historian Aileen Ribeiro has, however, shown that pictures that show men in more casual settings often feature a wide range of colors, materials, and cuts.²²

To see the variety that existed in menswear one has to turn to a wide and sometimes less formal range of genres of representation where an array of menswear appears. In the 1830s and 1840s, for example, fashion journals advertised to men dark suits for elegant soirées as well as brightly colored and highly embroidered dressing gowns. Dark or black suits were indeed popular between 1830 and 1870, but they were only one part of a complete wardrobe that required multiple types of garments in a wide range of colors and fabrics. French visual culture

²¹ Harvey, *Men in Black*, 200.

²² Aileen Ribeiro, *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 270-72.

from the mid-nineteenth century is replete with examples of representations of masculine wardrobes. I examine closely several kinds of pictures including formal portraits, fashion plates, popular prints, and commercial advertisements to show how the fashion industry encouraged elite men to cultivate a large, varied, and at times colorful wardrobe as a means of encouraging the growth of the menswear industry.

Susan Siegfried's work on portraiture and fashion images and Marcia Pointon's recent work on fashion in portraiture have been highly instrumental for my understanding of what historians can glean from visual sources when it comes to understanding the political and social roles of fashion and costume in the nineteenth century. In her study of the Empress Josephine's reinvention of court costume in the Napoleonic Era, Siegfried demonstrates that images are an extremely important source for fashion scholars particularly because in many cases pictures are the only material evidence that remain about clothing, whether or not the representations of clothing faithfully correspond to the real garments used or their descriptions from archival sources. Siegfried suggests that the representations of clothing in pictures should be considered as "translations" that consider the conventions of pictorial representation, rather than exact copies of historical dress. Attending to how clothing is presented differently in visual media, from portraits to genre paintings and printed images, allows for a better understanding of the politics of fashion and how fashion is mobilized to create particular displays of power.²³

In her defense of art historians focusing on clothing and dress when studying portraiture, Marcia Pointon suggests that understanding how the body is covered and adorned allows for a close study of how sitters attempt to construct gendered identities through portraiture.²⁴ This

²³ Susan L. Siegfried, "Fashion and the Reinvention of Court Costume in Portrayals of Josephine de Beauharnais (1794-1809)," *Appearance(s)*, vol. 6 (2015): 1-15.

²⁴ Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 21.

dissertation shows how men, especially political figures, mobilized dress in portraiture to construct public identities that would resonate with an interested public. I argue, for example, that through a combination of visually tame military uniforms and subdued, but fashionable, civilian menswear the July Monarchy visually present the king (and later his male family members) as the physical manifestation of an idealized masculine archetype who projected stability, productivity, military might, and national prowess. How Louis-Philippe went about building his wardrobe and his iconography, moreover, are indicative of the ways in which French men understood dress as a social tool, one they could wield to anchor themselves in a gendered and classed hierarchy. In reading the archival evidence of historical wardrobes against the visual “translations” in portraits, I show how men used clothing to cultivate their masculine identity.

Like portraits, fashion plates are central to my dissertation because they offered consumers idealized and aspirational images of men and women in fashionable settings in fashionable clothing that were meant to be both entertaining and edifying. Fashion plates are illustrations that were intended to demonstrate contemporary fashions and they were published in fashion journals and on occasion as individual prints. As Kate Nelson Best has convincingly argued, one appealing aspect of fashion publications was their use of fashion plates to illustrate for readers idealized visions of contemporary life.²⁵ Following Roland Barthes, Best argues that from the 1830s onward fashion plates represented women in specific and aspirational social settings that visually linked lifestyle with the ability to consume sartorial goods. Offering idealized fantasies of modern life, fashion plates offered women tools they could mobilize to construct their own selves through the use of sartorial goods.²⁶ As a form of commercial

²⁵ Kate Nelson Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 37.

²⁶ Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 38; Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990 [1967]).

advertising, fashion plates encouraged customers to play with fantasies, while also regulating the parameters of self-expression.²⁷ As I will show, fashion plates representing men offered them equally powerful idealized images of the potentials of fashion to shape masculinity and support social aspirations.

The first fashion plates developed in France in the seventeenth century alongside the first iterations of a “fashion press,” including in regular periodicals that feature reporting on contemporary fashions as one of their primary purposes. The first of these images typically showed a single figure represented against an empty background modeling court costumes and historical dress. Kate Nelson Best and Daniel Roche have both shown that in the eighteenth-century the demand for fashion publications grew significantly, and with it the demand for fashion plates, which increasingly gave information on current fashions and not historical dress. The nineteenth-century was a sort of “golden age” for the fashion press and the fashion plate.²⁸ Titles such as *Le Journal des dames et des modes* would experience massive success across Europe and North America, and the number of titles multiplied steadily over the course of the century.²⁹ As the influence of the fashion press expanded so did the fashion plate, so to speak. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, fashion plates continued to feature one or two models in contemporary fashions. Steadily, over the course of the century, the number of models multiplied. The fashion plates from the July Monarchy often featured three or four models, while the fashion plates from the Second Empire could include up to seven or eight models.³⁰ The proliferation of models is significant because it demonstrates the extent to which men were

²⁷ Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 487-488.

²⁸ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 480-489; Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 27-29.

²⁹ Annemarie Kleinert, *Le “Journal des Dames et des Modes”: Ou la conquête de l’Europe féminine* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001).

³⁰ Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 30.

encouraged to consume a variety of garments over the course of the nineteenth-century. In the Second Empire when mass-produced ready-to-wear garments were marketed to nonelite men a coterie of models allowed advertisers to target an increasing number of men as potential consumers. Eight models, for example, gave men eight different ways of participating in the world of fashion. Some could afford all eight, while others maybe only one. These representations, however, demonstrate how the multiplication of options in fashion plates contrasts with and contests the assumption that consumer choice narrowed for men in the nineteenth-century.

My reading of fashion plates has also influenced how I approach nineteenth-century commercial posters. Introduced in the 1840s and 1850s, commercial posters that featured texts as well as images functioned in similar ways to fashion plates in that they presented viewers with idealized and aspirational images of a fashionable life that could be attained through the consumption of sartorial goods. Commercial posters, moreover, are significant because more so than even fashion plates, they speak to how retailers and advertisers attempted to encourage consumption amongst nonelite men, especially the *petite bourgeoisie* made up of office workers and shop keepers. The development and proliferation of the commercial poster thus corresponds to the expansion of the market for tailored goods and the industrialization of both advertising and ready-to-wear.

I also examine popular prints that claimed to capture images of “modern life.” In the same period that fashion plates come to prominence illustrators and editors took up the new techniques of lithography and wood engraving to publish prints that, according to Jillian Lerner “became a prominent form of instruction and entertainment: at once novel consumer products circulating within the urban environment, and artistic forms that offered critical commentary on

the environment.”³¹ Images that promised to capture a snippet of ‘modern life’ were especially popular amongst urban consumers in France. With regards to the work of illustrators and editors, Jillian Lerner argues: “as they chronicled the significant constituents of city life... they actively shaped the manner in which Parisian modernity was understood”³² These works contributed significantly to the social imaginary of the French and especially the more overtly comical and critical ones set a restrictive tone: one that delineated proper forms of consumption and thus aimed to limit the possibilities of fashioning the male body.

Alongside images of menswear, I also examine a wide array of printed sources including fashion journals, etiquette manuals, popular literary texts, and printed advertisements that speak to the various ways in which menswear was represented in the mid-nineteenth century. These representations both encouraged and discouraged the play of imagination and aspiration through attire, which both expanded and limited the possibilities of masculine dress. During the July Monarchy, following the historiography on the expansion of the French publishing industry, Hahn has shown that a rise in literacy, urbanization, improved transportation, and new printing technology allowed the publishing industry to produce and distribute popular printed material on a large scale, while the content of the published works encouraged the consumption of commodity goods.³³

This dissertation also makes use of the proliferating advertisements that appeared in newspapers, illustrated dailies, and fashion journals. During the July Monarchy advertisements became frequent and regular in the French press. The historian Gilles Feyel has shown that

³¹ Jillian Lerner, *Graphic Culture: Illustration and Artistic Enterprise in Paris 1830–1848* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2018), 1-2.

³² James Cuno, “Charles Philippon, La Maison Aubert, and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829-41,” *Art Journal* 43, no. 4 (1983): 347–54, <https://doi.org/10.2307/776732>.

³³ Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 30-49.

advertisements first entered the French press in 1745 with the rise of weekly and bi-weekly “advertising press” in Paris along with the inclusion of advertisements in almanacs. Print advertising would continue to expand in the 1770s and 1780s until the French Revolution. As political publications proliferated during the 1790s and early 1800s, editors spared little room for advertisements, according to Feyel. Print advertising would see a resurgence, however, during the Bourbon Restoration and the July Monarchy. In the late-1820s, the big daily presses began including advertisements, often dedicated entire pages to advertisements, in response to higher paper and stamp taxes imposed by the conservative government in 1826. In order to avoid raising subscription costs by too much, newspapers like *Le Constitutionnel* began incorporating paid advertisements in the press to offset the higher costs of publishing in the 1820s and 1830s. During the July Monarchy, though Louis-Philippe lowered the taxes on printing, advertising was seen at that point as a crucial part of how newspapers created profits for their owners. Publishers such as the Émile de Girardin, the man behind successful titles including the fashion magazine *La Mode*, for example, developed publishing strategies that relied largely on advertising revenue.³⁴ Menswear was one of the many industries that would turn to the publishing industry in order to encourage new forms of consumption and would take advantage of new advertising strategies.

This dissertation in examining representations and how particular forms of consumption are gendered masculine in the nineteenth century also takes into consideration how individuals, whether retailers, laborers, or consumers, experienced and understood the material garments represented. As Anaïs Albert addresses in her work on consumption and the French working-class in the *Belle Époque*, following Marie-Emmanuelle Chessel, focusing on representation

³⁴ Gilles Feyel, “Presse et publicité en France (XVIII et XIXe siècles),” *Revue Historique* (October 2003): 841-854.

when doing a history of consumption has its own limits.³⁵ In particular, Albert explains that in studies like Breward's, consumption is often defined in extremely broad terms that allows the historian to focus on the ways in which consumption is a gendered practice, while in turn taking focus away from how men and women actually experienced the material realities of participating in a consumer economy, in particular the relationship between social class and consumption.³⁶ Albert proposes focusing instead on the material records consumers left behind, alongside representations, in order to "study the life cycle of objects," or in other words to trace how items were purchased, used, and maintained in order to understand how "consumption contributes to the formation or division of a social group."³⁷ Albert, for example, uses a sampling of *scellés après décès* from two Parisian neighborhoods from 1895, which document information regarding what individuals owned, how they lived, and their financial situation, to examine how consumption was organized and financed in working-class communities at the level of the *quartier*. This approach to studying objects through their life cycle allows the historian to situate representation of goods and practices within an analysis of lived experiences.

In my study a disperse collection of archives including invoices, probate records, personal correspondences, as well as patent records, business records, and bankruptcy records reveal the wide range of garments and accessories men owned and accumulated at different points in their lives, and how garments contributed to the articulation of social identities. Moreover, these archives also reveal the different stages of production, distribution, and consumption that relied on a network of people and businesses. Some records, such as patent

³⁵Anaïs Albert, *La Vie à Crédit: La Consommation Des Classes Populaires à Paris (Années 1880-1920)* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2021), 21-23; Marie-Emmanuelle Chessel, "Où va l'histoire de la consommation?" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, no. 59 (2012): 150-157.

³⁶ Albert, *La Vie à Crédit*, 23.

³⁷ "Le cycle de la vie des objets," "la formation ou à la division d'un groupe social." Anaïs Albert, *La Vie à Crédit: La Consommation Des Classes Populaires à Paris (Années 1880-1920)* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2021), 24–25.

records, speak to how artisans, manufacturers, and retailers envisioned their particular industry and what purpose it served. I used invoices conserved in private family papers in the French National Archives to reconstruct the wardrobes of elite men and to show how they participated in the procurement, maintenance, and refurbishment of their clothing. Furthermore, I use probate records, more specifically the *inventaires après décès* (death inventories), to better understand the different types of goods that men and women accumulated. The *inventaires après décès* were used to settle matters of inheritance, and thus provide a detailed account of what men and women with the financial means to hire a notary, actually owned and what it was worth at the time of their deaths.³⁸ The *inventaires après décès*, along with bankruptcy records, are some of the only sources that speak directly to how businesses were structured, what their stock of goods looked like, as well as how businesses were financed.

In examining both representations as well as archival records, I show how men were both encouraged to consume by the menswear industry and how men relied on clothing to both create their masculine identity and to participate in the social life of nineteenth-century France. In particular, men were active members in what Susan Siegfried and I have previously referred to as a “community of dress”: or “the extensive network of people [individuals] called upon to help clothe [themselves] and [their] family.”³⁹ Through a close examination of George Sand’s personal correspondence, fashion imagery, and Sand’s iconography, we demonstrated how George Sand relied on a network of family members, friends, and acquaintances, as well as

³⁸ Since hiring a notary presented at times a prohibitive cost to men and women in the working class, their inventories are rarely represented in the French notary archives. However, the records of what goods working-class men and women did own are recorded in the records of the *scellés après décès* done by the justice of the peace. Anaïs Albert explains that the *scellés* unlike the *inventaires d’après décès* do not list the appraised value of goods but they are better at situating where objects were found in homes and their general state. I have not examined the archives of the *scellés* for myself. Albert, *La Vie à Credit*, 38.

³⁹ Susan L. Siegfried and John Finkelberg, “Fashion in the Life of George Sand,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* (Fall 2020):5, 18-25.

personal servants, laborers, and artisans, to construct her own wardrobe as well as those of her family and friends. In doing so, we contribute to a growing body of work that explores the sociology of fashion in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe and North America and how men and women experienced the changes in retail and consumer practices associated with the rise of modern consumer markets.⁴⁰ The scholarship on clothing production and gender in the nineteenth-century has shown the ways in which women played a dominant role in the maintenance of wardrobes,⁴¹ but broadening our lens to include an entire “community of dress” illuminates the role that men played in dressing themselves and those around them.⁴² In this dissertation I show how in dressing themselves as well as their family members, friends, and servants, men learned to navigate the social world of the nineteenth-century. Men did not passively just wear garments selected for them by others (especially women), they participated in the procurement, maintenance, and use of garments because they too were invested in drawing on the social and cultural value of dress. In uncovering how men participated in communities of dress, this work furthers Breward’s attempts to identify the “hidden” masculine consumer.

⁴⁰John Styles and Amanda Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2006); Heidi Brevik-Zender ed., *Fashion, Modernity, and Materiality in France: From Rousseau to Art Deco* (New York: SUNY Press, 2018); Alison David, *Fashion Victims: The Dangers of Dress Past and Present* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Hilary Davidson, *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

⁴¹Judith G. Coffin, *The Politics of Women’s Work: The Paris Garment Trades 1750-1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Colette Cosnier, *Le silence des filles. De l’aiguille à la plume* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); Anna Iuso, “Ma vie est un ouvrage à l’aiguille. Écrire, coudre et broder au XIX siècle,” *Clio. Histoire, femmes, et sociétés*, no. 35, vol. 1: 89-106; Amy Boyce Osaki, “A ‘Truly Feminine Employment’: Sewing and the Early Nineteenth Century Woman.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 23 (1988): 225–241; Perrot, *Les Dessus et les Dessous de la Bourgeoisie*; Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

⁴²In the case of the Sand family, several men including her son, his friends, and her close associates were enlisted at several moments to help in picking and securing materials, commenting on styles, as well as shopping for ready-made garments for members of the community of dress. Siegfried and Finkelberg, “Fashion in the Life of George Sand,” 18-19.

Fashion, Class, and Cultural Capital

Another of the primary concerns of this dissertation is to show how a class and gender based hierarchy emerged as the French Revolution disrupted the Old Regime's society of rank and orders, which made it culturally possible for the menswear industry to thrive and laid the groundwork for modern industrial capitalism in France after 1870. French society before 1789 was organized into three social orders (the clergy, the nobility, and everyone else). While historians of the French Revolution have shown that the lines separating the three estates were often blurry, social differences were marked and readily displayed.⁴³ Before the eighteenth-century, for example, sumptuary laws restricted certain garments and fashions to particular social groups. In the eighteenth-century when sumptuary laws were no longer enforced fashion took on a new importance for the French, especially the elites, who turned to fashionable clothing as a means of marking their social privilege. As the historian Daniel Roche has shown dress played a crucial role in maintaining social order within and between the estates. Elite men in the second estate, for example, accumulated large and fashionable wardrobes that invariably were part of a "conspicuous consumption which permitted social differentiation in the external aspects of life was an instrument of group self-affirmation in the constant competition for rank and privilege."⁴⁴ Elite men in Paris, Versailles, and in provincial communities used colorful suits, uniforms, hunting clothing, and litany of accessories to make claims to particular social positions and identities. This trend extended to men in all three estates, not just amongst the nobility in the second estate. Roche, for example, credits the large number of sober black suits in the

⁴³ For more on the debates regarding the rigidity the social hierarchy in the *ancien régime* see: Colin Lucas "Nobles, Bourgeois, and the Origins of the French Revolution," in *Past and Present*, no. 60 (Aug 1973): 84-126; Sara Maza, "Politics, Culture, and the Origins of the French Revolution," in *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 61, no. 4 (Dec. 1989): 704-723.

⁴⁴ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 185.

inventories of the Parisian bourgeoisie as a means of creating a visual difference between the urban professional and provincial farmers and peasants who were also included in the third estate.⁴⁵ As fashion became increasingly commercialized in metropolitan centers like Paris, and more accessible, a growing population in all three estates began spending more on “improving their appearance.”⁴⁶ However, the strictures of the society of orders did prevent French men and women from becoming completely uniform in their fashions and as Roche explains, while more and more people in all the estates were spending on clothing, following fashions remained an elite endeavor for the most part.⁴⁷

While the Revolution did away with the system of legal privileges that defined the Old Regime, French men and women remained conscious of the perceived differences that continued to mark members of different social groups. As Denise Davidson argues, in the period immediately after the Napoleonic Era, French men and women searched for new ways of creating and sustaining differences between social groups. She shows that urban spaces such as cafés, theatres, and the bustling boulevards where the classes intermingled, “permitted ordinary men and women to construct categories of sometimes subtle and other times conspicuous difference in dress and comportment that signified people’s position in society.”⁴⁸ Divorced from the strictures of the Old Regime, French men and women developed new strategies of differentiation. Following historian Christopher H. Johnson, I argue for the continued importance of class analysis, while acknowledging that it must be “shorn of its roots in Marxist social history.”⁴⁹ However, unlike Johnson, I am less interested in identifying the ways in which groups

⁴⁵ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 190-193.

⁴⁶ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 116.

⁴⁷ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 219.

⁴⁸ Denise Davidson, “Making Society ‘Legible’: People-Watching in Paris After the Revolution,” *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring, 2005): 266.

⁴⁹ Christopher H. Johnson, *Becoming Bourgeois: Love, Kinship, and Power in Provincial France, 1670-1880* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 5.

of individuals did or did not become bourgeois, focusing rather on how concerns about class shaped the ways in which customers, retailers, and producers approached the practices of consumption, production, and display. I show in this dissertation that class, like gender, was socially constructed and that the social world of the nineteenth century was constantly in flux. Participating in fashion, especially through dress, was one of the principal ways men and women anchored themselves within a social hierarchy. This dissertation, furthermore, shows how the social politics of clothing and fashion that Roche identified for the eighteenth-century society of orders continued to play a significant role in how individuals understood their place in a social hierarchy in the nineteenth-century.

I have refrained from referring at certain moments in this dissertation to the men and women I study as bourgeois because for the first fifteen years this dissertation covers the men and women, we might consider bourgeois did not in fact ascribe to such an appellation, and in a study of marketing and consumer choice it would be misleading to assume they shared a mentality about themselves that they did not consciously embrace. Following Sara Maza, I argue that instead of a self-conscious “bourgeoisie” the main political force in France during the July Monarchy was a mixture of noble and nonnoble elites who were equally concerned with promoting their own social positions while maintaining the classed and gendered hierarchy that was in place.⁵⁰ The men and women who made up this political force, were also the same men and women who were consuming in increasing numbers and participating in a modern consumer culture. My reading of the fashion press and etiquette manuals between 1830 and 1848 shows that the “bourgeoisie,” formed part of a broad elite that included the titled aristocracy, *rentiers*, and the wealthiest bankers in France who also embraced a new culture of consumption marked

⁵⁰ Sara Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 6, 90.

by the intersection of a thriving print culture and a market for new sartorial commodities. However, these same sources help us to see how the differentiation that marks the separation between the middle-class and the upper-class after the Revolution of 1848 was articulated through retail practices.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social distinction has been particularly helpful for my understanding of how fashion contributed to this social articulation. In his sociological study of French society in the mid-twentieth century, *Distinction*, Bourdieu argues that class is often the basis of individual preferences for certain types of products or interests. One's taste, in Bourdieu's formulation, is a direct result of one's class, and vice-versa. According to Bourdieu, "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed."⁵¹ One's taste makes class visible: tastes determine ideas and practices and it betrays one's social position to one's self as well as one's contemporaries. For Bourdieu, interests, preferences, and predispositions will mark the individual as part of particular social class, and through the cultural products they consume, the foods they eat, or the fashions they wear, they display their class position to others in their social group as well as to those in other groups. It is through these practices that individuals differentiate themselves and other people they encounter. The particular tastes of each group, moreover, are expressed according to Bourdieu's concept of the habitus. The habitus is a set of established and implicit unifying principles and dispositions which underly the particular tastes and practices which organize and help articulate the position of a particular social group within a social hierarchy. That is, the tendency that an individual

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2010 [1984]) xxix.

displays for particular fashions, tastes, or practices is in part determined by the range of dispositions and practices that have been ingrained in them since childhood, and which they were exposed to because of their position within a social group.⁵² For example, as Tony Bennett explains in his introduction to Bourdieu's *Distinction*, the principles of the habitus are "clear": "those who have particular kinds of taste for art will have similar kinds of taste not just for food but for all kinds of cultural or symbolic goods and practices: for particular kinds of music, film, television, sports, home décor, clothing and fashion, dance and so on."⁵³

I also draw on Clare Haru Crowston's work on the nature of cultural credit and class in this period. For Bourdieu, class relationships are reproduced through the interaction of three particular types of capital in social fields (the arenas of production, circulation, and interaction where class is performed): cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital. Economic capital is one's access to money and can be institutionalized in the form of property; cultural capital which by granting one access to particular institutions can become economic capital; and social capital, which is understood to be one's social connections and access to particular groups, which again can translate into forms of economic and cultural capital.⁵⁴ Following Crowston, I maintain that fashion constitutes a form of cultural capital that can be converted into social capital, economic capital, as well as a fourth, political capital. According to Crowston, fashion, as a form of cultural capital, could be converted into political capital because access to fashion in the eighteenth-century provided access to office holders and a certain degree of influence. Crowston, moreover, examines how access to lines of credit in the eighteenth century, whether you were a costumer, artisan or manufacturer, was often a product of the amount of cultural and

⁵² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 166-167.

⁵³ Tony Bennet, "Introduction to the Routledge Classic Edition," in Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2010 [1984]), xix.

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 94-97.

political capital that one could mobilize.⁵⁵ Anaïs Albert and others has shown that in the nineteenth-century, the formalization and expansion of financial credit markets would mean that a much larger portion of the French population, especially the working-class, would have access to host of new consumer products and credit schemes.⁵⁶ I maintain that while access to credit expanded in the nineteenth-century, credit's relationship with other forms of capital, especially social and political capital, continued to follow the patterns that Crowston identified for the eighteenth-century. For example, access to lines of credit with various artisans and business allowed elite men to cultivate a large and varied wardrobe during the July Monarchy and Second Empire. Men, such as the lawyer and politician Charlemagne de Maupas, used his reputation and social position to purchase goods from tailors, hatmakers, bootmakers, and many others, on credit. He used this wardrobe to remain both fashionable and appropriate in social situations; his wardrobe was one of the tools he equipped himself with to advance through the French bureaucracy during the July Monarchy, and eventually he used his clothing to legitimize his place in the imperial hierarchy after 1851.

Between 1830 and 1870 both the fashion industry and the French state presented fashion and participating in the market for consumer goods as practices that men and women needed to engage in to visually display their class position. For example, in fashion plates, journal articles, and advertisements, the fashion industry described being fashionable as one of the principal ways in which individuals both navigated their social landscapes and marked themselves as members of particular social groups. According to the July Monarchy's fashion press, one's taste in

⁵⁵ Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex*, 12.

⁵⁶ Albert, *La Vie à crédit*; Judith G. Coffin, "Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women's Desires: Selling the Sewing Machine in Late Nineteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 3 (1994): 749–83; Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, *Dark Matter Credit: The Development of Peer-to-Peer Lending and Banking in France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

“elegant” clothing was what distinguished fashionable elites from the unfashionable masses. How one cultivated one’s wardrobe, or the cultural capital of one’s wardrobe, could be converted into social capital because fashion in the mid-nineteenth century meant access to the social engagements where connections were formed and fostered. For example, the fashion press during the July Monarchy encouraged elite men to maintain a larger and varied wardrobe, one that allowed them to be both fashionable and appropriately dressed in a variety of situations. Owning the right clothes and knowing when to where them was one of the principal ways that elite men performed their masculinity and social class in the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, between 1830 and 1870 fashion was crucial in the politics of image making for the governments of both the July Monarchy and the Second Empire.

Chapter Outline

“Becoming a Man in the Age of Fashion” is divided into two parts: Part One examines elite forms of consumption and display during the July Monarchy and the Second Empire and Part Two focuses on the menswear industry and its path to industrialization in the second half of the century. Chapter 1 examines the various advertisements, both images and texts, for the celebrated Parisian tailor Pierre Ferdinand Humann (1800 – 1874), in particular, the advertisements that he collaborated on with the illustrator Paul Gavarni (1804 – 1866) and the fashion reporter Constance Aubert (1803 – 1881). Between 1836 and his death in 1874, Humann relied on an extensive marketing scheme to draw attention to his tailoring business at 83 rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs in central Paris. Advertisements for the tailor appeared in several fashion journals including *La Mode*, popular dailies such as *Le Charivari*, and magazines like *La Vie Parisienne* amongst others. In examining Humann’s business and his advertising techniques this chapter shows how the fashion industry taught men to think about their clothing between

1830 and 1870. I argue that in inventing the celebrity tailor, the industry encouraged elite men to purchase and maintain a large and varied wardrobe as a means of navigating and anchoring themselves within an implied and gendered social hierarchy.

Chapter 2 uses probate records, patent records, literary texts, and fashion plates to examine how the French clothing industry transformed the average shirt from a ubiquitous undergarment into the material foundation of modern citizenship defined by wealth, bodily individuality, and gender. In doing so, this chapter shows how artisans used evolutions in business law, tailoring techniques, and discourse that centered dressing male bodies, to invent a new garment, the tailored shirt, and in doing so promoted a “masculinized” form of consumption that emphasized comfort, practicality, and technical savvy.

After introducing two of the industries that advertised their services to elite men, Chapter 3 uses itemized invoices, portraits, personal correspondences to recreate the wardrobes of two elite men, Louis-Philippe I and the politician and lawyer Charlemagne de Maupas, to show how elite men performed their masculinity and engaged in the social life of the nineteenth century by participating in fashion culture. First, through an examination of Louis-Philippe’s archives I show how he mobilized clothing to fashion a new vocabulary about the monarchy and its legitimacy. I then use Charlemagne de Maupas’s archives to show how elite men, participated in a community of dress. Maupas’s archives speak to the ways in which men were expected in the nineteenth-century to be proficient in dressing themselves and the other people in their close community of family members and friends.

In part two, the focus shifts away from elite customers and tailors and examines how concerns about class and gender encouraged the industrialization of the menswear industry and the expansion of mass-consumption amongst the *bourgeoisie* and the *petite bourgeoisie*. Chapter

4, using a collection of posters for ready-made retailers from the Second Empire and extant business records, shows how the growth of industrial retail and mass-production was predicated on the ability of retailers and manufacturers to conjure up demand amongst a new cohort of consumers: the *petite bourgeoisie*, or lower-middle class men and boys. Retailers mobilized powerful symbols including especially Napoleonic imagery to create marketing strategies that appealed to the ideological dimensions of class identity and national politics.

The final chapter examines how manufacturers encouraged the sale of mass-produced goods domestically and internationally by taking advantage of liberalized commercial laws and the government's ambitions at the Universal Exhibitions between 1855 and 1878. Using bankruptcy records, state records, and the business archives of the *Maison du Phénix*, the largest manufacturer of removable collars, this chapter shows how manufacturers marketed their goods as objects that reinforced a particular type of modern masculinity while linking the sale and use of mass-produced accessories to the political stability and integrity of the French state and empire.

Chapter 1 – Tailor-Made Masculinity: Pierre Ferdinand Humann and Inventing Elite Masculinity in the French Fashion Press, 1830-1870

Referring to black suit jackets in 1846, the poet Charles Baudelaire asked: “Is this not the necessary dress of our epoch, suffering and wearing even unto its black and thin shoulders the symbols of perpetual mourning?” Baudelaire did not have a positive opinion about the fashions of his age which according to him made the country look like everyone was at a funeral. The black suit turns every man into, according to Baudelaire, “an immense parade of undertakers... we are each of us celebrating some funeral or other.”¹ Since Baudelaire’s lamentations fashion commentators as well as scholars have accepted that after the eighteenth-century men’s clothing became repetitive and boring, especially in comparison to women’s fashion. Historians have aptly shown that the three-piece suit became the standard in menswear and that men have not deviated much from that standard since the nineteenth-century.² However, the nineteenth-century fashion press tells the opposite story. The fashion plate published in the July 1852 issue of the Parisian men’s fashion periodical *Le Progrès* is one example of the visual advertisements that presented the wide variety in fashionable menswear available in nineteenth-century Paris (Figure 1.1). The fashion plate shows six men and three children waiting for a train in Enghien-les-Bains, a small commune to the north of Paris famous for its natural hot springs. All nine of the

¹ Charles Baudelaire, “Salon de 1846,” *Œuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire, II Curiosités esthétiques* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1864), 195.

² Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity*; Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).

individuals are dressed for a casual afternoon in the resort town with an immense variety of colors, fabrics, cuts, and embellishments that distinguish each of their outfits. All but one of the six adult men is dressed in a combination of a top hat, jacket, waistcoat, shirt, bowtie, pants, gloves, and patent leather boots, and the two young boys and a young girl appear in their own variations of fashionable and casual ensembles.



Figure 1.1 Lachoucie (draftsman), “Chapellerie de Desprey,” *Le Progrès*, July 1852, plate 31. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 36 cm x 47 cm. Private Collection, Toledo, Ohio.

Though all the

figures are clothed for a similar occasion their dress varied immensely. While some of the models wore dark brown, black, and blue jackets and pants, they were combined with cream, white, and even patterned tops and bottoms. This advertisement, moreover, also invited men to consider varying their wardrobe with red-striped shirts and different color waistcoats.³ What examples such as the fashion plate from *Le Progrès* show is that male fashion was infinitely and significantly varied and that understanding that variety for its aesthetic value as well as its appropriateness is how elite men navigated the social and political world of the mid-nineteenth century.

³ Lachoucie (draftsman), “Chapellerie de Desprey,” *Le Progrès*, July 1852, pt. 31, paper, hand-colored lithograph, 36 cm x 47 cm, private collection, Toledo, Ohio.

Print and visual advertisements provide one window into the complex story about fashion and masculinity in the mid-nineteenth century. The celebrated Parisian tailor Pierre Ferdinand Humann (1800 – 1874) is one example of the men and women in the fashion industry who collaborated with authors and illustrators to encourage the sale of garments. Between 1836 and his death in 1874, Humann worked with figures like the illustrator Paul Gavarni (1804 – 1866) and the fashion reporter Constance Aubert (1803 – 1881) to build an extensive marketing scheme meant to draw attention to his tailoring business at 83 rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs in central Paris.⁴ Advertisements for the tailor appeared in several fashion journals including *La Mode*, popular dailies such as *Le Charivari*, and magazines like *La Vie Parisienne* amongst others.⁵ Humann’s business practices and his advertisements show how the fashion industry taught men to think about their clothing between 1830 and 1870. The industry encouraged elite upper-class and middle-class men to purchase and maintain a large and varied wardrobe as a means of navigating and anchoring themselves within an implied and gendered hierarchy.

In the tailor’s atelier, men like Humann provided elite men with a service related business; they worked with men with financial means to create a masculine wardrobe. What set someone like Humann apart was how he mobilized modern forms of advertisement during the July Monarchy to encourage the sale of menswear garments. His advertisements in the politically conservative *La Mode* and the popular illustrated daily *Le Charivari* encouraged men to think of clothing as an essential part of every facet of their day, as a crucial part of what I call “elite fashionable masculinity:” a type of performative masculinity predicated on visually displaying

⁴ As early as 1837 Humann listed himself in almanacs as a multi-lingual tailor who spoke “English, German, and Dutch (*Hollandaise*) based in Paris. Sébastien Bottin, *Almanach du commerce de Paris, des départements de la France et principales villes du monde* (Paris: Bureau de l’almanach du commerce, 1837), 320. The street was renamed rue des Petits-Champs in 1881.

⁵ Humann advertised in ten publications during his career. I have decided to focus on the advertisements in *La Mode*, *Le Charivari*, and *La Vie Parisienne* because of their abundance and accessibility.

one's class position using fashionable clothing. Furthermore, advertisements for dressing gowns brought the demands of fashion into the home where men too expressed a particular type of fashionable masculinity. Humann's advertisements in the popular *La Vie Parisienne* show how the fashion press sold tailors to elite men during the Second Empire, especially by defining the tailor as the bulwark against a changing social landscape and the up and coming ready-to-wear industry. Taken together, the advertisements from the July Monarchy and Second Empire show how the fashion press promoted consumption as a necessary activity for men to display their position within a gendered and class-based hierarchy. The core of the tailors' motivation was to encourage the sale of garments, however, in order to create a new demand for products, tailors had to make consumption into a masculine activity, one that helped men anchor themselves socially and politically.

1.1 The Celebrity Tailor and Modern Tailoring

Pierre Ferdinand Humann had a long tailoring career in Paris operating an atelier at 83 rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs in Paris's fashion hub on the right bank of the Seine River for almost forty years from the 1830s until his death in 1874. Very little is known about Humann's childhood and early life, except that he was born on March 12, 1800, in Kleve, a small town in the Lower Rhine region of Prussia, before eventually immigrating to London.⁶ Modern tailoring first developed in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century London. After the Glorious Revolution, the English court adopted the first iteration of the modern three-piece suit composed of a pair of breeches, a long vest/waistcoat, and jacket with a full skirt.⁷ The historian Christopher Breward explains that the change in style corresponded to the increasing skills of cutting, fitting, and

⁶ MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874); *Bulletin des lois de la République française*, no. 103 (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1850), 43.

⁷ Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity*, 80-82.

forming clothing to a man's body. Concepts of measurement, standardization, and the introduction of the tape measure, moreover, meant that tailoring continued to mature as a specialized industry because of its technical nature.⁸ French men at the end of the eighteenth-century began adopting a new style of dress inspired by London fashions and tailoring epitomized by breeches (and in some cases pants), a form-fitting waistcoat, and a frock coat or redingote. Known as *Anglomanie*, because of this trend modern tailoring was imported to France. Even though tailoring was an English invention, the French fashion industry adopted it as its own and would eventually argue that tailoring was a distinctly French talent.⁹

Humann learned his trade in England and married Cleopha Nyren in Chelsea, then just outside of London, in 1825. At the time both Nyren and Humann were British citizens but within a decade they had resettled in Paris, where he would bring his English tailoring skills to the world of French fashion.¹⁰ By the mid-1840s, Humann was one of the first celebrity tailors, a precursor to fashion designers like Charles Frederick Worth (1825-1895) and Jeanne Paquin (1869-1936), and a recognizable figure in French popular culture.¹¹ He was well-known for his skills as a tailor, his advertising campaigns, and his well-publicized eccentric habits, which included moonlighting as a sculptor.

Contemporary commentators referred to Humann's pleasant demeanor, a combination of "German bonhomie and Parisian finesse" that endeared him to clients and helped him establish a loyal clientele.¹² The men in question included French and Italian aristocrats such as the Parisian socialite the Count d'Aubigny and members of the House of Savoy including the Prince de

⁸ Christopher Breward, *The Suit: Form, Function, and Style* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 15-27.

⁹ Farid Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 18.

¹⁰ MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874).

¹¹ Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 74-76.

¹² N.n., "Types Parisiens," *La Vie Parisienne*, 22 September 1866, 528.

Villafranca.¹³ He also counted amongst his clients men from the professional classes: lawyers, ministerial officials, journalists, and military and naval officers. While Humann's celebrity made him a singular figure, his business records suggest that he operated a typical tailoring business, one of the staples of the Parisian retail and service sector.¹⁴ One indication is how Humann operated his business through a comprehensive credit network that both facilitated his acquisition of materials as well as a way of financing his clients' purchases. As the historian Clare Haru Crowston has aptly demonstrated for the eighteenth century, the French clothing industry relied on a constant circulation of credit between suppliers, artisans, and customers that facilitated the retail market.¹⁵ At the time of his death in 1874, forty-four of the tailor's clients had outstanding debts valued at a total of 12,976 francs and eighty centimes. In 1860, of the 3,046 tailors in the city of Paris, 83% (or 2535 individual tailors) reported that their annual sales fell in a range between 5,000 and 19,500 francs. While of the remaining 511, 182 fell in the 20,000 and 29,500 francs range; ninety-two in the 30,000 and 49,500 francs range; 153 in 50,000 and 95,000 range; and eighty in the 100,000 and 400,000 francs range.¹⁶ Without Humann's final account books it is impossible to guess his annual sales, but the sheer size of the debts places him in the upper echelons of Parisian merchant tailors.¹⁷

By the 1860s, visiting Humann's rooms on the rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs was a unique experience in and of itself. He rented several rooms on the first and second floors of the

¹³ Charles Poplimont, *La France Héraldique*, Vol. 1 (Paris: EDW. Gailliard et Comp, 1870), 94.

¹⁴ MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874).

¹⁵ Clare Haru Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France* (Durham; London: Duke University Press Books, 2013).

¹⁶ Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris résultant de l'enquête faite par la Chambre de Commerce pour l'année 1860* (Paris, 1860), 308.

¹⁷ Christopher H. Johnson, "Patters of Proletarianization: Parisian Tailors and Lodève Woolen Workers," in *Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. John M. Merriman (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, inc., 1979), 68-71; Christopher H. Johnson, "Economic Changer and Artisan Discontent: The Tailors' History, 1800 - 1848," in *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic*, ed. Roger Price (London: C. Helm, 1975): 87-114.

Hôtel de Coigny, which according to *La Vie Parisienne*'s reporter stood out because they formed “a venerable *maison* with a façade that has conserved its impressive aura.”¹⁸ Humann, his wife, and their son lived together on the second floor and used the rooms on the first floor for the shop and atelier.¹⁹ Customers entered through the front gate on the rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs into a vast courtyard that led to a grand staircase which ascended to the first floor (Figure 1.2). *La Vie*

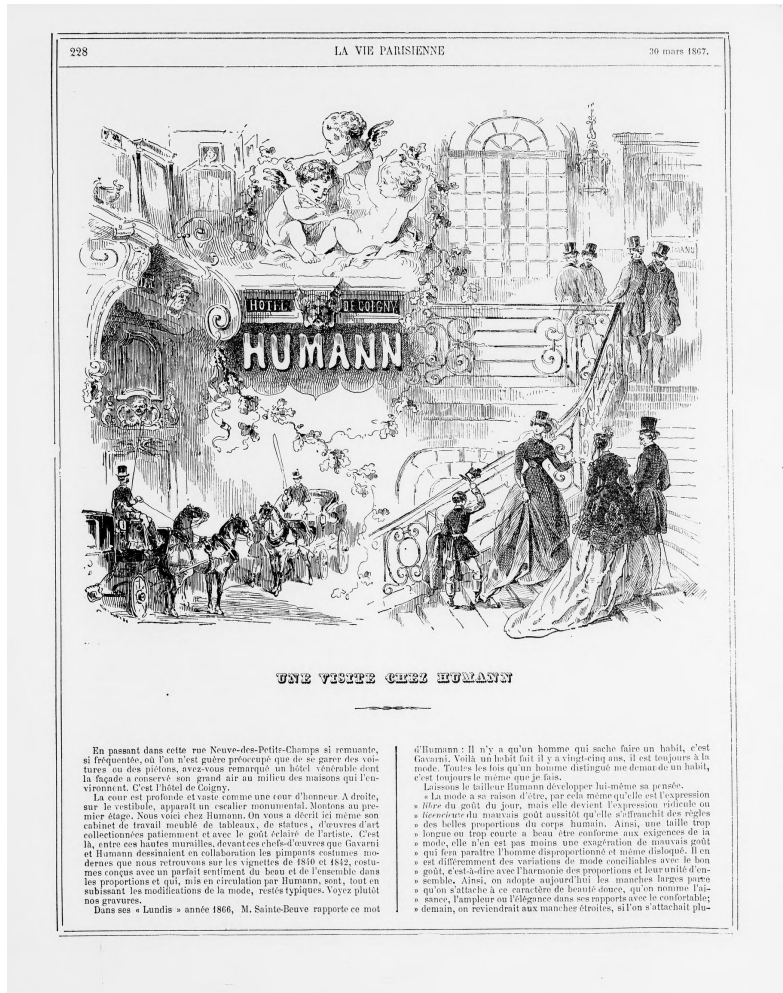


Figure 1.2 “Une Visite chez Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 30 March 1867, 228. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Parisienne printed a playful reinterpretation of the entrance to the Hôtel de Coigny. Imaginary putti carrying garlands float over the entrance to the courtyard as elegantly dressed men, women, and children ascend a grand staircase to Humann’s store. Customers proceeded into a small waiting room illuminated by a window into the courtyard and from there passed into a much larger second room where customers met with the tailor.

Reporters who went to his studio

¹⁸ “Une visite chez Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 30 March 1867, 228.

¹⁹ At the time of Humann’s death on March 28, 1874, his widow Cleopha Nyren and her son Charles Ferdinand Humann organized the sale of the tailor’s business and in the process an inventory was made of the family’s rooms, their personal belongings, and the business. MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874).

recounted that amongst the wooden furniture and fabrics was an impressive collection of modern paintings, copies of old masters, statues, lithographs, and *objets d'art* he had collected over the course of his career. In 1866, *La Vie Parisienne* published a fictionalized view of his studio in an article (Figure 1.3) in which two customers visiting the tailor can be confused for guests in a collector's salon dotted with paintings. At the time of his death in 1874, his collection included seventy pieces valued at 3,355 francs (a modest but nonetheless impressive fortune).²⁰ In 1874, the shop also included all of the basic furniture one could expect to find in a tailor's atelier: a large roll-top mahogany desk with four storage compartments, three mahogany and oak counters, a writing desk, oak shelves, a round mirror, a metal radiator (*calorifère*), a bronze chandelier that illuminated the entire room, as well as several hundred meters of fabrics and the accompanying haberdashery.²¹



Figure 1.3 Detail from N. (author), “Types Parisienne,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 22 September 1866, 529. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

As Christopher Johnson has aptly described it, the tailoring industry in the Old Regime was almost exclusively a “service” industry, or a business that offers a particular service rather than a manufactured object.²² When a man wanted a new article of clothing, either he or one of his family members, friends, or servants purchased fabric from a draper, which they then took to

²⁰ MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874).

²¹ MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874).

²² Johnson, “Economic Change and Artisan Discontent,” 90.

a tailor to be cut and sewn into the final garment. For the most part, the tailor's clients came from the wealthiest groups in France including aristocrats, *rentiers*, wealthier merchants, government officials, and other members of the urban elite, while most working-class people either made their own garments or purchased them from second-hand clothing dealers, or *fripeliers*. Second-hand dealers, especially around the Temple neighborhood in Paris where the industry was concentrated, often offered alteration services.²³

In the bespoke tailoring industry labor was divided into several different tasks, and each was assigned to a particular pool of laborers with specialized training. The categories dated back to the industry's past as a prominent Old Regime guild. The atelier was owned and run by a master tailor who operated as the face of the business: he met with customers, offered suggestions, and worked with the client to design a garment. The rest of the labor was divided between three categories of workers. The most specialized workers were the cutters (*coupeurs* or *coupeuses*). They cut the fabric and prepared the garment for sewing. Their work was highly valued and most of these individuals usually hoped to follow in their master's footsteps and eventually run their own shops. They were also the highest paid laborers in the atelier earning 2000 francs a year, and they were hired on a yearly contract. Tailors also employed one or two day-wage workers called *pompiers* whose tasks included basting (the sewing of quick and temporary stitches that eventually are replaced by permanent stitches) or repairing tools. *Pompiers* enjoyed relative job security like cutters, but their wages were significantly lower.²⁴

The actual task of sewing and constructing a garment was left to *ouvriers tailleurs*, and increasingly in the nineteenth century, to seamstresses who worked for meager sums doing

²³ Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent," 90-94; Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 77-78.

²⁴ Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent," 97.

piecework. In the eighteenth century, these laborers worked in their master's workshop but by the 1820s the work was either done at home or in institutional workshops such as those in women's prisons and convents. The work itself was further divided based on the difficulty of the garment. The most skilled workers were paid between three and five francs to make jackets and coats, while those with moderate skills made simpler garments such as waistcoats and pants. The lowest paid were the women hired to sew shirts for one to one and a half francs. These seamstresses and *ouvrier tailleurs* also faced serious job insecurity as the clothing industry in the first half of the nineteenth century still had one of the longest *morte-saison*, when workers were laid-off en masse twice during the year in the winter and the summer. These periods corresponded to the two seasons of the fashion cycle: Winter and Summer. In September, October, and November, tailor's shops worked continuously supplying customers with their winter fashions, and again in March, April, and May, the shop ran at full speed filling summer orders. Between those two seasons many workers were left without any employment.²⁵

Accounts of how labor was divided in Humann's atelier come to us from his advertisements such as in 1838 when *Le Charivari* used the labor intensiveness of tailoring as one of the main selling points for visiting the tailor. The advertisement reads:

Monsieur Humann, the tailor to *Le Charivari*, has given us an advanced warning that he has at his disposition an unmatched assortment of garments [for men], twenty-seven skeins of thread are in general used to make each garment; they use sixteen sewing needles, and three workers work nine hours a day for four days to make each piece. The fabric his atelier uses can cover the universe, even M. Paul; and if the buttons used in his atelier were lined up, they would travel thirteen times around the four corners of the earth.²⁶

²⁵ Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent," 96-97.

²⁶ "M. Humann, tailleur du *Charivari*, prévient le public qu'il tient à sa disposition un assortiment d'habits sans pareils, 27 écheveaux de fil sont, en général, employés à la confection de chaque habit ; on use 16 aiguilles, et 3 ouvriers y travaillent 4 jours à 9 heures par jour. L'étoffe employée dans son atelier couvrirait l'univers, y compris M. Paul ; et les boutons qu'on y emploie, réunis à la file, feraient treize fois le tour des quatre parties du monde. " Anonymus, "Modes," *Le Charivari*, 11 August 1838, 4.

While perhaps the author was exaggerating and taking the opportunity to mock the girth of one Monsieur Paul, they did, however, present the reader with a glimpse into how the atelier operated.²⁷ Clients had the opportunity to choose from a variety of fabrics and accessories, including buttons, to design a garment with the tailor, which several skilled employees would then cut and hand sew. According to a statistical inquiry into Parisian industries from 1860, 2,064 out of the 3,046 bespoke tailors in Paris either employed one full-time employee or worked alone, and 827 tailors employed between two and ten employees. Only 155 tailors employed more than ten workers.²⁸ Humann most likely employed anywhere from one to ten employees at any one time over the course of his career following industry standards.

This advertisement also relied on the variety of garments available at the tailor's atelier to attract clients, which demonstrates the growing tendency amongst tailors to supply clients with their own fabrics and accessories. Before the nineteenth-century it was unheard of for tailors to carry their own stock of fabric. During the Napoleonic Era an increasing number of wealthy tailors who began to carry their own stocks of fabrics became known as merchant tailors. Customers were presented with fabric samples in the atelier that they could then choose from.²⁹ There were several advantages to visiting merchant tailors, including saving time and money. Purchasing directly from the tailor also meant that there was less chance of purchasing too much fabric. While there are no statistics that can speak to the change over time, we do know that by 1848 *merchant tailors* "dominated" the bespoke industry.³⁰ Humann was one of the many

²⁷ "M. Paul" is perhaps a reference to the well-known and girthy author Paul de Kock, who was one of the most popular and prolific novelists of the July Monarchy.

²⁸ Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris résultant de l'enquête faite par la Chambre de Commerce pour l'année 1860*, 308.

²⁹ Courtney Wilder, "Crossing Sensory Borders: The Fabric of British Periodicals," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 51, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 434-463.

³⁰ Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent," 89-90.

Parisian tailors who offered clients a large stock of fabric to choose from when designing any number of garments for their wardrobes.³¹ Humann ran a service-related operation that was in the business of dressing elite men with access to wealth and credit networks.

What really set Humann apart is the fact that he was one of the first of his generation to recognize the potential of modern advertising techniques. From his early years in Paris until his death he relied on a network of illustrators, journalists, and editors who worked with him on advertisements for his business. In advertisements for fashionable tailors, the fashion press taught men to think about accumulating a large and varied wardrobe as a means of establishing and performing an elite form of masculinity.

1.2 Advertising the Tailor's Talents and Social Boundaries

This section examines Humann's and Gavarni's print advertisements from the July Monarchy published primarily in two French periodicals: the politically conservative fashion journal *La Mode* and the illustrated daily magazine *Le Charivari*, which was extremely popular amongst middle-class French readers.³² Between 1839 and 1847 Humann used forty of Gavarni's fashion illustrations, as well as print advertisements, to market his business in these publications. The advertisements reflect the use of visual and textual discourses that present fashion as a daily activity: one that marks the individual practitioner as cognizant of their place within an implied and gendered hierarchy. Advertisers understood that the existence of social hierarchies created an anxiety about status among those who sought upward mobility, and that advertisers could easily manipulate this anxiety for profit. While the fashion media worked to enforce social hierarchies, it was also responsible for selling the opportunity to rise within them. By advertising

³¹ MC ET/CXII/1351 (19 May 1874).

³² Cuno, "Charles Philipon, La Maison Aubert, and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829-41," 347-49,

a variety of garments that suited the myriad social activities available in nineteenth-century France, tailors and their collaborators in the press presented the idea that men had choices when it came to their garments. This was both good for business and an invitation for men with financial means to navigate fashionable sociability. Gavarni and Humann collaborated on different types of fashionable outfits – each with a particular purpose in mind – which the fashion media used to push for healthy sales and to reinforce a gendered and class-based hierarchy seemingly threatened by the July Monarchy’s comparative liberalism. Publications like *le Charivari* instructed men whom we might think of as middle-class to imagine themselves participating in French fashion culture and all its gendered and hierarchical implications.³³ In fashion plates for *Le Charivari*, especially those of dressing gowns, menswear becomes a part of every facet of a man’s life and a way for them to express a particular form of elite masculinity premised on adorning the male body.

According to their contemporaries, Humann and Gavarni’s collaborations were successful because their respective skills brought the other’s imagination to life and vice-versa. A journalist for *Le Journal des Chasseur*, for example, commented: “Give Humann fabric and scissors, [and] place in front of Gavarni a stone and a pencil. The two artists don’t need anything else. The clothes that the first man cuts from a cloth, the second, in turn, gives it form and life; he tries it on, shapes it, adjusts it; and once worn, you see how the garment made by one fits according to the model the other provides.”³⁴ Gavarni was a celebrity in his own right, and his

³³ I say “might think of” here because whether the readers considered themselves middle-class or elite is still up for debate. Following Sara Maza, I argue that they did not think of themselves as middle-class but rather as a different facet of the same elite that included the titled aristocracy. I come back to this further on in this section. Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*.

³⁴ “Donnez à Humann de l’étoffe et des ciseaux; placez devant Gavarni une pierre et un crayon. Il n’en faut pas davantage aux deux artistes. L’habit que le premier taille en plein drap, le second, son tour venu, lui donne et la forme et la vie ; il l’essai [*sic*], le façonne, l’ajuste ; et il faut voir comme, une fois endossé, le costume fait par l’un sied merveilleusement au modèle que l’autre fournit.” E.B., “Costume de Chasse, par Humann,” *Le Journal des Chasseurs*, July 1846, 379.

fashion plates reflect a combination of fashion plate and popular lithographic prints of scenes of modern life, which were increasingly popular during the July Monarchy. His skill as an illustrator and his personal style that combined realism with cartoonish features captivated audiences in nineteenth-century France.³⁵ In practice, their collaborations were less straightforward in that Gavarni and Humann did not necessarily discuss or plan images before they were created and selected for an advertisement. Often Gavarni created the images before Humann or an editor decided to use them for a fashion plate. Gavarni's images could be repurposed by editors for different sorts of advertisements. On February 9, 1840, for example, one of Gavarni's images of two men in dressing gowns appeared in *Le Figaro* with the title "Costume de Lacroix," and two weeks later on February 27, 1840, the same print appeared in *Le Charivari* with the title "Robes de chambre d'Humann."³⁶ While the relationship between illustrators, clients, editors, and publishers complicated how images were assigned to advertisements, the journalist for *Le Journal des Chasseur* ascribed Humann's and Gavarni's success, however, to the fact that in designing and illustrating models of men's garments, the two men were able to capture an idealized image of particular social types that elite men were meant to embody at different moments of their lives and careers.

On November 20, 1839, *Le Charivari* published both a Gavarni fashion plate of two men in hunting costumes and an accompanying article advertising Humann's latest innovations in garments for hunting on horseback and hunting by foot (Figure 1.4). Each of the men in the fashion plate modeled one of the two advertised outfits: the man on the left is dressed to hunt on

³⁵ Lerner, *Graphic Culture*, 30-31.

³⁶ For more on the relationship between editors, illustrators and the final fashion plate in journals see Annemarie Kleinert, *Le "Journal des Dames et des Modes": Ou la conquête de l'Europe féminine* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001); Lerner, *Graphic Culture*, 29. Paul Gavarni, "Costume de Lacroix," *Le Figaro*, 9 February 1840; Paul Gavarni, "Robes de chambre d'Humann," *Le Charivari*, 29 February 1840.

horseback with his riding cap and whip in hand and his companion (resting his arm on the other man's shoulder) is dressed for hunting on foot.³⁷ Hunting on horseback typically meant riding out in a large group of men and dogs chasing a fox, whereas when hunting on foot men went out in smaller parties and targeted birds and game. While the two men would not have been out hunting different types of animals with each other at the same time, the image is meant to demonstrate to viewers the range of garments a man could and should own as members of the French elite. In the eighteenth-century,

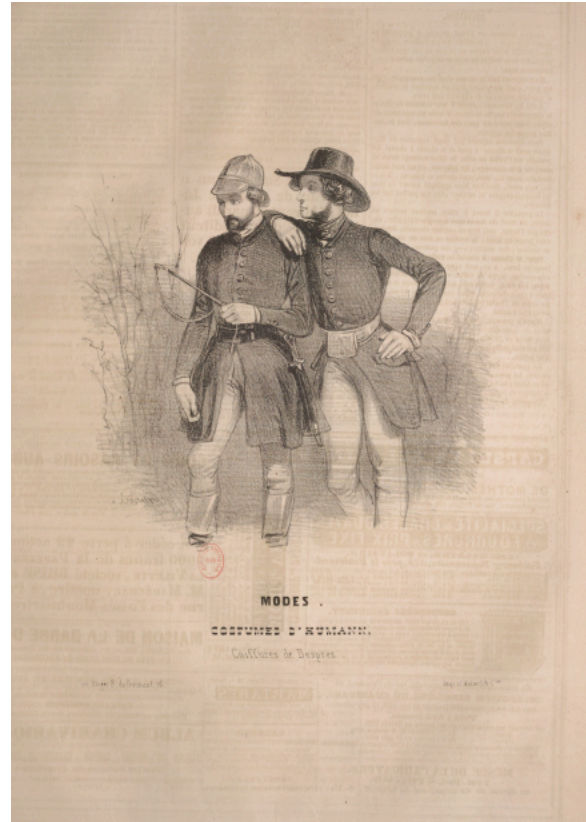


Figure 1.4 Paul Gavarni, “Modes, Costumes d’Humann,” *Le Charivari*, 20 November 1839. Paper, lithograph, 160 mm. x 160 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

hunting was an aristocratic sport and required extensive private land in order to engage in the sport. During the French Revolution legal prohibitions that kept hunting an aristocratic activity were loosened and hunting was increasingly popular amongst a growing elite that included landed aristocrats and wealthy professionals.³⁸ During the July Monarchy hunting was associated with a type of sportsmanship and masculinity that emphasized a combination of patience, restraint, and self-awareness with a violent, virile, and primitive strength.³⁹ According

³⁷ “Modes.” *Le Charivari*, 20 November 1839, 4.

³⁸ Christian Estève, “Le droit de chasse en France de 1789 à 1914. Conflits d’usage et impasses juridiques,” *Histoire & Sociétés Rurales*, 2004/1 (Vol. 21), p. 73–114.

³⁹ Corry Cropper, *Playing at Monarchy: Sport as Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century France* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 85-118; Daniel Roche, “Equestrian Culture in France from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century,” *Past & Present* no. 199 (May 2008): 113-145.

to the author of the accompanying article, hunting was more than just a passing trend, it was a favorite activity of elite men. The combined image of two men enjoying different types of hunting in different types of clothing brings to the forefront two of the principal ideas that the fashion industry tried to encourage shoppers to consider: one is staying in step with fashion, and the other is appropriateness. While two separate ideas they come together to dictate how men should and should not consume and dress.

Le Charivari advertised menswear in much the same way that fashion magazines had been advertising womenswear since the eighteenth-century: referring to garments in terms of their function within a wardrobe, all the clothing a person owned and that was intended for various social occasions. “Hunting

Costumes” were among the many outfits fashionable men ought to own. Humann and Gavarni, for example, also collaborated on models for attending the races (“Modes de Longchamps” for *Le Charivari*, Figure 1.5), and “Outfits for the fall” (Figure 1.6), “walking outfits” (Figure 1.7) and “Opera outfits” (Figure 1.8) for *La Mode*. Furthermore, Gavarni’s prints of the general “Costume d’Humann” were often accompanied by articles that identified the garments as particular types of outfits meant for specific occasions. For example,



Figure 1.5 Paul Gavarni, “Modes de Longchamps, Costume de Humann, Chapeau de Guitar, Rue Richelieu 161,” *Le Charivari*, 5 April, 1841, 3. Paper, lithograph, 237 mm. x 155 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

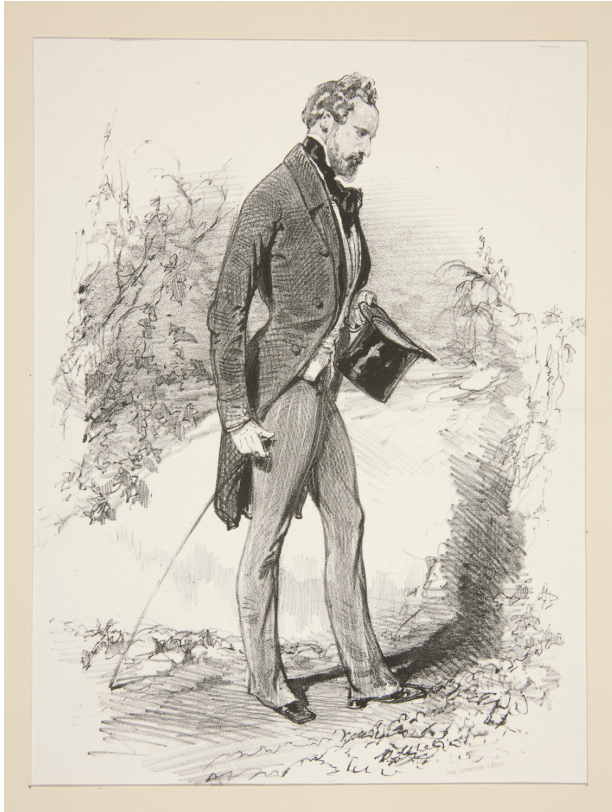


Figure 1.6 Paul Gavarni, *Costume d'Automne, par Humann*, 83, rue Neuve des Petits-Champs. Paper, lithograph, 230 mm. x 177 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

on January 1, 1840, *Le Charivari's* fashion column was accompanied by a Gavarni print of Humann's evening and casual selections for the coming winter season (Figure 1.9).

According to the New Year's Day article, the current sensations were Humann's day jackets featured on the model on the left that came in bright green and blue hues and brown silk evening jackets worn with the soft white cashmere waistcoat modeled on the right.⁴⁰

These advertisements emphasized that men needed to learn how to dress themselves by considering the fashionable qualities of a garment as well as their appropriateness. In

other words, the reader is learning that there are specific garments for daytime and evening activities, and the specific styles and colors of these garments that are currently in vogue.

Garments in these advertisements operate on two different but related schemes of classification, which, when learned and inhabited through dress, situate a man within the social category of the contemporary elite male. What is more, the variety of garments and the changing nature of fashion shows that the markers of social status are not static, but constantly changing; a man who wants to rise in the world will need to keep learning new things, will have to continue to stay up to date in order to succeed, and fashion is a crucial component of this process. The key,

⁴⁰ "Modes." *Le Charivari*, 1 January 1840, 4.



Figure 1.7 Paul Gavarni, *Costume de Promenade d'Humann*. Paper, lithograph, 217 mm. x 184 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

moreover, is that men were not simply supposed to be appropriately dressed, but rather that part of being appropriately dressed was keeping up with changing styles, fits, and trends.

Though at first glance dark coats dominate the images of fashionable men, the images also speak to the variety in cut, fabrics, colors, and accessories that made up men's wardrobes. As Humann and his contemporaries would argue not all dark coats were cut from the same cloth. While it was expected that men would wear black evening jackets, more casual clothing came in several colors (including bronzes, golds, greens, blues, reds, grays, and even purples)

and several types of fabrics, including waterproof canvases, woolens, and expensive imported vicuña wool. Elite men, moreover, were expected to own multiple jackets cut in different styles and intended to be worn at different times of the day and year, and for different kinds of social gatherings. Redingotes, for example, were intended for riding as well as casual encounters, while frock coats and mourning jackets were expected on formal occasions such as the opera.⁴¹ Variety also applied to the fabrics used for pants: tight white pants were expected at Longchamps, but men were free to choose from any number of "fantasies," which in this period meant colorful (monochrome or patterned) fabrics, for more casual occasions. A fashion plate from 1839 of

⁴¹ Horace Raison, *Code de la Toilette, Manuel Complet d'Élégance et d'Hygiène. Contenant les Lois, Règles, Applications et Exemples de l'Art de Soigner sa Personne, et de s'Habiller avec Gout et Méthode* (Paris: J.P. Roret: 1829), 114-115.

three men walking together, for example, was used to advertise the new gray, tans, greens, and charcoal frock coats and silk pants Humann was making (Figure 1.10).⁴² Finally tailors also made waistcoats available in hundreds of patterned or monochrome silks, satins, and cottons. This tendency reflected the general practices amongst the fashion press to present participating in fashion as an elite endeavor that required multiple outfits and garments:

beneath and around dark jackets were

dozens of garments and accessories required of a fashionable masculine wardrobe.

Since at the least the eighteenth-century the fashion press had focused its attention on the fashions worn by the aristocracy, and while in the 1830s the press shifted its attention to the fashions coming out of stores like Humann's, participating in fashion was still understood as a part of a social hierarchy that had come under threat during the French Revolution and been tepidly revived during the Bourbon Restoration.⁴³ Fashion as an elite endeavor took on a new urgency for the conservative segments of the fashion press when the Bourbon monarchy was finally overthrown by the politically liberal July Monarchy. King Louis-Philippe and his government's solicitations of the business elite and support amongst the conservative

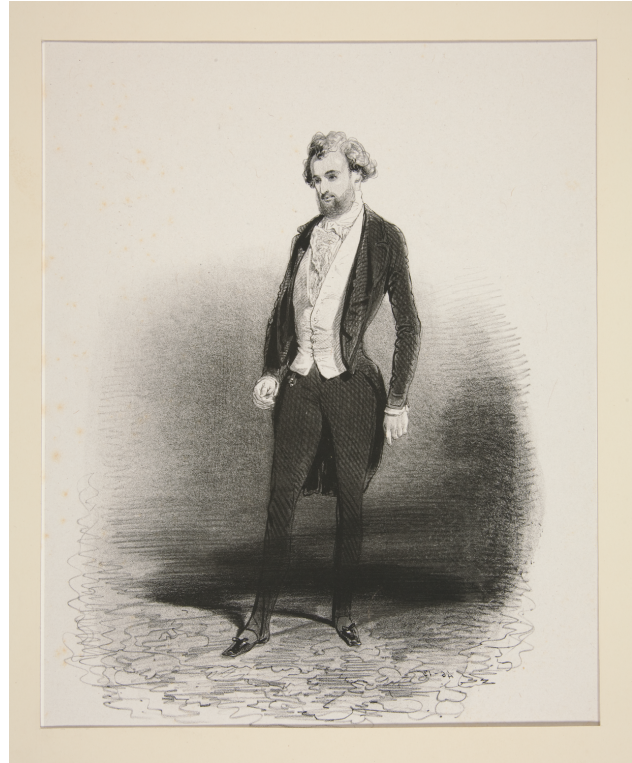


Figure 1.8 Paul Gavarni, *Costume de Bal d'Humann*. Paper, lithograph, 215 mm. x 144 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

⁴² "Dessin. – Modes," *Le Charivari*, 5 April 1839, 4.

⁴³ Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 30-34.

professionals and landowners made him a political and social threat to the conservative

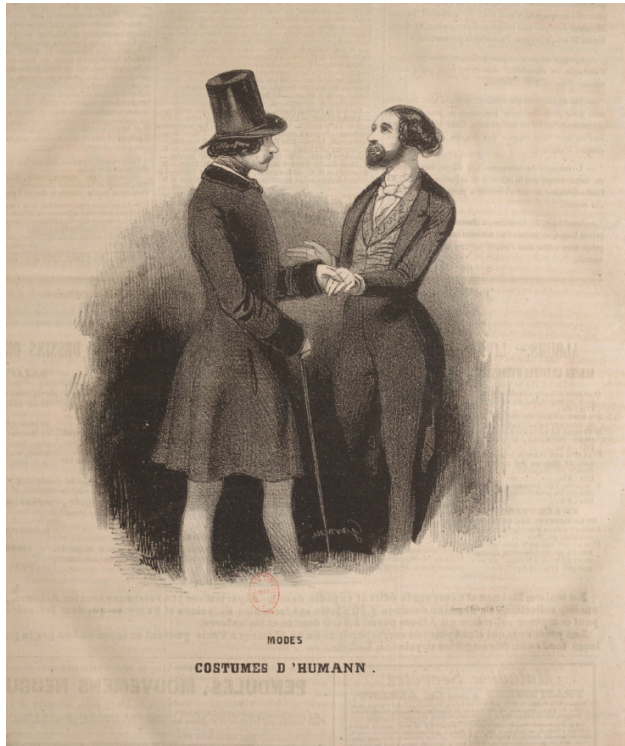


Figure 1.9 Paul Gavarni, “Modes. Costume d’Humann,” *Le Charivari*, 1 January 1840. Paper, lithograph, 221 mm. x 176 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

aristocracy. *La Mode* used menswear as a means of reinforcing the rigid social hierarchy that Legitimists felt was threatened by the advent of the July Monarchy and its perceived alignment with the “bourgeoisie.”⁴⁴ While indeed at odds with the politics of the July Monarchy, as a branch of the fashion industry the journal did encourage men to visit with new vigor their tailor to purchase the various garments that marked their social status. As the focus of the fashion press moved to what was coming out of Parisians shops, the

advertisements for tailors like Humann began to emphasize that men not only needed to buy the right garments, but those garments also had to be made by the right type of tailor, one who understood all the nuances of dressing men and cutting fabrics for any occasion. For example, on September 17, 1843, *La Mode* published an advertisement for Humann in which the reporter emphasized that men needed to employ tailors like Humann because “his scissors... know how to give a hunting jacket the same graceful elegance that he created for a *habit de ville* and for the

⁴⁴ The editorial board of *La Mode* made no qualms about their distaste for the new monarchy or the fashions of its members, and when King Louis Philippe purchased a subscription to the magazine in 1835, the editorial board issued a scathing letter that mocked the king for his lackluster taste and their hope that reading the journal would both help him develop his personal taste and, maybe even, his politics. Signed La Mode, “*La Mode* à son nouvel abonné, Monsieur le Roi des Français, *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol. 7 (5 January 1835):1.



Figure 1.10 Paul Gavarni, “Modes de Longchamps, Costumes d’Humann; Chapeaux de Des [rue 28 Bd. Des Italiens; Chemises de Longueville R. Richelieu 10,” *Le Charivari*, 5 April 1839, 3. Paper, lithograph, 188 mm. x 186 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

habit de salon.” So much so, they continued, that these men would look just as elegant tramping through the woods as they would at a Parisian soirée.⁴⁵

Elite men’s responsibilities regarding maintaining an extensive wardrobe also extended to being responsible for the wardrobes of their male servants. In an

advertisement for Humann

in 1844, *La Mode’s* fashion reporter mocked the Prime Minister, François Guizot, a liberal, for dressing their male servants in outlandish uniforms. These disgraceful uniforms, however, were an opportunity, according to the reporter, to remind men about the importance of picking a good tailor, like Humann, who makes a “master’s clothes as well as his servants.”⁴⁶ *Le Charivari* also advertised Humann as a good tailor for liveries in the same article from April 1839 that advertised the fashions for Longchamps.⁴⁷ As we will discuss in more detail in chapter 3, men

⁴⁵ *La Mode*, 17 September 1843, 491.

⁴⁶ “Les habits de maîtres comme ceux des ces gens,” “Modes,” *La Mode*, vol. 16, no. 8 (Dec. 1844), 515.

⁴⁷ “Dessin. – Modes,” *Le Charivari*, 5 April 1839, 4.

were responsible in this period for dressing their male servants as well as themselves. The fashion press was insistent that men understood that it was their job to make sure that their fashions as well as those of their servants expressed and maintained, not diminished, their social standing.

The conservative press's focus on social standing also spilled into journals like *Le Charivari*, whose readership we would perhaps today consider middle-class or bourgeois. They were financially well-off lawyers, businessmen, civil servants and the many other professionalized elites that were not strictly the wealthiest men and women in France.⁴⁸ The way in which menswear was advertised in this journal speaks to Sara Maza's argument that instead of a self-conscious "bourgeoise" the main political force in France during the July Monarchy was a mixture of noble and non-noble elites who were equally concerned with promoting their own social positions while maintaining the classed and gendered hierarchy that was in place.⁴⁹

Beginning in 1840, columns written by the fashion reporter who used the nom de plume Constance Aubert began to accompany Gavarni and Humann's collaborations. A member of the Napoleonic aristocracy, (or *arriviste*), she was raised within the milieu of her mother's Parisian literary salon through the Bourbon Restoration and the early years of the July Monarchy. Constance Junot d'Abrantès started her literary career writing fashion columns for many Parisian newspapers and journals, including *Le Charivari* and *Le Temps*. Her columns were well-liked, and she was a well-known figure in the literary world of the July Monarchy.⁵⁰ Her reports in *Le*

⁴⁸ Cuno, "Charles Philippon, La Maison Aubert, and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829-41," 347-350..

⁴⁹ Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, 6, 90.

⁵⁰ Gavarni made a portrait of Aubert in 1839. Paul Gavarni, *Madame Constance Aubert, née d'Abrantès*, 1839. Paper, lithograph, 175 mm. x 143 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France. Ludwig Christian Lichtenberg (ed.), *Almanach de Gotha : contenant diverses connaissances curieuses et utiles pour l'année* (Gotha : J. Perthes, 1881), 220 ; Ferdinand Höfer, *Nouvelle biographie générale : depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, T. XXVII (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1858), 259.

Charivari, as well as her book publications, overwhelmingly focus on presenting fashion as essential for securing and presenting one's social status; she endeavors to give men (and women) the knowledge needed to fully participate in the fashion culture of the mid-nineteenth century. In these attempts to bring fashion and elite status through publications aimed at a broader audience, Aubert was in some ways diluting the definition of what it meant to be elite by broadening the ways in which people could claim that status. However, this dilution was limited because to participate one had to have the economic ability to consume in the ways that journalists like Aubert encouraged. Participating in fashionable trends meant that one had to spend to keep up.

Aubert's columns discussing Humann's clothing presented readers with detailed descriptions of the garments, how they were made, and how they should fit customers. Within the variety of garments described and options available, Aubert gave her readers a tool kit for designing and purchasing their own clothing from either Humann or their own tailor. On October 1, 1841, *Le Charivari* published one of Gavarni's fashion plates featuring a man in an outfit designed by Humann reclining on a garden ledge (a staircase in the background leads to a terrace) with an accompanying article by Aubert (Figure 1.11). Aubert began by asking her



Figure 1.11 Paul Gavarni, "Costume de Humann, 83 rue Neuve des Petits-Champs," *Le Charivari*, 1 October 1841. Paper, lithograph, 235 mm. x 174 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

readers if the fashion plate reminds them of anyone, because the man in the picture brought to her mind a recognizable type: “one of the men that we typically meet in the Bois du Boulogne or the horse races of the Champs-de-Mars, one of those remarkable men of good taste and distinction.”⁵¹ Confident in her assertion and with, in her words, “supporting examples,” she continued by laying out a description of the recognizable figure:

The [new] frock coats are made in bronze, gold leaf, or golden pheasant colored cloth, [and they come in] one of the prettiest shapes that Humann has made this year. The waist, very wide, measured perfectly, is well connected to the bodice and the shoulders; the small straight collar is reversed and a single row of buttons with only six buttonholes close in the middle, the tails are very open and slightly indented in the front.⁵²

The man is identifiable to Aubert because of his fashionable and well-made jacket, which, she continued, is obviously an Humann design. She wrote, “No tailor understands the physiognomy of a fashion like Humann,” and then goes on to present her and his suggestions for the current season in menswear.⁵³ Brimming with technical information about fabrics, materials, cut, and fit this advertisement is indicative of a general trend in Aubert’s fashion writings: her audience needed to understand the details necessary to live up to certain standards. Men, like women, were responsible for dressing themselves and therefore it was their duty to be knowledgeable about the industry.

⁵¹ “Un des hommes élégans [*sic*] que nous rencontrons au Bois du Boulogne, aux Courses du Champs-de-Mars, un de ces types remarquables de bon goût et de distinction,” Constance Aubert, “Modes,” *Le Charivari*, 1 October 1841, 4.

⁵² “Sa redingote, en drap bronze, feuille d’or, ou faisan doré, est une des plus jolies formes qu’Humann ait faites cette année. La taille, très large, se dessinant parfaitement, est bien appliquées sur le corsage et les épaules ; le petit collet droit est renversé, un seul rang de boutons à six boutonnières seulement la ferme au milieu, les basques sont très dégagées et légèrement échancrées sur le devant.” Constance Aubert, “Modes,” *Le Charivari*, 1 October 1841, 4.

⁵³ “Nul tailleur ne comprend la physionomie d’une mode comme Humann.” Constance Aubert, “Modes,” *Le Charivari*, 1 October 1841, 4.

1.3 Fashion, Intimacy, and Empire

In their collaborative advertisements, Humann, Gavarni, and Aubert also presented menswear as an integral part of the private and intimate lives of the men in question. Advertisements for “domestic costumes” and dressing gowns that represented men in various stages of undress speak to the ways advertisers used male bodies and masculine intimacy to present menswear as an obligatory sign of self-care under all circumstances. In these advertisements social position is not just about participating in certain activities but also about a sense of individuality and care of the self that transcends the circumstances of any given action, and which needs to be expressed visually through clothing. Understanding why dressing gowns became *de rigueur* in this period also brings to light how the fashion industry encouraged men to use fashion as a way of expressing their political and social positions.

During the July Monarchy, dressing gowns (usually worn with toque and slippers) became the standard “domestic costume” for elite and middle-class men. As early as the previous century, dressing gowns gained in popularity in France. They were closely associated with the Enlightenment *philosophes* especially after Denis Diderot wrote a famous essay lamenting the loss of his favorite dressing gown when his friend Marie Thérèse Rodet Geoffrin gave him a new one.⁵⁴ In the nineteenth century, the dressing gown was increasingly associated with men in the professional class such as lawyers and clerks, as well as continuing to be associated with men who worked from a private study such as writers. Women were also known to wear dressing gowns, including the celebrated author George Sand who preferred to write in a dressing gown and men’s shirt for the increased movement.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Denis Diderot, *Regrets on Parting with My Old Dressing Gown*, trans. Kate Tunstall and Katie Scott, *Oxford Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (2016): 175-84.

⁵⁵ Susan L. Siegfried and John Finkelberg, “Fashion in the Life of George Sand,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* (Fall 2020): 16-17.

For some critics images of men in dressing gowns could reflect a sense of laziness and indolence that was far from appropriate behavior for men from across the economic spectrum, even privileged aristocrats who were not expected to work for a living were not supposed to abandon all productive behaviors. In an advertisement published in *L'Artiste* in 1840 Gavarni

drew a young man with brown hair and a full beard reclining on a plush overstuffed couch modeling one of Humann's dressing gowns. (Figure 1.12). One of the model's hands falls nonchalantly over a cushion and the other holds a lit cigarette. He stares out of the corner of his eye, as if the viewer has caught him in the middle of deep thought. His dressing gown outlines the curves of his legs and his hips as it sensuously falls around him reinforcing the sense of comfort and ease the dressing gown was supposed to provide.

A critic writing for *l'Artiste* guessed that the young man was dreaming of the old

paradox: "that glory, happiness, and fortune are all smoke, and that the only real thing in life is to



Figure 1.12 Paul Gavarni, "Physionomie des modes: Robe de chambre de Humann," *l'Artiste*, 1840. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 200 mm x 189 mm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

be twenty-five with a Humann dressing gown and cigarette papers.”⁵⁶ When first introducing the image, the art critic for *l’Artiste* explained that he, like his readers, surely understood that Gavarni was infamous for creating satirical images impregnated with realistic attributes and reminiscent of scenes of everyday life. The image in question lived up to the critic’s expectations and he explained that it is too easy to recognize in this picture the all too familiar indolent young man, or as the author put it: “a grandmother’s greatest disappointment.”⁵⁷

Le Charivari also published illustrations that can be understood to reflect a similar tendency for indolence amongst fashionable men with a penchant for dressing gowns (Figure 1.13. and 1.14). On March 25, 1841, *Le Charivari* published a stand-alone Gavarni fashion plate labeled “Costume d’Humann” in which the viewer is invited into a private dressing room or bedroom where one man reclines in his dressing gown on an overstuffed chaise longue smoking a cigar undisturbed like modern-day Sardanapalus, while his companion stands in full evening dress, presumably studying himself in a mirror that would have rested on the occasional table on the left. Gavarni used the same motif in another stand-alone fashion plate modeling Humann dressing gowns in 1842. In

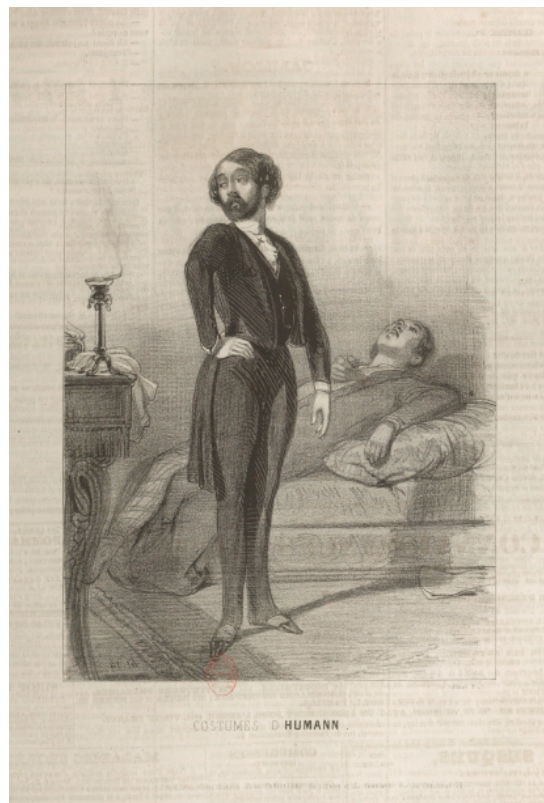


Figure 1.13. Paul Gavarni, “Costume d’Humann,” *Le Charivari*, 25 March 1841. Paper, lithograph, 200 mm. x 175 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁵⁶ “Son jeune homme est fort occupé à ne rien faire ; il songe peut-être à ce vieux paradoxe, que la gloire, le bonheur, la fortune, toute est fumée, et qu’il n’y a de vrai dans la vie que vingt-cinq ans, une robe de chambre d’Humann, et du – papel esjafiel [*sic*] pour cigarettes.” “Physionomies des Modes,” *L’Artiste*, Vol. 6, 1840, 306.

⁵⁷ “Ce profond désespoir des grands-mères,” “Physionomies des Modes,” *L’Artiste*, Vol. 6, 1840, 306.

this image two men share a similar couch: the model in the front reclines against the cushions in his dressing gown while his companion in daywear smokes a cigar.



Figure 1.14. Paul Gavarni, “Robe de Chambre de Humann, tailleur, rue Neuve des Petits Champs, Chemise de Dourousseau, Curiosités de Mombro,” *Le Charivari*, 22 January 1842. Paper, lithograph, 197 mm. x 161 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

The abject idleness and even self-absorption amongst these men seems so antithetical to highly valued masculine qualities including productivity, reproductivity, sexual virility, aggression, and a preoccupation with their masculine honor.⁵⁸ However, to understand these images in such a way is to immediately give way to what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has described as a “paranoid” reading of the subjects in question.⁵⁹ That is to say that seeing these men as dangerous and transgressive in nature says more about the critic’s anxieties about how masculinity should and should not be expressed than it does about how these images could have been received.

While the model in *l’Artiste* might be an idealized

image of fashionable indolence, a reparative reading of other images permits us to see the ways in which the fashion industry, far from discouraging, encouraged men to bring fashion into every facet of their day to day as a means of expressing a different facet of elite masculinity. This masculinity one expresses in a private and intimate setting like the home, premised on displaying

⁵⁸ Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 8-9.

⁵⁹ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading; or, You’re So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction is About You,” *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*, ed. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1997), 6-7.

power as sensuous indolence through a manipulation of ideas about male friendship and intimacy, as well as Orientalized aesthetics, imperial power, and fascination with the exotic.

Le Charivari's treatment of models in Humann dressing gowns presents purchasing and wearing dressing gowns as a continuation of the accumulation of a varied wardrobe that aids men in the expression of their masculinity and social position. In the winter and the fall of 1840 Constance Aubert wrote two articles that accompanied Gavarni's illustrations of Humann



Figure 1.15 Paul Gavarni, "Robes de Chambre d'Humann," *Le Charivari*, 27 February 1840. Paper, lithograph, 194 mm. x 156 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

wardrobe (Figure 1.15. and 1.16). In her fashion column from November 18, 1840, Aubert gave, one of the reasons for wanting to discuss dressing gowns in her column: with the winter in full-swing and fires roaring dressing gowns were naturally expected to be worn.⁶⁰ The previous February, however, Aubert had explained that she had observed men buying so many dressing gowns in a wide range of fabrics that she felt compelled to comment.⁶¹ The accompanying fashion plates are less provocative than those that appeared as stand-alone prints. In the fashion plate from November, for example, a man appears in a dressing gown reclining on a chair completely absorbed in his newspaper. The unobtrusive

⁶⁰ Constance Aubert, "Modes," *Le Charivari*, 18 November 1840, 4.

⁶¹ Constance Aubert, "Modes," *Le Charivari*, 27 February 1840, 4.

gentleman is simply going about his business in a garment that provides comfort in an informal situation. The plate from February, shows two men modeling the same dressing gown holding or shaking hands. Capturing a moment of intimacy between the two models, Gavarni strategically placed these two models so that viewers have a complete view of both the back and front of the advertised dressing gowns. This was a common technique amongst fashion plate illustrators and the editors they worked with because it helped sell garments and trends by giving viewers a way of imagining a completed garment.



Figure 1.16 Paul Gavarni, “Robe de Chambre en Cachemire de Humann,” *Le Charivari*, 18 November 1840. Paper, lithograph, 199mm. x 161mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

The simple display of intimacy between men can also suggest that certain publications and advertisers thought that showing images of men in intimate settings with other men, and sometimes women, was a good way of selling their products. Homosocial environments and intimate friendships between men were a crucial part of the social life of elite men in this period. Men learned in military barracks, boarding schools, and in social groups like shooting clubs that friendships between men were valued and could serve men well in their future endeavors.⁶² The

⁶² Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (University of New Hampshire Press, 2011); Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1999); Sarah

fashion industry understood the importance of male friendships and would use them to their advantage. Intimacy between men is a central component in Gavarni's fashion plates of *Le Charivari* when selling the entire range of masculine garments from hunting costumes (Figure 1.4) to dressing gowns and the latest fashions for Longchamps (Figure 1.10). In a striking example from February 1840, *Le Charivari* published an illustration by Gavarni of two men standing face-to-face looking deeply into each-other's eyes while holding hands to advertise Humann's latest frock coats, pants, and waistcoats for formal evenings and balls (Figure 1.17). In another stand-alone plate from January 1841, the viewer is invited into the private dressing room where one model is shown getting dressed while his companion accompanies him (Figure 1.18). Gavarni captured intimacy between two men in two different ways in these images. In the first image intimacy is conveyed through the model's eye-contact and how they touch each other; in the second image, however, intimacy can be presumed because of the setting itself and



Figure 1.17 Paul Gavarni, “Costume d’Humann; Chapeaux de Desprey,” *Le Charivari*, 13 February 1840. Paper, lithograph, 185 mm. x 149 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

because one man is shown in the act of dressing. Whether these men are lovers, friends, or family members, the details of their relationships are never revealed, they speak to the ways in

Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).



Figure 1.18 Paul Gavarni, “Modes. Costumes de Humann,” *Le Charivari*, 11 January 1841. Paper, lithograph, 199mm. x 170 mm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

which the French fashion industry was confident that friendship (or sex) sells. The fashionably adorned male body, therefore, is not, in these images, a representation of how men lack certain masculine attributes, but rather it is a representation of how the body can be used to visually display a different type of masculinity, the type that is expressed in private intimate settings with friends, family, and lovers.

Dressing gowns have a longer history however that is important for understanding how nineteenth-century men understood the significance of their garments. Dressing gowns first became popular in pre-French Revolution

France in the seventeenth-century and they were commonly referred to as bayans. The first bayans were inspired by Turkish robes and Japanese kimonos brought to Europe from the Middle East and East Asia. These garments, which appeared in costume books in Paris as early as the seventeenth century offering French tailors and men examples to dream with, were designed to evoke Orientalist fantasies about the exotic east.⁶³ A particularly powerful fantasy for Europeans was the image of the all-powerful but indolent and exotic eastern despot, men like Delacroix’s

⁶³ Yolande Crowe, “Le Manteau arménien de Jean-Jacques Rousseau,” *Between Paris and Fresno: Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian* (Costa Mesa, Ca: Mazda Publishers, 2008), 155-156; Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London: National Trust, 1996), 221, 227, 282.

Sardanapalus.⁶⁴ After the French invasion and conquest of Algeria which began in 1830, the dressing gown took on a new but related meaning. What had traditionally evoked an exotic form of power expressed as sensuous indolence now clothed Frenchmen who had supplanted the eastern despot. Selling dressing gowns and wearing dressing gowns after 1830 became a way for French men to express the pleasures of empire.

While selling intimacy, and comfort in the privacy of their home, advertisements for dressing gowns also sold men an opportunity to participate in the victory over North Africa using fashion. Aubert, for example, explained, in both February and November, that the most sought-after dressing gowns amongst the elegant set were those that were cut in “Persian” and “oriental” forms and made from Turkish and North African fabrics, especially cashmere. These luxurious garments were then lined in silk and embellished with embroidered floral designs that mimicked Islamic artwork. The dressing gown modeled in the plate from November 1840, for example, has a few of these details (Figure 1.16). The lapel and front of the dressing gown are piped in a different color and similar piping appears around the pockets and on the cuff of the sleeves. The pockets have been further embellished with embroidery in a floral design coming out from both sides. The indolent gentleman in Figure 1.12 is also dressed in an Orientalized dressing gown.

The French people’s first encounter with cashmere, an expensive and handwoven woolen textile, was when bundles of the luxury goods made their way back to France during Napoleon’s campaigns in Egypt. By the end of the Napoleonic Empire, the cashmere shawl was the accessory *par excellence* amongst French women. Susan Hiner has argued that the fashionableness of the cashmere shawl in the early nineteenth-century was a clear indication of

⁶⁴ John P. Lambertston, “Delacroix’s Sardanapalus, Champmartin’s *Janissaries*, and Liberalism in the Late Restoration,” *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2002): 65-66.

how individuals used fashion trends to express their political and social concerns. She explains, for example, that after the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 and subsequent colonization of North Africa, wearing cashmere shawls was one of the ways in which French women demonstrated their support for the nation's colonial ambitions.⁶⁵ Constance Aubert's presentation of cashmere as the most sought after fabric for dressing gowns suggests that the pressures that women felt to participate in both the culture of fashion and the nation's imperial ambitions extended to men as well.

The advertisements of Orientalized dressing gowns mobilized what appear to be two contradictory ideas about the east and embodying masculinity. On the one hand, the images of men in dressing gowns allowed men to imagine themselves in the role of indolent but powerful "oriental despot." On the other hand, the print advertisements that emphasized consuming fabrics that came from Algeria and the east encouraged imperial triumphalism and enjoying the fruits of imperial conquests. Both of these ideas emphasize taking and conquest: one through the "Europeanization" of an indolent but powerful form of masculinity, and the other through the physical taking and appropriating of North African resources for French markets. Taken together the emphasis on male bodies and colonial ambition in these advertisements speaks to the ways in which fashion, in the July Monarchy fashion press, makes even the most functional activities, just as much as leisure activities, into a social activity. Through the use of particular garments, in this case dressing gowns inspired by Orientalized aesthetics, men could fashion a particular type of elite masculinity that emphasized luxuriating in positions of power.

⁶⁵ Susan Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 80-83.

1.4 Tailor-Made Elegance, Class, and “Natural” Bodies

Humann had fought as a “citizen soldier” in February 1848 and was there when the July Monarchy fell in June. A hiatus from advertising followed, but in the 1860s Humann began advertising in the popular weekly magazine *La Vie Parisienne* and continued to do so until his death in 1874.⁶⁶ Founded in 1863, *La Vie Parisienne* was a highly successful and popular weekly magazine that ran until 1970. The magazine was well-liked amongst elites because of the variety of light-hearted content it ran throughout the nineteenth century including serialized novels, gossip sections, and regular fashion commentary accompanied with lavish prints that often doubled as advertisements.⁶⁷ Following the political and social revolutions in France in 1848, the political and social significance of tailor made clothing took on a new level of urgency. In 1848, the July Monarchy faced increasing political pressure from the socialist left as well as more moderate but politically excluded and now class-conscious middle-class, and Louis-Philippe’s regime collapsed in February of 1848. The provisional government introduced universal-male but the provisional government was soon overrun by conservatives in favor of consolidating power versus pushing for further social reform. After the repression of the June days in 1848, moreover, the working-class refused to turn out and support candidates in the coming elections that would defend the Second Republic. Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte mobilized these sentiments through empty promises to support the French working-class and in 1849 he was elected president through a mix of calls of support of the working-class as well as promises of securing

⁶⁶ “Types Parisiens,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 22 September 1866, 529.

⁶⁷ Clara Sadoun-Édouard, “La Vie parisienne ou la mise en scène de la mondanité,” *Presse et scène au XIXe siècle*, ed. Olivier Bara and Marie-Ève Thérénty, *Médias19: Littérature et Culture médiatique*, <https://www.medias19.org/publications/presse-et-scene-au-xixe-siecle/la-vie-parisienne-ou-la-mise-en-scene-de-la-mondanite>.

French economic interests.⁶⁸ After the subsequent coup of 1851, the Second French Empire took a decidedly authoritarian turn, crippling many of the democratic institutions the Second Republic introduced. However, Louis-Napoléon was not able to completely turn back the clock, especially the introduction of male suffrage; thus, the regime looked for ways of establishing the moral and political basis of elite power, especially through public displays of power including military parades.⁶⁹ The result was a resurgence in court culture and a hardening of the boundaries between elites, the bourgeoisie, and the working-class.⁷⁰ In the political climate of the Second Empire, still marked by the expansion of male suffrage in 1848, the tailor's advertisements take on a distinctly conservative tone that aims to reinforce both a class hierarchy threatened by political change and the tailor's business threatened by competition from "ready-to-wear." The fashion press's emphasis on the tailor's ability to dress men according to their gender, age, and station takes on a new urgency in this period. This urgency manifests in two primary ways. First, the advertisements maintain with new vigor that well-cut and well-chosen clothes made by a tailor, and not purchased from a *confectionneur* (ready-made retailer), mark men out as members of the elite, a social group with a particular set of rules and expectations – while the *confectionneur* was merely adequate enough for a reaching bourgeoisie. In doing so the journalists for *La Vie Parisienne* mobilized a gendered language about consumption that emphasized men embracing a particular type of elegance – one that created marked differences between elites, the bourgeoisie and the working-class. Second, the advertisements aim to elevate tailoring to an "art;" in doing so, the fashion media presents their understanding of masculine

⁶⁸ Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11-13.

⁶⁹ Mathew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 136-138.

⁷⁰ Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power*, 43-48.

elegance as bound to eighteenth and nineteenth-century interpretations of Classical beauty standards epitomized by white, youthful, and muscular male bodies. Understanding the male body becomes the main indicator of a good tailor for the fashion press. Tailors like Humann are like artists when they design elegant clothing according to an idealized set of proportions, and elites are separated from the bourgeoisie when they can identify the significance of a tailor-made garment.

In April 1869, *La Vie Parisienne* ran a full-page advertisement for Humann with seven vignettes arranged on the page advertising his talents as a tailor (Figure 1.19). A central vignette with a woman in riding dress is surrounded on her left and right by four vignettes of men in different fashionable garments including hunting costumes, military evening dress, formal wear, and casual clothing. Above the woman is a smaller vignette of the tailor's atelier: a well-appointed salon

with a large mirror in the center; finally, below her is a view of the tailor's tools: scissors,



Figure 1.19 “Modes du Jour – Les Costumes d’Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 17 April 1869, 319. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

measuring tape, fabric samples, and calling cards. Captions accompany all the images (except for the view of the tailor's atelier). Together with the vignettes, the captions encourage a masculinized form of consumption that emphasizes embracing and displaying one's elite status. During the Second Empire, the fashion industry affirmed an elite form of masculine consumption to encourage consumption and in doing so also affirmed the regime's conservative political culture interested in demarcating the distinctions between elites, the bourgeoisie, and the working-class.

The four vignettes of fashionable men each represent two men partaking in four of the many social activities of the elite: balls, the opera, hunting, and an afternoon promenade. On a basic level, along with the fifth vignette of a woman, these images display the range of garments customers can expect to get from Humann, and any tailor worthy of the title of merchant tailor.⁷¹ The vignettes also, however, work in concert to present the tailor as the key to being "elegant" in any occasion and its classed and gendered implications. The first vignette on the left represents two men in evening dress: the man on the left wears a highly embroidered formal uniform; he is accompanied by a man in formal evening dress with a black jacket and white breeches, which had come back into fashion during the Second Empire's lavish court celebrations. The caption below explains to the readers that despite the elegance and beauty of the garments, the winter season was coming to an end, and it was time for men to pack away their very formal clothing that "looks better under the light of a chandelier than the rays of the May sun."⁷² Published as it was at the end of April, the advertisement relied on the reader's knowledge of the social calendar of *le monde*. In this advertisement, being elegant is not just about owning the right kind of

⁷¹ The only women's garment that tailors typically made was a riding costume or *amazone*, see Chapter 3 for an example.

⁷² "S'accommodent mieux de la lumière du lustre que des rayons du soleil de mai." "Modes du jour- Les Costumes d'Humann," *La Vie Parisienne*, 17 April 1869, 319.

clothes, it is also about knowing when and where to use them. In much the same way as the fashion press of the July Monarchy, the Second Empire press emphasized fashion and aesthetics, while tempering men's desires through appropriateness.

By the mid-1860s the French popular literary culture was also contributing to the dissemination and perpetuation of the idea that elite men needed to have a good tailor to help them dress the part. Humann, for example, appears as a character in a chapter of Théodore de Foudras's 1864 realist novel *Misères dorées* (*Gabriel de Bonnecourt*), segments of which were published as advertisements for Humann in *La Vie Parisienne*. *Misères dorées* follows the adventures of the eponymous, young, and aristocratic Count Gabriel de Bonnecourt, "the latest offspring" of the Lorrainer nobility who has been called to Paris to settle some important business dealings.⁷³ The needed trip becomes a convenient excuse for Gabriel to explore the city's amusements and vices, examine and learn from its inhabitants, and visit its museums, cafés, and, especially, its shops. The novel ends with the protagonist on his way to make his own fortune and settled with a Parisian wife, Anne Kermingan. Within a few days of arriving in Paris, Gabriel finds himself in the Louvre along with a companion. The count, mesmerized by the impressive talents on display in the museum, is annoyed that after their tour he needs to visit his tailor, who just happens to be Humann. The young count had forgotten about the appointment and was annoyed, to say the least. But he soon learns that he has prejudged the merits and talents of his tailor: "he learned that in a big city like Paris, a tailor can be an artist, and the talent of knowing how to dress his contemporaries with a simple elegance can be a serious and difficult art."⁷⁴

⁷³ "Le dernier rejeton," Théodore de Foudras, *Misères dorées* (*Gabriel de Bonnecourt*) (Paris: Alexandre Cadot, 1864), 11-12.

⁷⁴ "Il apprit là que dans une grande ville comme Paris, un tailleur peut être aussi un artiste, et le talent de savoir habiller ses semblables avec une élégance simple, un art sérieux et difficile," Foudras, *Misères dorées*, 64.

Gabriel became convinced of this idea after watching Humann deal with an old and chubby viscount who did not want to dress according to his physique, age, and eschewed the proper codes of appropriateness. The man, according to Gabriel, “was fat and stout, and surprised he did not look lean and slender;” furthermore, Gabriel continued, he was dissatisfied with a waistcoat that “the man himself” had designed only a few days before. The man was utterly unhappy and according to him everything “gave him the air of a grandfather.”⁷⁵ Undeterred by his customer’s complaints, Humann convinces the man that he is no longer at an age when men are expected to look like those in their youthful prime, rather, that there is a sense of dignity mixed with flirtatiousness (“une coquetterie”) about a man willing to accept his age. As he went about explaining his philosophy to his client, the narrator recounts how Humann pretended to cut some strings here and there and marked the garment with unnecessary chalk marks. The original cut was “perfectly thought-out,” according to the narrator, the tailor simply needed to assuage his customer’s vanity.⁷⁶ The narrator finished the scene by reminding the reader of a fitting proverb and suggestion for how to live one’s life: “The provincial who first visits Paris should not pick his own clothing but rather should pick his tailor.”⁷⁷

In de Foudras’ novel, the reader follows the count’s journey from the perspective of an omniscient narrator who asserts in several instances in the opening chapter that he is both an objective and an honest narrator: or in their words, a “loyal/faithful narrator.”⁷⁸ The narrator’s rhetorical claims of objectivity situate the book within the scenes of modern life genre that had become increasingly popular since the July Monarchy. Foudras’ *Misères dorées* fits squarely into

⁷⁵ “Il était gros et ramassé, et il s’étonnait de ne pas se voir élancé et mince,” “un gilet désigne par lui-même deux jours auparavant ne lui semblait plus d’une originalité suffisante,” “lui donnerait l’air d’un papa,” Foudras, *Misères dorées*, 65.

⁷⁶ “Parfaitement raisonnée,” Foudras, *Misères dorées*, 65.

⁷⁷ “Le provincial qui vient pour la première fois à Paris, ne doit pas choisir ses habits mais son tailleur,” Foudras, *Misères dorées*, 66.

⁷⁸ “Narrateur fidèle,” Foudras, *Misères dorées*, 7.

the model of realist literature that careful readers would use to examine themselves and their contemporaries. As the historian Judith Lyon-Caen has shown, French readers often turned to realist fiction as a means of reflecting on their contemporary society or as a way of forging their own identities. Readers turned especially to realist novels that claimed to be inspired by contemporary events and whose characters represented recognizable social types.⁷⁹ By republishing works such as these, *La Vie Parisienne* was actively encouraging readers to think about how embodying “elegance” allowed them to secure their social position. In *La Vie Parisienne*, the tailor’s special ability to dress men came not only from his knowledge of fashion in a socially-stratified society, but his understanding of the male body. This is the knowledge that brought him in line with the men and women who considered themselves artists, instead of artisans. As a reporter for *La Vie Parisienne* explained in 1865, tailors like Humann are artists “who apply to what we call a craft, an anatomical science, a feeling of beauty of proportions that is ordinarily only applied to an art.”⁸⁰ Good tailors understood the lines and curves that shaped and defined male bodies. Humann, of course, had studied sculpture, and therefore he better than any other tailor, according to the reporter, could bring out the “harmony of the human’s body’s proportions.”⁸¹ In 1866, a reporter for *La Vie Parisienne* made a similar observation about the tailor: “Bref, he is an artist who, without either marble or paints, achieves on the clothed human body the ideal proportions which professional artists, painters or sculptors, dream of but do not always reach.”⁸² Furthermore, the reporter continued, “everyone enjoys feeling well dressed, but

⁷⁹ Judith Lyon-Caen, *La Lecture et la Vie. Les Usages du roman au temps de Balzac* (Paris: Tallandier, 2005).

⁸⁰ “Qui applique à ce qu’on est convenu d’appeler un métier, une science anatomique, un sentiment du beau de l’ensemble dans les proportions qu’on n’applique ordinairement qu’à un art,” “Chez Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 11 March 1865, 137.

⁸¹ “De l’harmonie des proportions du corps humain,” “Chez Humann,” 137.

⁸² “Bref, c’est un artiste qui, à défaut de marbre, et de couleurs, réalise sur le corps humain habillé l’idéal des proportions qui rêvent, sans l’atteindre toujours, les artistes de profession, peintres ou sculpteurs.” “Types Parisienne,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 22 September 1866, 530.

how much enjoyment do they get from Raphaël's *Madonna of the Chair* or Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment*."⁸³ Here, the reporter's comments allude to popular critique that fashion culture also allowed social climbers to blur the lines demarcating social distinctions.⁸⁴ The bourgeois man or woman, who lacks the education, refinement, and taste to understand the significance of good art, is, nevertheless, excited about feeling well dressed.⁸⁵ What separates the elite from the bourgeois is an understanding that a good tailor, like good art, is about more than just how it makes you feel; in other words, while the bourgeois is happy with ready-made clothing made to look the part, elites were meant to understand the significance of a tailor made garment.

In defining tailoring in relation to the fine arts and by centering male bodies as the artist's primary concern these advertisements coincide with contemporary debates about the importance of male bodies to art as well as contemporary intellectual debates about the nature of aesthetics in a modernizing world. Understanding and being able to represent a nude male body was one of the primary talents that academic artists in France needed to prove.⁸⁶ Winners of the Prix de Rome, for example, were expected to complete several male nudes while in residence at the French Academy in Rome.⁸⁷ As early as the eighteenth-century the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann had proposed that the male nude was the ideal form that artists could aspire to recreate through an understanding of the mathematical ideals that he believe was characterized by Greek antiquities. This was an ideal mathematical form: a matter of understanding and

⁸³ "Tous jouissent de se sentir bien mis ; combien jouissent de la Vierge à la Chaise de Raphaël, ou du Jugement Dernier de Michel-Ange," "Types Parisienne," 530.

⁸⁴ Victoria Thompson, *The Virtuous Marketplace: Women and Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830-1870*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

⁸⁵ For more on how taste was understood to separate the elites from the bourgeoisie see: Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 1998); Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁸⁶ Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Horace Vernet's *Academic Study of an Adolescent Boy* and the Artist's Student Years," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, vol. 45, no. 2 (1986): 23

⁸⁷ Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 7.

knowing the proportions that produced a harmonious image.⁸⁸ Tailors, like artists, could strive to recreate works that embodied an idealized form of beauty through a careful study of mathematical proportions and ratios.

These advertisements, moreover, mobilize Hegelian interpretations about the nature of art, male bodies, and clothing's place within modern art to sell menswear. In *The Lectures of Aesthetics*, Hegel proposed that of the fine arts, sculpture was a particularly compelling art form because a sculptor transformed material forms devoid of life into something imbued with what he understood as "spirit." Classical nude sculptures, especially those of idealized male bodies devoid of veins, bruises, and any imperfections, are, according to Hegel, material objects that give shape to an imagined spirit or idea. In sculpture material forms and the spirit are brought together in one indivisible whole.⁸⁹ When it came to modern sculpture, which required modern costumes, the sculptor is still able to preserve the idealized beauty of the art if and only if clothing acts like drapery in classical sculpture. That is, when discussing drapery in Classical sculpture, Hegel explains that its purpose is to help stage the spirituality of the body. Like architecture, which does not contribute to spirit but provides the spaces in which spirit can be enacted, drapery by falling from and over the body accentuates the lines and curves of the body and brings forth the spiritual. For Hegel, modern clothing has a place in sculpture when the aim is to capture what Nick Valvo calls a "qualified realism," when the goal is to represent figures "in their own time."⁹⁰ That is to say that modern fashions serve a role in art when the purpose is to represent an individual as they would have been in their own moment. Clothing, like drapery,

⁸⁸ Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 5.

⁸⁹ Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975 [1835]), 114.

⁹⁰ Nick Valvo, "Costuming the Historical Figure: Hegel, Realism, and Fancy Dress," *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 18, no. 4 (2016): 559, <https://doi.org/10.5325/intelitestud.18.4.0545>; Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "On Drapery" from *Aesthetics* in *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, ed. Daniel Purdy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 2004 [1835]), 150.

therefore, has the ability, when done properly, to help bring out certain idealized classical male beauty standards.

La Vie Parisienne takes this logic a step further by advocating for thinking about tailors as having the ability to help men mold their bodies through clothing to fit these idealized forms. The tailor, like painters and sculptors, understands what perfect proportions are, and therefore creates garments with them in mind to fit perfectly on imperfect bodies. By understanding this important component of a tailor-made garment, elite men could signal to themselves as well as those around them that unlike the bourgeois, who bought cheap clothing meant only to make him look fashionable, the elite man understood the nuances between fashion as pretension and fashion as a way of embodying one's elite status. A tailor-made garment was the elite man's mark of taste.

The political culture of the Second Empire made dressing to display status a political necessity. Even though Louis-Napoleon was in part elected as president of the Second Republic because of his claims of serving the people, his regime took on a decidedly conservative turn after the coup of 1851. The culture of the Second Empire, furthermore, was built on a renewed emphasis on court life, aristocratic fashions, and because of the expansion of male suffrage, men found new ways of establishing their social status through particular practices of dress and display. Dress was an integral part of differentiating between elites, the bourgeoisie, and the working-class. *La Vie Parisienne*, moreover, reminded its readers that people had a role to play that was based on their gender and class position, and a good tailor understood that men needed to dress according to those precepts. The vignette in the bottom right of the advertisement for Humann from 1869, for example, reads: "Humann considers the age, social class, etc. [of his customers] and does not dress an artist like a financier. Nuances, one might say, but nuances are

everything.”⁹¹ During the politically conservative Second Empire, fashion remained an important way for the elites to mark their power and influence, and a good tailor like Humann could meet his client and know how to dress him in the clothing appropriate to his social position.

Elegance not only relies on dressing the part, but it also demands attention to embracing and conforming to male bodies and in attention to detail no matter the cost. The caption below the hunting scene pillories the elite men who have begun to wear ready-made clothing. The caption reads: “I know men, amongst the best in society, who, in order to save, buy ‘ready-made’ [hunting costumes] as if elegance of shape and a certain attention to detail was not essential in an informal outfit.”⁹² As we will explore further in the fourth chapter, the Second Empire saw a proliferation of ‘ready-made’ retailers who competed for the tailor’s customers. Pre-made according to standardized patterns, ‘ready-made’ clothing sold for a fraction of the cost of tailor-made or bespoke garments. While ‘ready-made’ was more affordable, tailors like Humann used advertisements such as this one to remind readers that they alone could dress elite men because ready-to-wear did not fit as well, was made from cheaper fabrics, which together implied that they did not embody elegance the way the tailor’s garments were supposed to. The question of fit, moreover, implied more than just how garments actually fit. That is, the tailor does a better job at making a suit that fits because it is fitted to an individual in order to bring out his individual elegance. The tailor is like a portrait painter who captures the specifics of the individual sitter while also situating the sitter precisely within the social hierarchy.

⁹¹ “Humann tient compte de l’âge, de la position sociale etc. et n’habille pas un artiste comme un financier. Nuances, dira-t-on : soit ; mais ces nuances-là sont tout,” “Modes du jour- Les Costumes d’Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 17 April 1869, 319.

⁹² “J’en connais, et du meilleur monde, qui, pour réaliser une mesquine économie, achètent ces costumes-là à la “confection ” comme si l’élégance de la forme et une certaine recherche de détails n’étaient pas surtout essentiels dans un costume négligé,” “Modes du jour- Les Costumes d’Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 17 April 1869, 319.

The evolution in meaning of the term elegance from the eighteenth century to the Third Republic highlights why the French fashion industry mobilized the relationship between fit and elegance to sell elite garments. At the end of the eighteenth century, elegance (élégance) was used to refer to a manner of speaking politely or a “certain fine and delicate taste” that comes out in “painting, sculpture, architecture and in certain other arts.”⁹³ In 1798, the Académie française expanded the definition to also include “simplicity and facility” in mathematics. The académie also drew the connection between elegance and the shape and look of the body expanding the definition to include “the grace and nobility of size.”⁹⁴ By the mid-nineteenth century the broader definitions and uses of the term elegance continued to expand, in particular elegance’s association with bodies and “natural” shapes as well as fashions in clothing and furniture.⁹⁵ Elegance, furthermore, was associated with svelte bodies as opposed to larger and hardier bodies. The emphasis on svelte bodies was popularized in the July Monarchy in the fashion press. This corresponded to a new masculine silhouette that emphasized broad shoulders and a small waist. As the historian George Vigarello has shown, discourses elaborated in medical texts and the military contributed to the breaking down of the ideal “aristocratic” silhouette of the eighteenth century, which emphasized the belly and pushed back shoulders.⁹⁶ By the 1870s, elegance continued to retain its various meanings but one change of particular significance is that in the dictionary elegance was explicitly referred to as an elite quality when it came to matters of distinction in dress, manners, bodily shape, and language. One omission by 1873 is the

⁹³ *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, ed. 4, vol. 1 (Paris: 1762), <https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=elegance>

⁹⁴ *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, ed. 5, vol. 1 (Paris: 1798), <https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=elegance>

⁹⁵ *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, ed. 6, vol. 1 (Paris: 1835), <https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=elegance>

⁹⁶ George Vigarello, *Histoire de la Beauté: Le Corps et l'art d'embellir de la renaissance à nos jours* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), 145-146; and *Le Corps redressé: histoire du pouvoir pédagogique* (Paris: Édition du Félin, 2018 [1978]), 133-141.

relationship between elegance and svelteness.⁹⁷ This corresponded to a certain extent with another shift in the fashionable masculine silhouette. The male silhouette popularized in the July Monarchy offered men a new vision of a masculine body that emphasized tight form fitting clothing meant to emphasize musculature. In the 1860s this silhouette would give way to a newer model that emphasized puffed up features and looser fitting garments. As the concepts and ideas that undergirded elegance changed between 1830 and 1870, it remained imperative that tailors understood how to properly drape garments for male bodies and the current fashions. The fashion industry concerned with protecting tailors, for example, rationalized that when men turned to ready-made, they were giving up the attention to fit as well as their elegance.

1.5 Conclusions

The period between the rise of the July Monarchy and the fall of the Second Empire encompasses a forty-year period in which the fashion press pushed a gendered form of consumption onto French men and women that was premised on displaying one's position within a classed and gendered hierarchy. Part of the reason why contemporaries today think of men as either boring or careless dressers is precisely because we are still operating with a gendered understanding of what it means to shop as a man. Humann's advertisements, for example, present shopping as a necessary and important part of cultivating one's masculinity. It is not an endeavor that is taken lightly or on a whim, rather it is something that needs to be studied and perfected. In presenting masculine shopping this way, the advertisements create a gendered distinction between men shopping for practical and rational reasons, while an unmasculine form of shopping would be the opposite: emotional, illogical, and perhaps frivolous. In the

⁹⁷ *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1873),
<https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=elegance>

advertisements for *La Vie Parisienne*, the tailor becomes an artist capable of transforming ordinary fabric and flesh into an idealized version of an elite man. In this process, the act of shopping for menswear is transformed from a regular commercial activity into an essential pursuit that must and should be undertaken. To consume like a man is to embody an idealized masculinity through the use and display of fashionable clothing. When men shopped according to these advertisements they were not just participating in a growing economy, they were doing the necessary work to secure their social and political positions.

In this way, masculine consumption becomes an invisible act insofar as men are not noticed when they consume fashionable goods because it is precisely what they are supposed to be doing to express their “elite fashionable masculinity” that in turn allows them to display visually the social position. In other words, we do not think of men as interested or concerned with their clothing because shopping for them is not a leisurely pursuit but rather an essential part of their day to day. Christopher Breward has referred to this phenomenon in England as the “hidden consumer,” the one out of focus for critics.⁹⁸ In the French case to call them hidden would be to ignore the very real ways in which menswear and consuming were publicly encouraged. There were of course critics of menswear consumption, and they would vehemently oppose over adorning the male body, but even these critics would encourage men to consume in the right ways.⁹⁹ This ultimately paved the way for our current understanding/misunderstanding of how and why men shop.

⁹⁸ Breward, *The Hidden Consumer*, 1-5.

⁹⁹ John Finkelberg, “English Dandies and French Lions: Policing the Male Body in Popular Print and Visual Culture between 1815 and 1848,” *Representations of the Male Body*, ed. Silvia Gerlsbeck and Carmen Dexl (London: Palgrave Macmillan: Forthcoming Spring 2022).

Chapter 2 – Inventing the Modern Shirt: *Chemisiers* and the Sartorial Foundation of the Masculine Body Politics, 1830-1848

In the winter of 1844, the French government built a temporary, rectangular exhibition hall along the Champs-Élysées in Paris, across from the Champs du Mars, to house the nearly 4000 machines, fabrics, and products submitted to the tenth *Exposition public des produits de l'industrie française* held in Paris for sixty days between May 1 and June 29, 1844.¹ Amongst the various garments and products displayed in the “*Objets divers*” category of the “*Arts divers*” class were several examples of tailor-made shirts.² Writing for the promotional catalog *L'Industrie*, a reporter commented: “One is perhaps surprised to see the importance we have allotted to the shirt in our columns. But, even if it only occupies a modest place conquered with great difficulty in the palace of industry, the rank it holds in Parisian industry makes it our duty to examine it carefully.”³ One man, Charles Frédéric Durousseau, stood out to the commentator because he had submitted a particularly fine shirt to the exposition and because he claimed in his advertisements to be the successor of the inventor of the modern shirt: Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset.⁴

¹ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) 16-22; Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 16.

² E. Lamulonière, “Généralités sur l'Exposition,” *L'Industrie. Exposition des produits de l'industrie française en 1844* (Paris: L. Cumier, 1844), 21.

³ “On s'étonnera peut-être de l'importance que nous avons accordée à la chemise dans nos colonnes. Mais si, dans le palais de l'industrie, elle n'occupe qu'une place modeste conquise à grand'peine [*sic*], le rang qu'elle tient dans l'industrie parisienne nous faisait un devoir de l'examiner avec attention.” N.n., “Chemise,” *L'Industrie. Exposition des produits de l'industrie française en 1844* (Paris: L. Cumier, 1844), 92.

⁴ N.n., “Chemise,” 90.

According to the author, the modern shirt was a direct descendant of a Roman garment that evolved into the crude and ubiquitous garment worn by both men and women underneath outer garments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. The shirt also had a more recent history, or in the author's words: "The shirt's history started yesterday."⁵ This was the story that interested the author, the story of "the shirt, as we understand it to be made today, of the shirt that has passed to the rank of an elegant and distinguished garment," and not the story of the "the disgraceful sacks" that previous generations wore.⁶ There was a "revolution" in menswear, according to the reporter, and the man responsible was Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset, a "man of intelligence and talent," who, according to the author, in the 1830s, "one day tailored a shirt in Holland linen, the elegant form and harmonious proportions of which reproduced and emphasized the form and proportions of the human torso." Echoing a famous line from Rousseau the author declared: "He displayed his work to a crowd, and announced, 'I have seen the shirts of my time, and I have made this.'"⁷

In 1836, Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset (d. 1843) and his business partner Catherine Pierret (d. 1842), were poised to transform a sector of the French clothing industry when they opened the first Parisian *chemiserie* (shirt store) at 95, Rue de Richelieu. The establishment was located in the center of the city's trade in commercial goods, perfectly situated between the Chaussée d'Antin neighborhood to the north and the Palais Royal to the east.⁸ In the same year,

⁵ "L'histoire de la chemise date d'hier," N.n., "Chemise," 89.

⁶ On comprend que nous voulons parler de la chemise telle qu'on la fait aujourd'hui, de la chemise passée au rang de vêtement élégant et distingué... des sacs disgracieux. » N.n. "Chemise," 90.

⁷ "M. Lami-Housset tailla un jour dans la toile de Hollande une chemise dont la forme élégante et les proportions harmonieuses reproduisaient, en les faisant valoir, la forme et les proportions du buste humain. Il exposa son œuvre aux regards de la foule en lui disant: "J'ai vu les chemises de mon temps, et j'ai fait ceci," N. n. "Chemise," 90-91. The allusion is to the preface of Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse*: "J'ai vu les mœurs de mon temps, et j'ai publié ces lettres." Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1843 [1761]), 1.

⁸Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 10–11.

Pierret and Lami-Housset also applied to the French state for *brevets d'invention* (legal patents). One was a patent for their new design for a tailored shirt. The other patent was for the title of “*tailleur pour chemise*” (shirt tailor).⁹ Before the 1830s, shirts were a ubiquitous part of French wardrobes. Everyone from the working-class to elites wore shirts as a means of protecting the body from outer garments. These shirts, however, were often made from crude fabrics and they were ill-fitting. What separated the modern shirt from earlier generic and shapeless garments was that they were tailored to fit individual men. In 1836, Pierret and Lami-Housset began advertising their new shirts in French fashion magazines and daily newspapers, enticing elite French men to change the way they thought about their shirts and how they purchased them. Pierret and Lami-Housset made use of modern legal institutions including patent laws and modern advertising techniques to transform how men consumed and thought about one of the most ubiquitous garments in French wardrobes: shirts. Pierret, Lami-Housset and their contemporaries invented a new garment that was portrayed in the fashion media as the necessary foundation of the modern citizen defined by wealth, bodily individuality, and gender.

Since the seventeenth century, shirts were a common garment because of the important hygienic properties with which contemporaries imbued them. The French thought of the shirt as an undergarment that was relatively easy to launder and that protected the body from uncomfortable, and sometimes filthy, outer garments.¹⁰ Either made at home or purchased from a linen draper, the shirt was a ubiquitous but often crude undergarment amongst urban populations. There was a “revolution,” as the reporter for the 1844 magazine *L'Industrie* put it, in menswear in the 1830s and 1840s when a cohort of clothing entrepreneurs worked to redefine

⁹ Catherine Pierret and Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 5 ans pour la fabrication des chemises par une coupe perfectionnée,” 1836, INPI 1BA12622.

¹⁰ George Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 48-49; 58-67.

the shirt as a luxury good that allowed men to embody a fashionable and elite form of masculinity.¹¹ In order to articulate this change, the shirt makers had to advocate for a reconfiguration of the material object: the modern shirt needed to be subjected to tailoring.

The trajectory of the shirt making industry in France in the 1830s and 1840s reveals how the articulation of new garments and retail practices went hand in hand with a gendering of consumer habits that would become staples of modern consumer culture and how material items contributed to the articulation of gendered and classed ideas about citizenship. The first generation of shirt makers set out to transform a ubiquitous but crudely made garment with seventeenth century antecedents. The new shirt makers mobilized various strategies in their applications for patents to define the contours of a new industry, and who had the right to dress men. In the *chemiserie* (the shirt store) the shirt industry developed new retail practices through a retooling of more general practices typical of the clothing industry including a gendered labor structure and the circulation of credit. The *chemiserie* was built to serve elite men and they provided them with a space in which a material object could be shaped and fitted to their individual bodies. In their advertisements, the shirt makers advertised shirts as a necessary good that elite men needed to wear if they wanted to embody their privileged positions as citizens.

2.1 The Early Modern Chemise

Before the “revolution” in shirt making, the shirt was an undergarment that was part of a larger category of clothing and household goods known as *linges* or linen goods. Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* (1690) explained that linen generally refers to cloth that is suitable for use around the household and on the body. The dictionary divides linen goods further

¹¹ “Chemise,” *L’Industrie. Exposition des produits de l’industrie française en 1844* (Paris : L. Cumer), 90-91.

into type groups: “*gros linge*” (great linen) and “*menu linge*” (small linen). The differences between “great” and “small” linen are a matter of how goods are washed, not whether they are used in the household or as clothing. “Great” refers to sheets, napkins, clothes and shirts or items that can be washed with ease without soap. The “small” linen requires soap and has to be sent away for starching; “small” linens include handkerchiefs, cravats, and cuffs.¹² All linen goods, despite how they are washed, were the purview of linen drapers (*linger*) who sold fabrics as well as linen goods including bed linens and undergarments.¹³

Through a study of eighteenth-century Parisian inventories, the historian Daniel Roche has shown that shirts appeared in virtually all urban masculine wardrobes from the period. In 1700, working men who owned relatively few clothing items owned on average six shirts. Eighty-five percent of their wardrobes included at least one shirt. Among what Roche calls “the urban male bourgeoisie,” shirts were virtually universal: ninety-eight percent of shopkeepers and artisans and eighty-eight percent of office-holders and professionals owned at least one shirt. The numbers are significantly lower among the nobility; shirts were found in only fifty-three percent of inventories. However, Roche explained that the rapid rate of dispersal of an aristocrat’s cheaper goods at the time of their death can account for the lower figures. That is, aristocrats like wealthy members of the Third Estate also owned and wore multiple shirts. It was not uncommon for example domestic servants to receive items such as shirts from their employers. By the end of the eighteenth century, following the general trend in increased clothing consumption across the society of orders, shirts increased amongst all men. Doctors and lawyers averaged twenty-five shirts each, while shopkeepers owned on average fifteen. Ninety-four percent of working men

¹² Furtière quoted in Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 153.

¹³ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 262.

had at least one shirt in their inventory, but the average had between six and seven.¹⁴ Following George Vigarello, Roche credits the presence of multiple shirts in all of the inventories to the universal practice of changing shirts for hygienic reasons.

In the celebrated compendium of knowledge, the *Encyclopédie*, French philosopher Denis Diderot described the common shirt as “the article of clothing that touches the skin.”¹⁵ The fineness of the fabric, and thus its gentleness to the skin, rather than how it looked, distinguished one shirt from another and reflected the social status of the wearer. Whatever their quality, all men’s shirts were different from women’s shirts, and the *amadis* shirt, a longer men’s sleeping shirt. Men’s shirts were simple garments, sewn from three *aunes* of fabric.¹⁶ They reached just above the knees and were made from a single piece of fabric. Openings were left for sleeves and collars, and shirts were typically left open at the sides. Extra fabric was used to reinforce the sleeves to openings at the shoulders. In Diderot’s explanation the shirt was a necessary and ubiquitous undergarment, though sometimes uncomfortable when made of coarse fabrics.¹⁷

The lack of embellished shirts, even among those with the means to purchase them, is an indication that shirts were consumed for function rather than decoration and that when they did include decorations they amounted to embroidered or lace collars and cuffs that could be easily removed and placed on a different garment.¹⁸ The Russian playwright and writer Denis Fonvizin remembered in his travel writings how he first came to learn about the ways in which the French

¹⁴ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 152-171, 174-175.

¹⁵ “[La chemise] est la partie de notre vêtement qui touche immédiatement à la peau; elle est de toile plus ou moins fine, selon la condition des personnes.” Denis Diderot, “Chemise,” in *Encyclopédie*, ed. Jean le Rond d’Alembert and Denis Diderot, vol. 3 (Paris: 1751-1772), 282.

¹⁶ According to the 1762 edition of *Le Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, an *aune* is a unit of measurement that equals “three feet and eight inches” in length. *Le Dictionnaire de l’Académie française, Quatrième Édition*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1762), 133.

¹⁷ Diderot, “Chemise,” 282.

¹⁸ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 160-162, 173.

distinguished between clothing for function and clothing for display. On one occasion when noticing the “attractive lace cuffs” on a number of French “noble people,” Fonvizin asked to see their sleeves. Fonvizin wrote that he was “dumbstruck” after seeing the shirts they were wearing; he was confused and asked “why they sew such lovely fine cuffs on such sackcloth!” To which they responded: “*que cela ne se voit pas.*” “Because you cannot see it.”¹⁹ Shirts, along with underwear, were distinct from outer garments because they were not meant to be displayed as fashionable goods. They were supposed to help maintain the cleanliness of the body, and not the fashionable quality of an ensemble.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century many shirts were still cut from a single piece of fabric that could be purchased from a linen draper, and as in the eighteenth century they were a crucial part of wardrobes. In fact, Horace Raison’s 1829 *Code de la toilette*, recommended that every man of fashion maintain thirty-six shirts, thirty-six cravats and seventy-six detachable collars.²⁰ The early nineteenth-century shirt was either sewn by seamstresses employed to do piece work or they were home sewn in a continuation of eighteenth century practices.²¹ However, as early as the 1820s, Parisians could also purchase a finished shirt from a handful of retailers including linen drapers, hosiers, and *marchands de nouveautés*. Linen drapers often specialized in high-end finished shirts like those purchased by members of King Louis-Philippe’s family in the 1830s.²² The linen draper’s shirts, however, were not tailored to

¹⁹ Denis Fonvizin, “The Literature of Travel,” in *The Literature of Eighteenth-Century Russia: An Anthology of Russian Literary Materials of the Age of Classicism and the Enlightenment from the Reign of Peter the Great, 1689 – 1725, to the Reign of Alexander I, 1801-1825*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Harold B. Segel (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1967), 317.

²⁰ Horace Raison, *Le Code de la toilette* (Paris: J.-P. Roret, 1844 [1829]), 102-107.

²¹ Susan L. Siegfried and John Finkelberg, “Fashion in the Life of George Sand,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* (Fall 2020): 16.

²² In the first few years of the 1830s after the July Revolution the Orleans Royal Family purchased elegantly decorated shirts from two linen drapers in Paris. The Prince de Joinville purchased three dozen “chemise de toile” for nine hundred francs from a Madame Deforge, a linen draper from the *rue St. Honoré*, in September 1832. The following November, Queen Marie Amelia commissioned Madame Roquin, a linen draper with a boutique on the

individual bodies. Precursors to the department stores of the 1850s and 1860s, the *marchand de nouveauté* offered cheap finished goods usually small and relatively inexpensive accessories people could use to update an older garment, including: shawls, ribbons, bonnets, lace collars, and embroideries. They also sold ready-made garments and accessories for men such as jackets, smocks, and dressing gowns and undergarments: clothing that required little to no tailoring and could be made in standardized sizes. *Marchands de nouveautés* purchased these garments wholesale from a new cohort of entrepreneurs, *confectionneurs* (ready-made manufacture), who purchased fabric in bulk and hired men and women to sew large quantities of loose-fitting garments, such as shirts, that could be sold to a variety of men and women and required little to no alterations.²³ The *marchand de nouveautés* ready-made shirts, however, did not become popular sought after items until the 1850s, after a different cohort of artisans and retailers, the shirt makers, transformed both the meaning of the shirt and how men were supposed to think about their sartorial consumption.

2.2 The Chemisier and the Brevet d'invention

In April 1836, Catherine Pierret and Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset announced in the *Gazette des tribunaux* that they had formed a new general partnership (*société en nom collectif* or *SNC*) “with the effect of exploiting together the trade [*chemiserie*] to which they have already committed themselves.” The terms of their contract (*acte sous signatures privées*) stipulated that Pierret and Lami-Housset were equal partners that were both authorized to “purchase, make, and

ruie Neuve des Petits Champs, to make twenty-four “shirts in a pretty (*belle*) fabric with embroidered batiste collars” for forty francs a piece and “an elegant shirt for the evening with a batiste collar decorated with two bands of lace” for each of the young princes, the Duc de Montpensier and the Duc d’Aumale. Queen Marie Amelia also purchased several “nouveautés” from Madame Roquin, including two cravats and three scarves for each of her sons. “Dépenses de la Reine et des Princes,” 1832, AN O/4/1389.

²³ Piedade de Silveria, “Les magasins de nouveauté,” *Au Paradis des dames: Nouveautés, modes et confections 1810-1870*, ed. Françoise Tétart-Vittu (Paris: Musées de Paris, 1994), 16-17; Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 35-42; Johnson, “Economic Changer and Artisan Discontent,” 91-94

sell various articles, silks, novelties (*nouveautés*), shirts or other [goods], which constitute the commerce [they] have been engaged in, to this day.”²⁴ Financially speaking, they entered the partnership with 4,818 francs forty centimes of capital and credit respectively including furniture, merchandise, debts, and claims.²⁵ Together they had the capital and access to lines of credit that allowed them to manage a typical shop in a fashionable district in Paris.

Evidence from documents drawn up at their deaths only a few years later shows that they both came from modest families: Pierret’s sisters worked as seamstresses in Paris, and her older brother was a regular soldier in the French army;²⁶ Lami-Housset left his estate to his mother’s siblings, who, for the most part, worked as manual laborers in northern France.²⁷ Their personal histories and the amount of capital they could mobilize in 1836, suggested that Pierret and Lami-Housset had long worked in the clothing industry, allowing them to gain necessary technical and practical knowledge, as well as, a sense of where the clothing industry was heading in the mid-1830s and 1840s.

Several months after they formed their partnership, Pierret and Lami-Housset applied to the state for a *brevet d’invention* (legal patent) to secure their intellectual property and formal recognition of their efforts to transform men’s shirts. Pierret, Lami-Housset, and their contemporaries mobilized a relatively new legal concept, which provided the holder of the patent the exclusive right to sell and profit from their invention, to define the contours of the shirt making industry. In applying for patents, shirt makers were able to formulate in their applications justifications for the innovativeness of their products. In doing so, they defined the shirt as a

²⁴ “Désirant s’associer à l’effet d’exploiter ensemble le commerce auquel ils se sont déjà livrés.,” “Pour les achats, confections et ventes des divers articles, soieries, nouveautés, chemises ou autres, composant la nature du commerce auquel ils se sont livrés jusqu’à ce jour,” Catherine Pierret and Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset, “Acte sous signatures privées,” *Gazettes des Tribunaux*, 4,5 July 1836.

²⁵ Pierret and Lami-Housset, *Gazettes des Tribunaux*, July 4,5, 1836.

²⁶ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

²⁷ MC ET/ XVI/1149 (11 April 1843).

necessary part of the elite male wardrobe. The new shirt was meant to accentuate individual male bodies, in particular the bodies of elite men with the financial means to spend on fashioning their identity. What made this materially possible was subjecting the shirt to tailoring.

Pierret and Lami-Housset were part of a growing cohort of men and women in the clothing industry who applied to the state, through the Ministry of Commerce, for formal legal protection of their intellectual property during the 1830s and 1840. The legal apparatus that made this possible was introduced in France during the legal upheaval of the French Revolution of 1789. The term *brevet*, however, has a longer history in France. During the Old Regime, a *brevet* referred to a privilege the king granted that could take a variety of forms, from a post in the royal household to a monopoly on the production of certain goods.²⁸ Artisans and merchants who sold goods to the royal or imperial families used the term *brevet*, or adjective *breveté*, before and during the nineteenth century to signal royal favor, a much sought after form of advertising for artisans and merchants who wanted to bring in a wealthy clientele.²⁹ The *brevet d'invention* was different: it was a legal patent secured through the bureaucratic apparatus of the state that more and more merchants, artisans, and entrepreneurs looked to secure in the second quarter of the nineteenth-century.

Over the summer of 1790, the National Constituent Assembly replaced the old *brevet* system of royal appointments with a new scheme that would pay to compensate people who had contributed to the benefit of the nation. During the Revolution, inventors sought a new way to

²⁸ *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, vol. 1 (Coignard: Paris, 1694),

²⁹ In 1828, Jacque Doumeq, a tailor in Meuse, France, applied to the Royal Household of King Charles X for a *brevet* to style himself and advertise as the King's tailor. In his application Doumeq reminded the royal household that he had made a national-guard uniform for the king, at the time of his "triumphal" entrance into Paris at the start of the Bourbon Restoration in April 1814, and thus wished to style himself the "King's Tailor." "Letter from Jacque Doumeq to Ambroise-Polycarpe de la Rochefoucauld, duc de Doudeauville, Son Excellence le Ministre de la Maison du Roi," 11 October 1828, AN O/3/874; Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 47.

protect their interests. One group of self-styled “artist-inventors,” the *Société libres des inventions et découvertes*, lobbied the National Constituent Assembly to pass a new law that would create a system of legal patents based on the English model.³⁰ The law of January 9, 1791, formally recognized the rights of inventors over their intellectual property and established the new legal category of a *brevet d’invention*. The law of 1791 was created along the *Société’s* recommendations and was designed as a contract between the inventor and the state; the inventor was guaranteed protection of their intellectual property which eventually would become property of the general public, contributing to the benefit of the nation.³¹ Applications included: a letter to the ministry, a formal description of the invention, a copy of a design or model, and the payment of a progressive tax. The length of time a patent covered determined the amount of the tax. A person could apply for a five year patent, ten year patent, and a fifteen year patent.³²

Few inventors filed for a *brevet* before the mid-nineteenth century. In 1794 only thirty-four *brevets* were secured, and until the end of the First Empire an average of only eighty *brevets* were filed per year. The numbers from the clothing industry were particularly small. Only one man, an Englishman named John Walker, applied for a *brevet* for a shirt and removable collar in 1824.³³ The practice of applying for the *brevet* was a relatively new practice for French men and women. Walker, an Englishman, perhaps took advantage of the French system because he was more accustomed to the English system. The English patent system dates back to the seventeenth

³⁰ Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère, “Inventeurs en Révolution: la Société des inventions et découvertes,” *Documents pour l’histoire des techniques*, no. 17 (Fall 2009): 21.

³¹ Demeulenaere-Douyère, “Inventeurs en Révolution,” 21-24.

³² Gérard Emptoz and Valérie Marchal, *Aux sources de la propriété industrielle : guide des archives de l’INPI* (Paris: l’Institut national de la propriété industrielle, 2002), 38

³³ John Walker, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 10 ans pour une façon de chemises portant cols à coupes et à coutures transversales, et faux cols de chemises dans le même système,” 1824, INPI 1BA2063.

century.³⁴ Walker took advantage of the French system to patent his products when he established his business in Paris in the 1820s.

The *brevet* became more popular during the 1830s and especially after the law was reformed in 1844.³⁵ One potential reason for the increased activity surrounding the *brevet* was the July Monarchy's emphasis on encouraging French business interests including manufacturing and retail. The key difference between the two laws was that while the 1791 law protected the "full and exclusive enjoyment of its discovery [*jouissance entière et exclusive sur sa découverte*]," the new law guaranteed "the exclusive right to exploit for one's own profit [*le droit exclusif d'exploiter à son profit*]" an invention.³⁶ While the first recognized the inventor, the new law recognized the inventor's right to profit from the invention for a duration of time.³⁷ This change in the law was a product of the July Monarchy's attempts to encourage French manufacturing and retail in an effort to compete effectively with the British.³⁸ The July Monarchy pushed through legal reforms that allowed retailers and manufactures to make more use of the *brevet*.

It was not until the 1830s, that men and women working in the clothing industry began to apply in significant numbers. Between 1830 and 1870, men and women who used the titles "*tailleur pour chemise*" (shirt tailor), "*chemisier*" (shirt maker), "*négociant chemisier*" (shirt maker/businessman), "*fabrican de chemise*" (shirt manufacturer) and one "*chemisier en gros*" (wholesale shirt maker), filed for fifty-three individual *brevets*. The men and women who

³⁴ Demeulenaere-Douyère, "Inventeurs en Révolution, 20.

³⁵ Emptoz and Marchal, *Aux sources de la propriété industrielle*, 40.

³⁶ Emptoz and Marchal, *Aux sources de la propriété industrielle*, 42; Valérie Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles. Évolution des protections de propriété industrielle au XIX^e siècle en France," *Documents pour l'histoire des techniques*, vol. 17 (Fall 2009), 108-110.

³⁷ Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles," 110.

³⁸ H. A. C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830-1848* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1988), 275-280; Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 28-32.

applied for these *brevets* claimed to be doing something drastically different and new and to contribute to the improvement or progress of the whole industry. The government did not require a physical item to be deposited, nor did it test the items. Moreover, the products described in the *brevet* applications did not always make it to market. There is also no way of assessing the value of these items. One did not need to file for a *brevet* to be a successful shirt maker. Regardless of the novelty, value, or market success of the products described the applications for *brevets* suggest how shirt makers, envisioned what their chosen profession was going to be, its organization, its processing, and why.

In August 1836, Lami-Housset and Catherine Pierret filed for a two-part *brevet*. They first applied to secure the title of “*tailleur pour chemise*” (shirt tailor). They argued that after several years of working in the clothing industry, they were shocked at the current state of shirt making in France. For the most part they saw men who wore shirts that did not properly fit them. This was because “the fabrication of shirts, until now left exclusively to women, who without a precise method, work ordinarily from routine, as such neglect to make the shirt conform to the form and corpulence of the person who must wear it.”³⁹ Their claims of repetitive, unskilled work and lack of attention to individual bodies cast the ordinary seamstress as unskilled and her products as crude and ill-fitting.

When they applied for their *brevet* Pierret and Lami-Housset attempted to create a permanent separation between the craft of the shirt maker and the craft of seamstresses or linen drapers: they referred to Pierret in the application, consistently, and then later in their advertisements, as a man, as Monsieur Pierret. When Pierret and Lami-Housset filed for their

³⁹ “La confection des chemises, Exclusivement abandonnée jusqu’à ce jour, à des femmes, qui sans Méthode arrêtée, ne travaillent d’ordinair [sic] que par Routine, négligeant ainsi de faire coordonner la chemise, avec les formes et la corpulence de la personne qui doit la porter,” INPI 1BA12622.

brevet, they identified themselves in writing as “Monsieurs Pierret and Lami-Housset.” No legal prohibitions were in place to stop an unmarried woman like Pierret from entering a business for herself. Moreover, several *chemisieres* openly identified as women. These women typically advertised as specialist in women’s shirts. Changing Pierret’s identity from a woman to man in both legal documents and the fashion press can be understood as an attempt to claim a form of increasingly exclusively masculine knowledge and expertise. Pierret could not associate herself with the image of either the linen draper or the seamstress because of the common expectation that male tailors would dress men and female seamstress would dress women.⁴⁰ The new shirt was going to be tailored, and tailoring (for both menswear and some womenswear items) was the purview of men. Pierret and Lami-Housset had set out to create a specialty that focused exclusively on shaping shirts to fit individual men, adopting the language of the tailor. Pierret distanced herself from seamstresses and linen drapers to stress her and Lami-Housset’s claims of new and expert knowledge that had originated in a masculine domain, one that emphasized working directly on and with male bodies.

The state did not approve the patent for the title of “*tailleur pour chemise*.” The ministry did, however, grant the second half of the application for a patent for a specialized shirt. The new shirt consisted of individually cut segments making up a collar, a front and back, sleeves, shoulder yoke, and cuffs (Figure 2.1). The design submitted with their application illustrated the various pieces of the shirt that needed to be cut and sewed together, along with the various practical skills needed to fashion the final garment. Instead of sewing shirts from simple squares and rectangles, shirt makers created shirts that were cut from a pattern. These new shirts would be adjusted to fit the measurements of an individual body. Shirt makers also used shaping seams

⁴⁰ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*; Jones, *Sexing La Mode*.

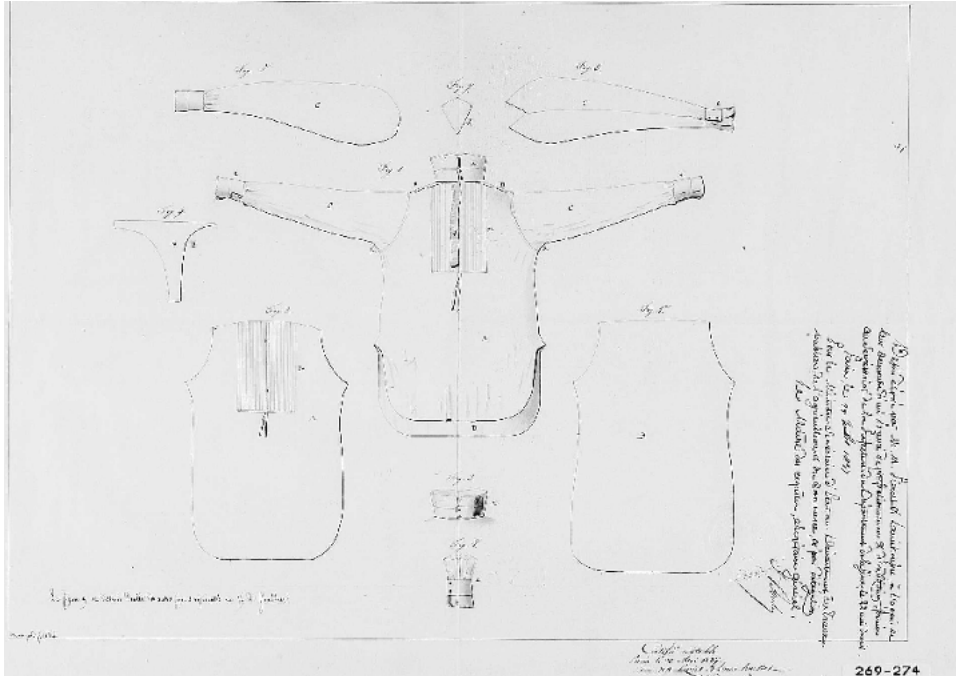


Figure 2.1 Catherine Pierret and Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset, “Dessin,” 1836. Paper, 35 cm x 40 cm. INPI 1BA12622.

and pleats to mold the shirt to the body. The front and back, sleeves and the collar would be measured and cut to account for different levels of girth and musculature. This attention to the

shape of the body, Pierret and Lami-Housset claimed, would translate into a better, and more comfortable fit. The partners wrote, “having finally, in good time, dedicated their attention to the causes of the eternal complaints, which arise from all sides, about a shirt’s bad quality, or its poor fit, the undersigned believe they have found a solution to these problems, a happy solution, which is being verified on a daily basis.”⁴¹ Incorporating tailoring techniques allowed them to reimagine the shirt and provided men with solutions to everyday problems.

Two years later, Pierret and Lami-Housset’s longtime rival Gustave Longueville also applied for a *brevet d’invention* for a “new way to cut shirts.”⁴² In a letter addressed to the Minister of the Interior, le Comte de Montalivet, included with his application for the *brevet*,

⁴¹ “Ayant donc porté de bonne-heure, leur attention sur les causes de ces plaintes éternelles qui, comme en concert s’élevaient de tous côtés et avec justice, sur la mauvaise confection, ou le mal aller des chemises, les soussignés croyant aujourd’hui, avoir résolu ce problème, solution heureuse, se vérifiant de jour en jour avec plus de vérité,” INPI 1BA12622.
⁴² Gustave Longueville, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 5 ans pour une nouvelle coupe de chemise,” 1838, INPI 1BA6837.

Longueville argued that he required legal protection because of the “incontestable improvements” that he had made to the shirt industry. He also described himself as a “*tailleur pour chemise*.” Even more than Pierret and Lami-Housset, Longueville drew attention to his measuring and cutting skills. Longueville’s description included measuring techniques for the collar, which he argued affected the entire shirt. Longueville provided a ratio for positioning the opening of the collar with relation to the center of the back of the neck and the length and curvature of the shoulders. This ratio depended on the measurement of the circumference of the neckline and the distance between the neck and the shoulders. Ultimately the specifics of the neckline were also important for measuring a band of fabric that would be placed at the back of the shirt to position the two halves together. Even the positioning of cuffs depended on these measurements, which Longueville used to emphasize how “the new way of cutting was completely different from others.” His new design was meant to “fall well” without forming any folds when tucked. In his description of the new style of shirt construction, Longueville insisted on the importance of accurately measuring the curvature of the body. Shoulders, backs, and necks varied, and the key to securing the ideal silhouette was to pay attention to those details (Figure 2.2).⁴³ Like Lami-Housset and Pierret, Longueville cut his shirts to conform to the new idealized masculine silhouette. The shirt was fit to emphasize shoulders, the waist, and broad chest that maximized the contrast between hips and waist.

In 1844, Gustave Longueville published his first person account of the shirt making industry from the 1840s: *Les Mystères de la chemise*. The book was published on the heels of Eugène Sue’s best-selling *Les Mystères de Paris*, which was part of the new genre that explored the imagined realities of the modern metropolis. Longueville presented the history of the industry

⁴³ INPI 1BA6837.

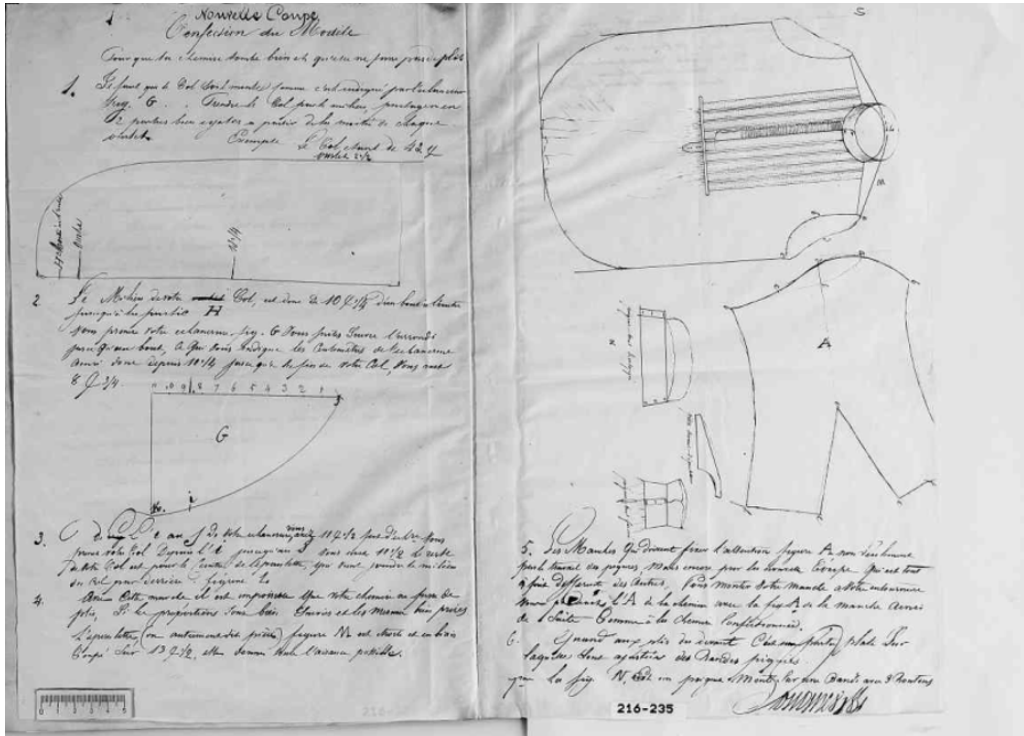


Figure 2.2 Gustave Longueville, “Nouvelle coupe, Confection de Chemise,” 1838. Paper, 35 cm x 45cm. INPI 1BA6837.

through the retelling of his interactions with the fictional M. Gerluchet, a self-styled “Member of several learned Societies” from northern France serving

in the Parisian National Guard and Longueville’s fan.⁴⁴ Though his fellow members of the National Guard mocked Gerluchet for being a provincial simpleton, he presented himself as a modern man of the world because, unlike his abusers, he had a taste for modern shirts. In the first chapter, Longueville explained to his readers that he decided to write the book because he wanted to leave his colleagues, family members, and the French community at large with a memento that captured all of the intricacies of the new industry; he set out to provide the reader with an unvarnished description of the industry and its place within modern French culture. In a series of interactions, Longueville divulged the secrets of the industry to Gerluchet, who promises to enlighten his contemporaries.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ “Membre de plusieurs Sociétés savantes” Gustave Longueville, *Les Mystères de la Chemise* (Paris, St. Petersburg: Longueville and Leprêtre, 1844), 42.
⁴⁵ Gustave Longueville, *Les Mystères de la Chemise* (Paris, St. Petersburg: Longueville and Leprêtre, 1844), 9-13.

In recounting an interaction between Monsieur Gerluchet and Longueville, Gerluchet commented, “After 1830, you invented the *chemise à pièce*; but honestly speaking, I do not understand what that means for a shirt. To this day, I simply believed that it meant the shirt was made from different pieces and bits.” Longueville corrected him as explained, “the piece in question refers to a strip of fabric used to fix the collar to the body of the shirt,” and he continued, “its effects on social order have been prodigious.”⁴⁶ In Longueville’s words, the success of his industry was due to the ingenuity and technical skill that shirt makers used to transform the shirt.

In the 1847, Samson Hadamar became the first person to identify himself simply as “*chemisier*,” rather than as “shirt tailor/ *tailleur pour chemise*,” in an application for his *brevet d’invention*.⁴⁷ By focusing on the shirt as an article of clothing that needed to be tailored, the first shirt makers had attempted to define shirt making as a specialty within tailoring, but the title had evolved along with the new industry: Longueville for example began to style himself as “*chemisier*” in the 1840s as his fame grew. The shirt maker was no longer a type of tailor but distinct from him. The “*chemisier*” was enough of a recognizable figure. The improvements they offered drew on the same principal problem areas, in particular collars and accounting for different bodies and hence how shirts fell differently along the body. These and subsequent *brevets* all offered different solutions to the challenge of fitting the shirt to the varied male body.

Jacques Jardin, a Lyonnais shirt maker, applied in July 1846 to the prefecture of the Rhône for a *brevet d’invention* for a “men’s shirt called the *monogène*” which he had invented.

⁴⁶ “Après 1830, la *chemise à pièce* fut inventé par vous; mais, à vrai dire, je ne comprends pas trop ce que c’est qu’une pareille chemise. J’avais eu jusqu’à présent la simplicité de croire que les chemise étaient formés de pièces et de morceaux L’explication est facile, monsieur Gerluchet; la *pièce* en question est une bande de toile destinée à ajuster le col au corps de la chemise...ses résultats dans l’ordre social ont été prodigieux,” Longueville, *Les Mystères de la Chemise*, 94-95.

⁴⁷ INPI 1BB4906.

Jardin’s major modification was to cut a seam at the back, instead of the front, to allow the head to pass through the collar. Since collars were typically attached to the shirt with a button at the back of the neck or sewn directly onto the shirt, the new opening required a new system to fasten the collar. Jardin replaced the buttons with a series of interlocking bridles that would close the shirt and keep the collar in place (Figure 2.3).⁴⁸

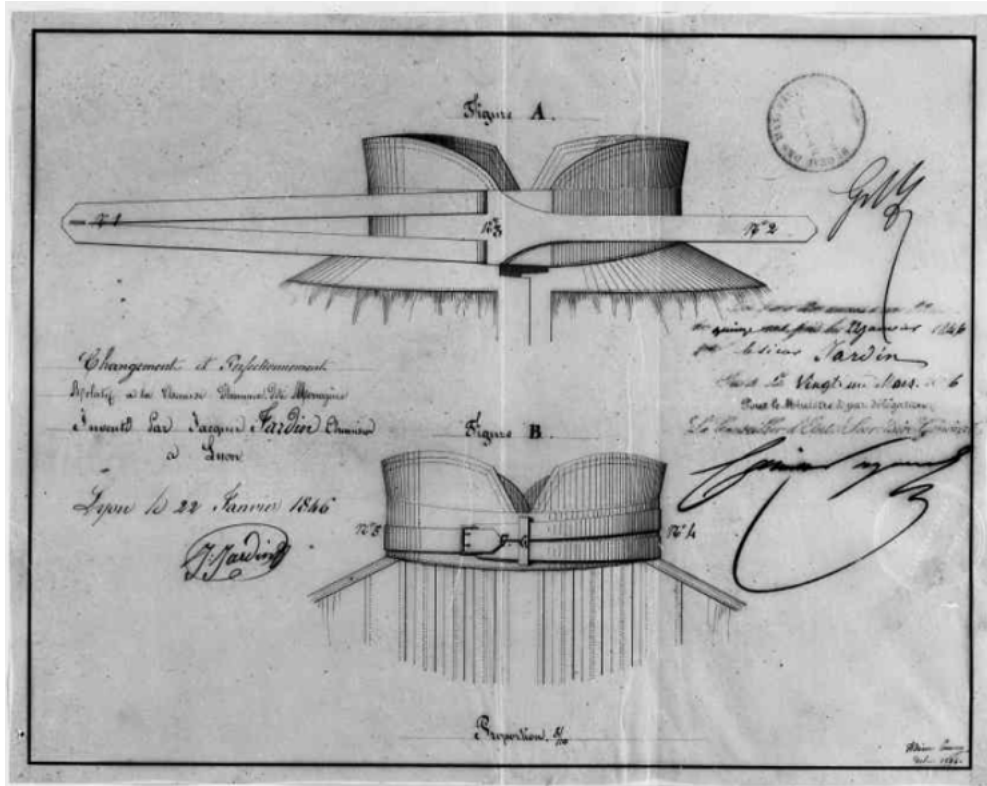


Figure 2.3 Jacques Jardin, “Figure A,” 1846. Paper, 30 cmx 35 cm. INPI 1BB2816.

In 1847, Samson Hadamar focused on the ingenuity of his manipulation of curves and geometry. In a departure from his predecessors, Hadamar modified the shirt’s torso

(Figure 2.4). It was composed of four, instead of two, pieces of fabric: two for the front (“figure 1”) and two for the back (“figure 2”). The shirt also included two sleeves, a collar, cuffs, and shoulder yokes. As Hadamar made clear in both the description and the accompanying design, constructing his shirts required the manipulation of geometric shapes. “Figure 1,” which represents the front of the shirt, illustrated how the shirt was curved at the bottom. Hadamar

⁴⁸Jacques Jardin, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 15 ans pour une chemise d’homme dite monogène,” 1846, INPI 1BB2816.

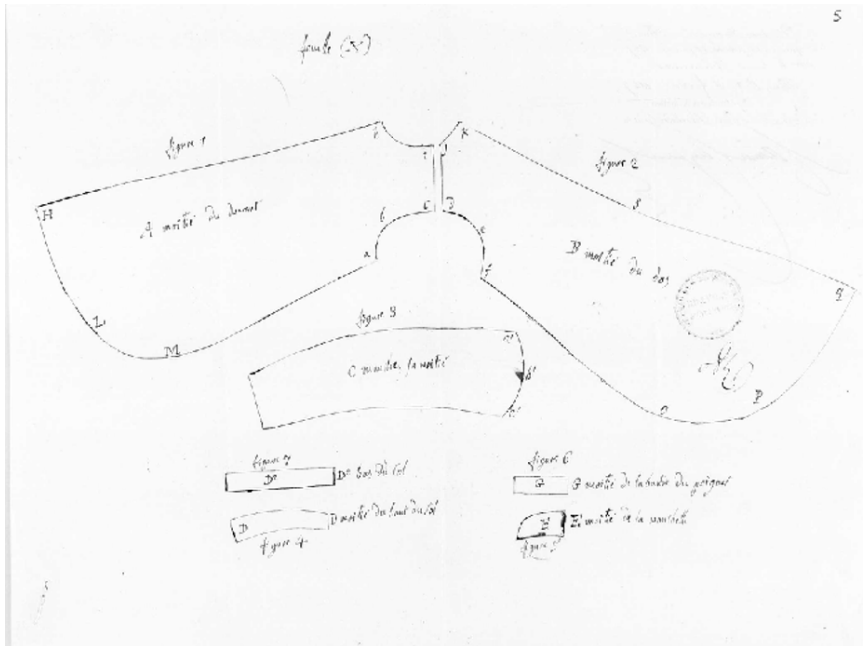


Figure 2.4 Samson Hadamar, “Figure X,” 1847. Paper, 30 cm x 35 cm. INPI 1BB4906.

insisted that the curvature, which extended all the way up the side of the shirt “went against the principles of geometry” typically applied to a rectangular shirt. The back halves and the front halves, complicating matters further, were not symmetrical. At the collar,

the front of the shirt was cut with a deep concave curve indicated by the line HI. When put together, line HI was connected to the much smaller and straighter line JK to create half of the opening for the neck. The seam running down the back of the shirt, which is labeled KSQ in figure 2, moreover, was not straight but rather came in slightly at point S. Once the two halves of the back were sewn together, seen from behind, the back appeared rounded, mimicking the curvature of the spine.⁴⁹ Sewing skills were not enough to construct Hadamar’s shirt, one needed to understand geometry, how to measure angles, and finally, how to cut these complicated curves without fraying the fabric. Hadamar’s neatly tailored and meticulously cut shirts made his store in the *galerie de l’Horloge* in the Passage de l’Opéra a frequented stomping ground for the men who went in search of one of the new and improved shirts. His commercial success led to his

⁴⁹ Samson Hadamar, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 15 ans pour un genre de chemise,” 1847, INPI 1BB4906.

appointment as the official “shirt maker to the Royal Navy,” in which capacity he made shirts for the officer corps.⁵⁰

Shirt makers adopted a variety of techniques to differentiate themselves from linen drapers and seamstresses. Some shirt makers were more successful than others. One innovation was the *chemise-caleçon* (shirt-underwear). Jean-Baptiste Lehr coined his version, “the *chemise Lehr*,” in 1844. Available for both men and women, his new shirts are sewn directly onto underwear to solve the perennial issue of an untucked shirt, and it was available in two styles, either attached to underwear briefs or pants.⁵¹ Shortly before Lehr in 1843, Ulysse Villars claimed to solve the issue of shirts puffing at the waistline with his version of the shirt-underwear. He recommended adding extra fabric to the bottom of the shirt, so that it could be easily sewed on, or attached with buttons, to an undergarment.⁵² Not surprisingly, adding even more fabric to the end of the shirt did not in fact solve the problem of over puffing. If not all of the shirt makers who applied for a *brevet d’invention* were as successful as Lami-Housset and Hadamar, their efforts to define a specialty in the *brevet d’invention* are indicative of an attempt to define a form of knowledge, that was being harnessed to encourage sartorial consumption.

Part of the shirt maker’s advertising strategies, both in the fashion press as well as the daily press, relied on creating a firm distinction between the shirts a shirt maker could make and those that men could have a seamstress make or purchase from ready-made retailers. One of the main ways the shirt maker managed to accomplish this was through frequent advertisement of the *brevet* which allowed shirt makers to publicly make a distinction between their craft and

⁵⁰ *Annuaire général du commerce, de l’industrie, de la magistrature, de l’administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*, vol. 10 (Paris: Didot, 1847), 363.

⁵¹ Jean-Baptiste Lehr, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 10 ans pour une chemise perfectionnée pour homme dite chemise Lehr,” 1844, INPI 1BA11755.

⁵² Ulysse Villars, “Application pour un Brevet d’invention de 10 ans pour un système de chemises,” 1843, INPI 1BA10938.

cruder examples. In May 1838, Pierret and Lami-Housset advertised their *brevet* in bold type in the popular daily newspaper, *La Presse*; and in January 1840, they falsely advertised in *Le Panorama* that they were the “only *breveté*” in Paris.⁵³ In 1839, Longueville used his *brevet* to promote a recent business venture in *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*. He and another shirt maker had recently joined forces and opened a new store, *Aux Chemisiers de Paris*, close to his original store on the rue Vivienne. The advertisement acknowledged Longueville as *the* “shirt maker in vogue” and proudly announced the *brevet* in the center of the advertisement.⁵⁴

In attempting to secure legal recognition of their inventions, the shirt maker took an opportunity to claim ownership of a product and the knowledge that went into making it. Owning this knowledge, and its profits, was a means of differentiating themselves from competitors. This follows a long history of men and women who sought to define, in one way or another, a particular form of knowledge and its associated privileges.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the shirt makers were drawing a line demarcating the difference between the type of work that they did (which required a set of neatly defined skills including measuring, reading patterns, cutting, and fine stitching) and the work of the ordinary seamstresses and linen drapers. The shirt maker elevated the new shirt from a crude and ubiquitous garment into an essential and tailored part of the elite male wardrobe. Therefore, an ordinary seamstress could not just make such a good, that right was reserved for the men who identified themselves as those with the skills, knowledge, and

⁵³ *La Presse*, May 18, 1838, 4; *Le Panorama*, 31 January 1840,4.

⁵⁴ “Longueville, le chemisier en vogue,” *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 18 June 1839, 4.

⁵⁵ For more on this phenomenon see Clare Haru Crowston on seamstresses, *modistes*, hairdressers and tailors, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675 1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), and *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France* (Durham ; London: Duke University Press Books, 2013); for more on cooks and their attempts to define a new specialty in the eighteenth and nineteenth century see Sean Takats, *The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); and Morag Martin for the makeup industry *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). For more on the dynamics between doctors, midwives, and the politics of childbirth see: citation.

creativity needed to create a garment in tune with male bodies.⁵⁶ Pierret's attempts to pass in legal documents as a man speaks to the stakes she and her contemporaries attached to the idea that tailoring was an inherently masculine domain that women like her were barred from entering. Pierret could not associate herself with the image of the seamstress because it went against the idea of what made these new shirts different. She had to instead embody a "*tailleur pour chemise*," an inherently masculine title evocative of a new level of skill. Tailoring, after all, was the purview of men. In evoking a masculine title, she distanced herself from seamstresses to stress her and Lami-Housset's claims of new and expert knowledge about tailoring.

2.3 Inventing the *Chemiserie*

Shirt makers created a new space for the tailoring and sale of the modern shirt: the *chemiserie*. The *chemiserie* developed along the lines of other commercial and retail businesses of the period that contributed to the articulation of a modern consumer culture. Through their physical presence in commercial centers to how the store was run and operated the *chemiserie* created the environment where modern gendered consumer practices could take shape. Shirt makers reworked some of the ways that the French clothing industry functioned including labor, retail, and credit practices to create a new experience for elite male shoppers.

In 1836, Pierret and Lami Housset opened the first *chemiserie* at 95, Rue de Richelieu; and within two years, their competitors Longueville and Charvet established their own *chemiseries* a few buildings away. Within blocks from the Palais Royal, the Chaussée d'Antin and the Boulevard des Italiens, the first *chemiseries* were centrally located in the luxury commercial districts on the Right Bank of the Seine River.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Paola Bertucci, *Artisanal Enlightenment: Science and the Mechanical Arts in Old Regime France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁵⁷ Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 66-67.

Before the 1830s, French almanacs did not identify shirt making as a unique industry. However, as the industry matured, French almanacs began to take more notice. In the last years of the 1830s, the *Annuaire général du commerce* did not make a clear distinction between shirts and linen goods and the men and women who specialized in their production and sale. The *Annales général du commerce* for 1838 and 1839, for example, listed shirt makers under the heading “Linen goods. Shirts.” In these volumes Pierret’s, Lami-Housset’s, and Longueville’s names appear alphabetically mixed in with the names of known linen drapers including Claudin, Defarge, and Roquin – the three women who sold shirts to the Royal Family in the 1830s.⁵⁸ In 1841, however, the *Annales général du commerce* began to recognize the industry as distinct and the industry was given its own heading.

This new distinction was in part due to the fact that shirt makers proliferated across the luxury commercial centers on the Right Bank throughout the 1840s. A few shirt makers opened stores in the luxury commercial area on the Left Bank in the Faubourg St Germain. An average of six new businesses opened per year between 1841 and 1850. There was significant growth between 1845-1846 and 1847-1848, with fifteen and twenty-one new businesses respectively. The industry, moreover, shrank only twice during the decade between 1841 and 1850, in particular between the 1848 and 1849 edition of the almanac when the industry shrank to ninety-one businesses from one hundred and one.⁵⁹ The significant closures in 1848 were possibly a result of the economic depression of 1847 that continued throughout the Revolution of 1848.

⁵⁸ *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*, vol. 1, (Paris: Didot, 1838), 139-140.

⁵⁹ *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers, 1841-1850*, vol. 4, 399-400; vol. 5, 412; vol. 6, 431; vol. 7, 428; vol. 8, 451; vol. 9, 456; vol. 10, 363; vol. 11, 395; vol. 12, 383; vol. 13, 394.

Despite these temporary downturns, the industry continued to grow throughout the decade and would only continue to grow in the second half of the century.

As the industry grew during the July Monarchy, most shirt makers stayed in the luxury commercial districts around the Palais Royal, the Chaussée d'Antin, the Rue St. Honoré and the Faubourg St Germain. The *chemiseries* also opened inside the twenty-five glass and iron arcades, built between 1811 and 1839 that became major and influential centers of commercial activity during the mid-nineteenth-century.⁶⁰ Phelizon-Bailly opened a store in 1844 in the *Passage des Panoramas*, one of the oldest covered commercial streets in Paris, connecting the Boulevard Montmartre to the rue Saint-Marc. In the early 1830s one English traveler described the covered street as “perhaps the most crowded thoroughfare in all of Paris.”⁶¹ The most frequented of the arcades, the *Galerie Vivienne* that linked the Boulevards and the city center, housed the *chemisier* Léopold-Levi et Cie between 1843 and 1848.⁶² In the covered arcades, on the rue de Richelieu, and throughout the fashionable districts of Paris, *chemiseries* developed alongside the *modistes*, tailors, and *magasins de nouveautés*, and the litany of artisans that specialized in clothing goods at the center of fashionable life.

The *chemiseries* differentiated themselves from the other fashionable shops by offering a new space for male customers: a space dedicated to tailoring shirts to fit individual male bodies. This new space however, offered a unique experience for men, but the uniqueness was tempered by the significant ways in which the *chemiserie* translated older retail and manufacturing

⁶⁰ Philippe Perroult, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), 77-78; Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 32-54; Walter Benjamin, *The Arcade Project*, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁶¹ *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*, vol. 7 (Paris: Didot, 1844), 428; Nathaniel Parker Willis quoted in Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 32.

⁶² *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers, 1843-1848*, vol. 6., 431; vol. 7, 428; vol. 8, 451; vol. 9, 456; vol. 10, 363; vol. 11, 395.

practices for new luxury goods including how the men picked their garments, how labor was organized in the atelier, as well as the constantly flowing cycle of credit that typified the French clothing industry.

Unfortunately, there is no record left of the contents and layout of Pierret and Lami-Housset's original *chemiserie*. However, their respective death inventories provide significant insights into the structure and organization of their businesses. Shortly before Pierret's death in 1842 and Lami-Housset's in 1843, the two had gone their separate ways, and each embarked on their own ventures in the shirt making industry. Pierret moved her store to the building next door and Lami-Housset kept the original storefront and invested over 100,000 francs in a second venture: *La Petite Jeanette*, a much larger *magasin de nouveautés* only a few meters away on the corner of the Rue de Richelieu and the Boulevard des Italiens.⁶³ Pierret's death inventory describes the layout and contents of the *chemiserie* at the time of her death in the winter of 1842. Customers entered the "*grand magasin*" from the Rue de Richelieu and the storefront looked out onto the street.⁶⁴ The notary who drew up the inventory described the "*grand magasin*" as a single room filled with soft fabrics and dark woods. The boutique was furnished with several large wooden counters, storage units for fabrics, stools, cotton and muslin curtains, and several large mirrors.⁶⁵ Pierret's *chemiserie* included many of the same items one could expect to find in the tailor's shop and atelier one of the first indicators that the business itself operated along the same lines as the tailor's shop.

⁶³ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842); MC ET/XVI/1149 (11 April 1843).

⁶⁴ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁶⁵ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

Pierret, Lami-Housset, and Longueville adopted the tailor's practice of maintaining a large stock of different fabrics as well as accessories and embellishments.⁶⁶ In Pierret's "*grand magasin*" she displayed her large stock of linen, cotton, silk, and woolen fabrics amongst the wooden counters and storage units. Customers would have been able to choose from these fabrics when purchasing a new shirt. Like tailors who helped men design their clothing, the *chemisier* discussed the trimmings, embroidered shirt fronts or pleated jabots trimmed with lace helping the customer design their garment with fashion and appropriateness in mind.

Pierret's death inventory provides an example of how shirt makers kept a variety of fabrics and embellishments to choose from. At the time of her death, her stock of fabrics was valued at 3410.05 francs, which accounted for more than half of the value of her store's assets. The stock was displayed to customers who were invited to examine the different fabrics and select the one they wanted for their own shirts. Options ranged from an undescribed "shirt fabric" appraised at two francs per meter to some especially fine varieties of "Holland fabric" appraised at seven francs per meter.⁶⁷ In Longueville's semi-autobiographical book about the shirt industry, "Holland fabric," was in his words "the first" amongst the fabrics used to make shirts.⁶⁸ "Real Holland fabric, Monsieur," he wrote, "is to other fabric what the Gobelins tapestries are to the carpet in the corridor of the [Théâtre des] Bouffes."⁶⁹ Other popular fabrics, according to Longueville, were produced in France or in Ireland, Belgium, or Prussia and purchased from dealers in France.⁷⁰ Amongst Pierret's Holland fabrics were also "Irish fabric"

⁶⁶ Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent," 90. For more on the way fabrics tailors included fabrics in advertisements see: Courtney Wilder, "Crossing Sensory Borders: The Fabric of British Periodical," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 51:3 (Fall 2018): 278 – 300.

⁶⁷ "Toile de chemise;" "toile d'Hollande," MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁶⁸ "La première," Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 98.

⁶⁹ The Bouffe is a reference to the popular, often comedic and low brow, genre of French operettas. "Est aux autres toiles ce que la tapisserie des Gobelins est à la moquette des corridors des Bouffes," Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 98.

⁷⁰ Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 98-99.

and “Cretonne fabric” from the Normandy region.⁷¹ The stock was predominantly white, but customers could also choose between colored calicos, percales, and madapolam, a soft cotton fabric.⁷² Furthermore, the *chemiserie* also offered men a range of other goods they could also purchase to accentuate their modern shirts and the rest of their fashionable ensemble. Pierret’s inventory lists an array of other goods such as waistcoats, underwear, dressing gowns and night shirts. Moreover, the store offered a variety of small accessories such as collars, white and colored ties, scarves, Batiste handkerchiefs; however, the primary concern of the shirt maker was the inventory of fabrics and embellishments available for customers to pick from when designing a shirt.⁷³ In adopting the strategies of merchant tailors, the shirt makers embraced modern retail practices to encourage male shoppers.

As the *chemiseries* developed retail practices associated with modern merchant tailors, shirt makers also employed the same gendered labor structure as tailors, with men working in the most prestigious positions, while the actual act of sewing was reserved for women. Once the client was measured and the fabric selected, a *coupeur/euse* (cutter) would cut the pieces according to the pattern the *chemisier* used. Pierret employed her own cutters and Longueville bragged in an advertisement that he employed six cutters in his *chemiserie*.⁷⁴ Not all shirt makers, however, could afford a fulltime cutter; these shirt makers instead employed men and women to do piece work which resulted in slower returns of the product. In his book, Longueville explained that employing his own cutters was essential for his business for two reasons. First, the shirts could be cut in the atelier, speeding up the general process. Second, employing a cutter meant the *chemisier* could more easily control the quality of the final product:

⁷¹ “Toile d’Ireland;” “toile de Cretonne,” MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁷² MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁷³ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁷⁴ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

overseeing that cutter ensured they used the proper measurements and proportions.⁷⁵ Unlike *marchands de nouveautés* who purposely purchased loose-fitting garments that could fit a number of bodies from ready-made manufactures and linen draper that did not offer tailoring, the shirt maker cut products to fit a particular pattern that depended on individual body measurements. Employing their own cutter ensured that shirt makers could oversee a key step of the tailoring process.

Along with the cutters, shirt makers also employed men and women in the shop to work as store attendants, and worker tailors and seamstresses. These tailors and seamstresses were responsible for the next stage of the process after the cutter cut the different elements. At this point, the tailors and seamstresses would attach the major elements of the shirt together which provided the shirts with their general structure. In some cases, Longueville explained, employees finished the shirts in the atelier; however, he also mentioned that these are the exception. For the most part, once the shirts had taken a general structure, the rest of the sewing was outsourced to women who did piece work: they earned a set amount for each garment they sewed.⁷⁶ Women who worked sewing shirts made between sixty centimes and one franc and fifty centimes per shirt, and each shirt took approximately a day to sew.⁷⁷ These might be women in the neighborhood, but they could also be women in convents, workhouses, and prisons. Women's prisons and correctional facilities such as the women's prison at Saint Lazare, Longueville

⁷⁵ Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 78.

⁷⁶ Vanier, *La Mode et des métiers, Frivolités et lutes des classes*, 75-77.

⁷⁷ J. Leinen, A. Souplet, "Appel aux membres de toutes des associations ouvriers de la France et de l'étranger," *Pacte fondamental de l'Association fraternelle des ouvriers et ouvrières de la chemiserie, discuté et adopté, en assemble générale, les 24, 27 et 29 décembre 1848* (Paris: Imprimerie Poussielgue, 1849), 6-8; M. Hayem, "Lingerie confectionnée pour hommes: Chemises, flanelles, cols-cravates et faux-cols," *Rapports du Jury International, Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris*, vol. 4, ed. Michel Chevalier (Paris: Imprimerie administrative de Paul Dupont, 1868), 307.

acknowledged as popular amongst shirt makers “because you pay for sewing at a discount.”⁷⁸

The shirt makers paid a meager sum to employ women each of whom was responsible for sewing a shirt per day.⁷⁹ Industrious prisoners who worked quickly were paid ten sous for any extra shirts they managed to sew in a week. Longueville himself, he explained, preferred to give his business to convents. Longueville described how he had scouted Cécile, his most trusted employee, in 1835 when he went to a convent to have shirts made for him. When he arrived at the convent, he spotted Cécile and noticed when she was given his shirts to sew. Upon his return a few days later, Longueville noticed the quality of Cécile’s work and that day proposed that “the novice should leave the faubourg Saint-Germain for the rue Neuve-Vivienne and desert the confessional for the counter.”⁸⁰ Longueville acknowledged that the shirt industry would not have maintained its stable output of shirts in the 1830s and 1840s without the underpaid women in convents and prisons.⁸¹ Pierret’s inventory lists several unpaid debts for piece work done in women’s institutions. She owed the “young women’s workhouse from the Place du Louvre” twenty francs for shirts sewn, and her family was waiting for final calculations from a Mademoiselle Vernet, a seamstress, and the *Sœurs du Versailles* for the shirts they sewed.⁸²

Most shirt makers, like contemporary tailors, in the 1840s employed between one and ten employees.⁸³ Pierret employed two twin-sisters as “*ouvrières couturières*,” whom she acknowledged in her last will and testament.⁸⁴ In *Les Mystères de la chemise*, Longueville

⁷⁸ “Saint Lazare, et les Filles repenties, et Clermont en Beauvoisin... Parce que la façon se paie au rabais,” Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 104.

⁷⁹ Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 104-105.

⁸⁰ “Je n’hésiterai point à proposer à la novice d’abandonner le faubourg Saint-Germain pour la Rue Neuve-Vivienne, de désertter le confessionnal pour le comptoir,” Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 63-64.

⁸¹ Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 100-104.

⁸² “Ouvroir des jeunes filles de la place du Louvre,” MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁸³ Chambre de commerce de Paris, *Statistique de l’industrie à Paris résultant de l’enquête faite par la Chambre de commerce pour les années 1847-1848*, vol 2., ed. Charles François Legentil (Paris: Guillaumin & Cie., 1851), 285-287.

⁸⁴ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

credited his shirts' high quality to the sewing abilities of his most trusted seamstress Cécile. He also employed as many as four to eight other employees throughout this career until his death in the 1870s. Longueville's family continued to run the shop with the same number of employees until his wife's death in 1891.⁸⁵ Lami-Housset's *magasin des nouveautés* was exceptional in that it had the space and resources to house at least sixteen employees. The room identified in the inventory of *La Petite Jeannette* as "Bedroom for young people of the shop" had sixteen beds, sixteen mattresses, and sixteen small wardrobes, six washing tables, and two sets of linens per bed.⁸⁶

A shirt purchased in a *chemiserie*, especially those with expensive trimmings such as embroideries and a fine jabot were relatively expensive items that were out of reach of the very people who sewed them. Pierret sold shirts made from *toile d'Holland* embellished with embroidery and a jabot for eight francs a piece.⁸⁷ By comparison, in 1844 King Louis-Philippe spent 1,875 francs on seventy-two shirts; each shirt was worth approximately twenty-six francs.⁸⁸ Because of the different fabrics and embellishments the customers could choose from when ordering their own tailor-made shirt, the prices could at times vary widely. Two examples from Longueville make this clear. In December 1840, Longueville invited Parisians to come to his shop and see the dozen shirts that had been ordered by a Spanish General valued at the enormous sum of 3,200 francs.⁸⁹ In comparison, in May 1846, Charlemagne de Maupas, a bureaucrat and lawyer who would later prominently serve the Second Empire, purchased six "*chemises de toile*" for approximately three francs each from the same merchant.⁹⁰ Some shirt makers, such as

⁸⁵ Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 64-65; Eugène Bernard (syndic), "Rapport de Faillite, Longueville et Cie," 18 December 1891 AP D11U3 1434.

⁸⁶ "Coucher des jeunes gens du magasin," MC ET/ XVI/1149 (11 April 1843).

⁸⁷ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁸⁸ "Dépenses du roi et de la reine," 1848, AN O/4/2200.

⁸⁹ "La Maison Longueville," *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 16 December 1840, 4.

⁹⁰ "Factures et notes élaborées à Uzès, à Beaune, à Moulins et à Toulouse," 1840 – 1850, AN 607AP/12.

Hadamar furnished goods for military men, and Charvet was the official shirt maker of the Jockey Club. The new shirt was without a doubt a luxury good out of reach for most of the Parisian and French population. In *Les Mystères de chemises*, Longueville recounted the story of how a messenger working for one of his customers attempted to purchase something in order to impress his employee Cécile, but the young man could only afford to purchase a single collar and unfortunately, they are sold by the dozen.⁹¹

Despite the range in cost, the new shirt was a luxury retail good made and marketed towards elite men, both noble and non-noble, and like other major retailers of elite consumer goods, shirt makers relied on an extensive network of credit that linked the shirt maker, their suppliers, and their customers to keep the business going. Catherine Pierret's probate records, list several of her unpaid debts to her suppliers which included: a paper maker, two lace manufactures, four fabric wholesalers, two flannel wholesaler, and one cashmere retailer.⁹² Pierret's clients, as well as the shirt maker herself, used their own credit to purchase goods from Pierret. A list of unclaimed debts drawn up at the time of her death, demonstrates how Pierret's retail operation used credit to finance customer transactions. All told, seventy-nine people owed Pierret a total of 8483.25.⁹³ The Comtesse de Villeneuve owed Pierret three hundred and fifty francs for goods furnished. The list of debts listed several other aristocrats including the le Général Comte de Montebello (1804-1877), who served in the Napoleonic campaigns, the invasion of Algeria, and in Napoleon III's armies.⁹⁴ At the time of her death, Général owed Pierret one-hundred and forty-one francs for goods furnished. The vast majority of the debtors

⁹¹ Longueville, *Les Mystères de la chemise*, 120.

⁹² MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁹³ MC ET/XLI/ 953 (21 March 1842).

⁹⁴ Le Général Comte L. Bystronwski, *Notice Nécrologique sur le Général Comte de Montebello* (Paris: Georges Chamerot, 1877).

were men with financial means who could afford to engage in the cycle of debt that characterized French luxury markets.⁹⁵

In the *chemiserie* shirt makers created a new type of retail experience by bringing together retail, labor, and financial practices to create a space for men to purchase new garments. In doing so, the *chemiserie* was able to develop into a space that exclusively focused on masculine consumption and where individual bodies would be considered. The *chemiserie*, however, was not a space for all types of men. Longueville explained, to a certain extent, that the industry only catered to a particular sector of elite men with the financial means to purchase the new shirts.

2.4 Fashion Media and Inventing the Modern Shirt

Men learned to think differently about shirts during the July Monarchy: from a shapeless, generic undergarment to the necessary foundation of an elite, fashionable, and masculine wardrobe that could translate as the material foundation of citizenship in the July Monarchy, which was limited to wealthy men. The fashion industry, which included writers, editors, and illustrators as well as retailers and artisans, mobilized several advertising strategies centered on dressing men and their bodies that were meant to encourage sales. Advertisements emphasized that shirt makers used the traditional practices of tailoring to shape any man of means into a modern individual. Individuality was not based on a sense of individual expression in these advertisements, as we might think of it. Rather it manifested in how men embodied and accentuated their bodies. As Judith Surkis has demonstrated, modern liberal ideas about citizenship in the mid-nineteenth century were founded on the distinction between rational,

⁹⁵ *Almanach général de la France et de l'étranger pour l'année 1839* (Paris: d'Urtubie et Worms, 1839), 124.

practical, public, and male citizens and the sensitive, irrational, and feminized private sphere.⁹⁶ Through a mixture of fashion reporting and placed advertisements in the pages of the fashion press men were invited to purchase shirts to cement their position within an elite based on wealth that qualifies them for political power. During the July Monarchy active citizenship was limited to men who paid 200 francs and over in taxes, which limited citizenship to a group of privileged elite men.⁹⁷ Shirt makers used advertisements to position these elites as old and new aristocrats, wealthy merchants and businessmen, technocrats and politicians, who distinguish themselves from others through the articulation of their individual male bodies. In doing so, shirt makers not only elevated male *chemisiers* above female seamstresses, they gendered the space surrounding the body of the male citizen as masculine by inserting the male *chemisier* between the individual body of the customer and the skilled hands of the seamstress. Shirt makers took advantage and advertised their shops in fashion columns and in fashion illustrations.

The shirt, which through the first half of the nineteenth-century was still considered an undergarment, had an uphill battle to fight in the French fashion press in the 1830s as the modern shirt was being invented. In the July 20, 1833 issue of *La Mode*, a reporter covering the latest Parisian fashion was shocked at the public display of modern shirt cuffs and sleeves. “Men have begun to allow the cuffs of their shirts to peek out of their jackets,” the reporter began.⁹⁸ What was more, those same cuffs, they continued, “are no longer starched as they used to be, they are worn without any embellishment, and extend the length of two fingers from the sleeve of the

⁹⁶ Judith Surkis, “Carnival Balls and Penal Codes: Body Politics in July Monarchy France,” *History of the Present* 1, no. 1 (2011): 59–83.

⁹⁷ H. A. C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830 – 1848* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1988).

⁹⁸ “Les hommes laissent passer les poignets de chemise en dehors de leur habit.” “Modes,” *La Mode*, 20 July 1833, 71.

coat.”⁹⁹ “Some young men,” the critic continued, “also let the collar of their shirt fall over the tie.”¹⁰⁰ The reporter concludes, “this fashion is strange without being totally ridiculous.”¹⁰¹ The intentional display of unstarched and unembellished elements connected to a shirt shocked *La Mode*’s reporter because it violated a distinction between undergarments that were meant to be private and the garments intended for public display.

Underwear was worn between the body and the visible garment; traditionally, shirts were thought of as a protective shield meant to maintain the health and cleanliness of the body. The display of cuffs and collar collapsed the distinction between undergarments and fashionable clothing. Beginning in the 1830s, fashion reporting and fashion images such as this Gavarni fashion plate of men in evening wear prominently displaying a white shirt beneath their waistcoats (Figure 2.5) drew the shirt out of the private realm of underwear and into the public realm of fashion, display, and political power.

By the spring of 1836, the fashion press began to report on the emergent trade in fashionable shirts with somewhat less shock but perhaps some

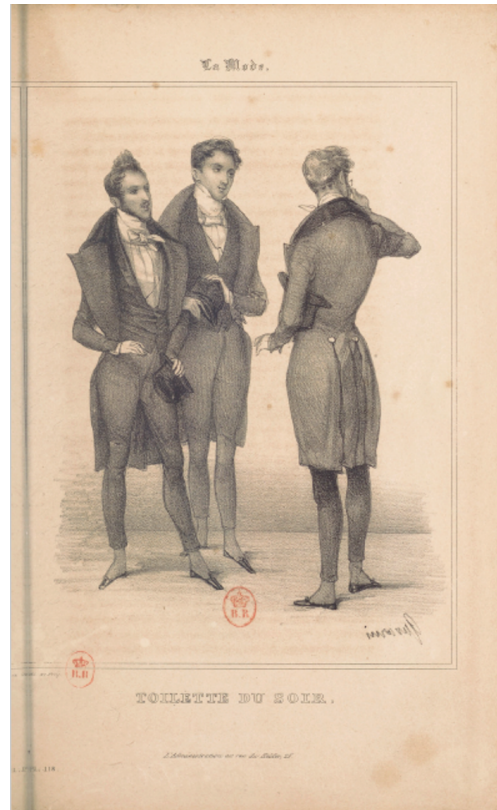


Figure 2.5 Paul Gavarni, “Toilette du Soir,” *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol. 6 (1831), plate 118. Paper, lithograph, 17 mm x 125 mm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁹⁹ “Mais ces poignets ne sont plus empesés comme autrefois, ils sont sans apprêt, et se relèvent de la hauteur de deux doigts sur la manche de l’habit.” “Modes,” *La Mode*, 20 July 1833, 71.

¹⁰⁰ “Quelques jeunes gens laissent aussi retomber le collet de la chemise sur la cravate,” “Modes,” *La Mode*, 20 July 1833, 71.

¹⁰¹ “Cette mode est encore étrange sans être ridicule,” “Modes,” *La Mode*, 20 July 1833, 71.

apprehension, as shirt makers including Pierret and Lami-Housset paid to advertise their shirts alongside other fashionable goods. In April 1836, *La Mode*'s fashion columnist wrote:

We have just spoken about all things luxury; now let us speak of the things of first necessity, and let it be permitted to place the useful beside the agreeable; so after having mentioned the *Berthes* and the *Clotildes* [two styles of decorated collars for women's dresses], the laces and the cashmeres, let us be forgiven for pronouncing a vulgar word, the word *chemise*. MM. Pierret and Lami-Housset have specialized in the study of this indispensable garment. If we are to believe what we have been told, and we have good reasons to be sure, the establishment of MM. Pierret and Lami-Housset, 95 *rue de Richelieu*, deserves to be recommended to the elegant world.¹⁰²

The reporters' mixed emotions about advertising for Pierret and Lami-Housset highlighted the fashion commentator's anxieties about even mentioning the new shirts in the same article as a cashmere scarf, which was arguably the most coveted fashion accessory of the day (especially those that found their way into France from North Africa).¹⁰³ For this fashion reporter, there was a clear-cut distinction between luxury and fashion goods such as cashmere scarves and laces and the "vulgar" shirt, and advertising one next to the other disrupted that barrier.

As new shirts like Pierret's and Lami-Housset's entered the market, it had to be discursively reinvented as a necessary garment and not simply a vulgar undergarment. The language that was increasingly used in the fashion press to describe shirts used the same themes shirt makers had used in their *brevets* especially the ideas that the new shirts are not only a hygienic necessity, but they are also an indispensable part of a modern wardrobe because they fit better, look better, and are made with more skill.

¹⁰² "Nous venons de parler des choses toutes de luxe; maintenant parlons de choses de première nécessité, et qu'il soit permis de mettre l'utile tout à côté de l'agréable; ainsi après avoir cité les *Berthes* et les *Clotildes*, les dentelles et les cachemires, qu'on nous pardonne de prononcer un mot vulgaire, le mot *chemise*. MM. Pierret et Lami Housset, ont fait spécialité de l'étude de cet indispensable vêtement. Si nous en croyons ce qui nous a été dit, et nous avons des raisons pour n'en pas douter, l'établissement de MM. Pierret et Lami Housset, rue de Richelieu, no 95, mérite d'être recommandé au monde élégant," "La Mode," *La Mode*, April 16, 1836, 71.

¹⁰³ Susan Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 79-81.

As early as 1837, fashion journals began presenting the modern shirt maker's products as an indispensable component of a modern masculine wardrobe. In January 1837, the fashion magazine *Le Follet* published an advertisement for Pierret and Lami-Housset that presented the new shirts as indispensable because it not only serves its older purposes (that of underclothing) while enhancing the look and feel of an entire outfit. The reporter wrote:

After having spoken about outer garments, we will focus our attention on an indispensable article of clothing, which, though hidden, adds as much to the grace of an outfit: the shirt, which to this day has been neglected: its only value based on the fineness of the fabric. Now that today everything seems to be progressing, the shirt has followed the impulse, and MM. Pierret and Lami-Housset (95, rue Richelieu) have consecrated their attention to the cut of shirts and flannel waistcoats; they have improved these clothing items in such a way that makes them more comfortable; their cut is calculated like that of a jacket (*habit*), and the success they have obtain proves their worth. This is good news for our *élégants*, and a consoling matter for their tailors, who are constantly frustrated by the shape of a shirt or a flannel waistcoat.¹⁰⁴

While this reporter continued to view the shirt as distinct from outer garments, they acknowledged the potential power a shirt has to change how an outer garment fits and feels. This potential is what makes Pierret and Lami-Housset's claims so potent for the reporter. The shirt makers claimed to have tailored the shirt, and thus have not only created a more comfortable garment, but physically altered the shirt to serve as the foundation of the desired masculine silhouette that outer garments are supposed to create. The physical transformation of the shirt made its symbolic transformation all the more possible in the fashion press. From necessary to indispensable, the adjectives the fashion press used to describe the shirts were central to the

¹⁰⁴ "Après avoir parlé de toilette extérieur, nous nous occuperons d'un vêtement indispensable, qui, pour être caché, ne concourt pas moins à la grâce d'une toilette : la *chemise*, jusqu'à ce jour, a été négligée : son seul mérite a consisté dans la finesse de son tissu. Aujourd'hui que tout est en progrès, la chemise a suivi l'impulsion, et MM. Pierret et Lami Housset (95, rue Richelieu) ont consacré leurs soins à la coupe des chemises et des gilets de flanelle ; ils ont perfectionné ces vêtements de manière à les rendre commodes ; leur coupe est calculée comme celle d'un habit, et le succès qu'elle obtient prouve son avantage. Ceci est une bonne nouvelle pour les élégants, et un sujet de consolation pour leurs tailleurs, que les plis d'une chemise ou d'un gilet de flanelle désespéraient," "Modes d'Hommes," *Le Follet*, 17 Janvier 1837, 19.

symbolic transformation of the shirt from an obscure garment. The shirt had a new purpose: to support the construction of the modern elite male citizen through fashion.

Much like the tailor Humann and his contemporaries, shirt makers also advertised using fashion plates. Offering idealized fantasies of modern life, fashion plates offered men and women tools they could mobilize to construct their own selves through the use of sartorial goods. As a form of commercial advertising, fashion plates encouraged customers to play with fantasies, while also regulating the parameters of self-expression.¹⁰⁵ Fashion plates representing men in the modern shirt did the same thing: they regulated modern masculinity while inviting men to picture themselves as active and public members of the French elite.

The July 15, 1836, issue of *La Mode* published an engraving of a man in riding costume that advertised Pierret and Lami-Housset's shirts for riding costumes (Figure 2.6). A model appears on horseback, the horse galloping to the west of Napoleon's *Arc de Triomphe* completed earlier that year. Caught in mid-action, the rustling at the hip of the man's green redingote (a double-breasted topcoat with a full skirt) reinforces the horse's movements. The horse's power complements the man's athleticism demonstrated in his broad chest and cinched waist. The man's waistcoat is open at the top and reveals a wide expanse of batiste shirt with a jabot that

¹⁰⁵ Best, *History of Fashion Journalism*, 37.

remains firmly tucked despite the horse's movements. Compared to eighteenth century waistcoats that completely covered the shirt, the openness of this waistcoat and the predominance of the shirt illustrated the transformation of the shirt from a private undergarment to an emblem of modern fashion meant to be displayed. The modern fashions, moreover, are shown as best suited to the other pursuits of life in the July Monarchy because the horse's movements and the blowing wind do not disturb his elegant silhouette: broad shoulders, slim waist, and defined hips.

The accompanying description in the journal emphasizes Pierret and Lami-Housset's skills as well as the innovative qualities of the new shirt:

The batiste shirt comes from the shops of Pierret and Lamy-Housset, at 95 rue Richelieu, whose specialty is not commonly found. This house has a style of its own, a way of mounting collars and laying the pleats down the back, which puts them. Everything that is elegance, the fineness of the fabrics, the attention to details, is wonderfully understood by Pierret and Lamy-Housset, who have no rivals and no superior competition to fear.¹⁰⁶



Figure 2.6 “Costume de Cheval - Pantalon blanc petite redingote verte de chez Humann, chapeau gris de chez Dufour Bodson, Cheval de chez Gremieux, chemise de Pierret et Lamy [sic] Housset,” *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol.8 (1836), plate 514. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 24.5 x 16 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

¹⁰⁶ “La chemise en batiste vient des magasins de Pierret et Lamy-Housset, 95, rue Richelieu, dont la spécialité ne se rencontre pas communément. Cette maison a une forme à elle, une façon de monter les cols et d’abattre les plis dans le dos, qui la placent en première ligne. Tout ce qui est d’élégance, la finesse des étoffes, le soin des détails, est merveilleusement compris par Pierret et Lamy-Housset, qui n’ont pas de concurrents [sic], et n’ont à craindre aucune supériorité,” “Modes,” *La Mode*, 15 July 1836.

The fashion column translated the language of the *brevet* for the readers, while the fashion plate allowed viewers to see how the improvements looked. The readers are invited (in the text and image) to imagine themselves riding beneath the recently constructed *Arc de Triomphe* adorned in the newest sartorial goods and proudly displaying their political and social position.

Fashion plates also positioned modern shirts as versatile garments that accentuated the aesthetic merits and appropriateness of a number of outfits. *Le Follet* advertised Pierret and Lami-Housset’s shirts for hunting, as well as semi-casual daywear (Figure 2.7 and 2.8). Shirt makers also worked with illustrators like Paul Gavarni. Gavarni prints showed men wearing the fashionable shirts at Longchamps in an advertisement for Longueville (Figure 1.10) and as part



Figure 2.7 “Chemise à jabots de la maison de Pierret et Lamy Housset [sic],” *Le Follet: Courrier des Salons*, 14 May 1837, plate 594. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 24 cm x 17 cm. Rijks Museum, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

of fashionable daywear for Duroseau (Figure 2.9). These fashion plates bring together a variety of outfits, as well as a variety of shirts. Fashion plates such as these represented the new shirts as an integral part of the modern wardrobe for elite men.

Advertising also focused on pushing the idea that there was a clear distinction between the shirt maker’s products and cruder examples of seamstresses and linen drapers. The men’s fashion journal *Le Lion*, promoted the idea that men ought to go to a shirt maker if they wanted to purchase a garment that was made to their particular measurements and about emphasizing

their individual body. When the fashion reporter for *Le Lion* recommended the shirt maker Levy-Neymann to the journal's readers, they focused on presenting the shirt maker as the natural outcome of a demanding fashion culture that linen drapers could no longer keep up with. The reporter explained, "The shirt was once the exclusive domain of the linen draper, when it was not homemade: today, fashion has become extremely demanding; and the rigor for perfection has necessarily resulted in the creation of specialty houses."¹⁰⁷

The reporter continues by recommending the shirt maker Levy-Neymann because he "has devoted himself to this creation with a precision that has quickly made him

successful. And due to the double effect of the excellence of the cut and the moderate price of the products, this house deserves that we recommend it with the greatest eagerness."¹⁰⁸ Levy-

Neymann, like Pierret, Lami-Housset, and Longueville claimed to have transformed the shirt because they devoted time and attention to developing their knowledge and mastering the craft.



Figure 2.8 "Costumes de Chasse et de Ville," *Le Follet: Courrier des Salons*, 15 September 1837, plate 623. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 25 cm x 17 cm. Private Collection, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

¹⁰⁷ "Les chemises étaient autrefois du domaine exclusif des lingères, quand ce n'était pas une affaire d'intérieur de famille : aujourd'hui la mode est devenue d'une excessive exigence ; et de la rigueur de la perfection a dû résulter la création de maisons spéciales," "Bulletin," *Le Lion*, 15 January 1844, 170.

¹⁰⁸ "Levy-Neymann s'est livré à cette confection avec une précision qui n'a pas tardé à amener le succès, et sous le double rapport de l'excellence de la coupe et du prix modéré de ses produits, cette maison mérite que nous la recommandions avec le plus grand empressement," "Bulletin," *Le Lion*, 15 January 1844, 170.



Figure 2.9 Paul Gavarni, “Redingotte [sic] du matin. Gilet de cachemire et de piqué de Humann. Chemises de Durousseau, chemisier des princes,” *Le Charivari*, 19 March 1842. Paper, lithograph, 190 mm x 195 mm, Yale Art Collections, New Haven, Connecticut.

But what becomes essential in these types of advertisements, like those that emphasize the *brevet*, is that this knowledge about shirt making is technical knowledge that deserves to be protected. This discursive attempt at separating the linen draper from the shirt seems to have worked. By the 1850s, linen drapers, for the most part, no longer sold men’s shirts, documenting the success of the *chemiserie*. Madame Rouget de l’Isle’s 1852 manual for linen drapers, for

example, *Le Livre de la lingère*, describes the necessary materials, stitches, and basic patterns that any linen draper, as she

claims, needed to have and know. She told her readers that a linen draper is responsible for creating “all the linen that is essential for us both to dress ourselves and to ensure the cleanliness and health of the body.”¹⁰⁹ She then provides basic patterns and instructions for sewing a variety of items including two shirts for children and two for adult women. The only clothing items mentioned specifically for men were religious paraphernalia.¹¹⁰ The *chemisier* had replaced the linen draper for elite men’s shirts, and in the fashion press this end of the linen draper is

¹⁰⁹ “Tout le linge qui nous est indispensable autant pour nous vêtir que pour nous assurer la propreté et la santé du corps,” Rouget de Lisle, *Le Livre de la lingère* (Paris, 1852), 3.

¹¹⁰ Rouget de Lisle, *Le Livre de la lingère* (Paris, 1852).

portrayed as an opportunity for men interested in cutting a figure to adopt a new form of sartorial consumption. Shirt makers and later ready-to-wear retailers had replaced linen drapers and seamstresses. While elite men would get their shirts from shirt makers, ready-to-wear retailers began catering to middle-class and wealthier working-class men. Members of the working class would continue to wear through the nineteenth-century the *blouse ouvrier*, a loose fitting type of shirt.¹¹¹ The *chemisier* had replaced the linen draper for elite men's shirts, and in the fashion press this end of the linen draper is portrayed as an opportunity for men interested in cutting a figure to adopt a new form of sartorial consumption.

The shirt makers' and the fashion industry's attempts at carving out a distinct sphere for the shirt and men's sartorial consumption also demonstrates how the clothing industry would increasingly rely on modern forms of branding and name recognition to create the contours of modern retail practices. Branding is a marketing technique that aims to create an imagined relationship between a particular retailer and their products that differentiates their products from those of their competitors. Shirt maker's including Lami-Housset, Pierret, Longueville, and their contemporaries used visual and textual forms of advertising to create demand for their products. In order to sustain that demand, they relied on their names to create their brands.

Pierret and Lami-Housset's businesses were eventually sold after their deaths and the men who replaced them would continue to play up their association with the duo. In Pierret's case, her successor, Monsieur D. Darnet, began to advertise as Pierret's successor in the 1850s, even though he had his own career as a shirt maker in the 1830s.¹¹² The legal dramas that

¹¹¹ Alain Faure, "La blouse ouvrière au XIXe siècle ou les normes de la dignité," *Modes Pratiques: Revue d'histoire du vêtement et de la mode*, no. 1 (Nov. 2005): 149-173.

¹¹² His invoices to clients included "successor of C. Pierret" in the header. Invoice from D. Darnet for shirts purchased by Charlemagne de Maupas, 17 February 1851, AN 607AP/14; "Maisons recommandées dans le Bulletin," *La Mode: Revue des modes*, vol. 62 (1838): 440.

followed Lami-Housset's death in 1843 speak to the dynamics and importance of creating and maintaining a brand name for artisans in a changing retail landscape. In 1844, after his success at the *Exposition publique*, the shirt maker Durrousseau, who had claimed in his advertisements to be Lami-Housset's successor, faced mounting legal trouble. In both the article in *L'Industrie* (mention in the introduction) and his other advertisements Durrousseau made the claim that Lami-Housset's death in 1842 had left a void in the shirt making industry, and Durrousseau, as his former student and successor, had stepped in to fill the position. However, after Lami-Housset's death, the business partners MM. Desurmont and Aisne purchased at auction Lami-Housset's store, *La Petite Jeannette*, as well as his stock and his list of clients, which they argued made them the *legal* successors to Lami-Housset.¹¹³

Durrousseau was not the only shirt maker facing legal troubles after the death of the celebrated shirt tailor. In May 1845, Gustave Longueville was also facing accusations that he had infringed on MM. Desurmont and Aisne property. The competing shirt maker had caused damage to their business when he claimed in his advertisements that only he could succeed Lami-Housset as the foremost shirt maker in the city because he had been in the business since its inception. This was perhaps particularly infuriating to Desurmont and Aisne because they had hoped to profit from the continued association with the dead shirt maker.¹¹⁴ At the heart of these legal battles was who had the right to claim Lami-Housset's reputation as part of their brand: was it the man who had learned from and worked with Lami-Housset, his longtime competitor, or the men who had purchased his business, which included the list of clients and any outstanding debts

¹¹³ N.n. "Chronique," *Gazette des tribunaux, Journal de jurisprudence et des débats judiciaires*, 10 October 1844, 3.

¹¹⁴ N.n. "Justice Civil: Cour Royale de Paris (1e Chambre). Présidence de M. Le premier président Séguier. Audiences des 3 et 10 mai. Les Mystères de le Chemise – Usurpation de nom commercial," *Gazette des Tribunaux, Journal de jurisprudence et des débats judiciaires*, 11 May 1845, 1.

owed to the shirt maker? Left to the commercial courts to decide, it was MM. Desurmont and Aisne who had the legal right to claim to succeed Lami-Housset.

2.5 Conclusions

The success of the shirt making industry was predicated on its efforts to gender a particular form of consumption as masculine, and as a form of consumption that elite men with access to political power needed to engage with in order to properly perform their citizenship. Pierret, Lami-Housset, and their contemporaries did this effectively using several strategies which come through in their applications for patents, how the *chemiserie* was organized, and how they embraced modern forms of advertising. Significantly, they emphasized that their skills were honed and developed with male bodies in mind; that is, that they always shaped garments to fit an individual man's physique in order to support the construction of an idealized masculine silhouette of broad shoulders and narrow waist to be built upon it. This emphasis on male bodies speaks to the relationship between real individuals and the idealized citizen. The latter can only be constructed once one understands the significance of the former. That is, before men could perform their citizenship as a public act, their physical bodies needed to be dressed in the appropriate garments made to fit their bodies. The sequence of events around Pierret's naming in the patent application for example shows how Pierret and her partner might have presumed that in order for the business to thrive, they had to prove that the people behind the industry *understood* male bodies. In order to build their brand, the duo relied on the gendered assumptions that their contemporaries were bound to make—that men needed to dress men, and women should be left to dressing women. The dynamics of the *chemiserie*, moreover, suggest that creating a new and gendered form of consumption relied on reconfiguring retail, labor, and financial practices that men and women were accustomed to in order to push forward a new type

of good or experience. Furthermore, the emphasis on individual bodies in both the patents and advertisements suggests that gendered forms of consumption also contributed to the construction of gendered and classed based ideas about citizenship.

Chapter 3 – Frenchmen and their Wardrobes: Personal Spending and Elite Communities of Dress

On November 23, 1856, a tailor from the small town of Bar-sur-Seine had a golden opportunity to send several queries to his client Charlemagne de Maupas (1818-1888), a member of the French Senate. The tailor sent a note through the latter's acquaintance and colleague, and the former's customer, M. de St. Albin (1807-1888).¹ The tailor M. Choiselat wrote a short note with a request, a comment, and a question on the bottom of an invoice for new and refurbished garments, which the senator had ordered for himself and his two manservants Pierre and Félix between the previous July and October. "I am taking advantage of the occasion of M. de St. Albin's visit," Choiselat began, in order to request that M. de Maupas would "make payments," for which he "was very much obliged." This was by no means a threat or urgent request, rather an ordinary part of the networks of credit that characterized French retail practices since the eighteenth century. Over the course of four months the senator had visited his tailor twenty-one times and purchased pants, jackets, and waistcoats in a range of fabrics and colors on credit. The senator's bill for 413.15 francs was due, and Choiselat was merely playing his part in the ordinary cycle. The note allowed the tailor to relate information concerning several garments that required his client's attention. First, "Monsieur's waistcoat" had to be delayed because the tailor could not find "the velvet [Monsieur] spoke about" in Troyes (a larger town where Choiselat presumably purchased fabrics). He was forced to write to Paris for the fabric and was waiting for the delivery. "As soon as it arrives," he promised, "I will make it for you. It will not be long!"

¹ St. Albin was the receiver general of finances of the Aube Department in 1856. *Almanach impérial pour 1856* (Paris: Chez A. Guyot et Scribe, 1856), 235.

Second, the tailor wanted to confirm that his client was willing to pay eighty francs for each one of the two overcoats he had ordered for Pierre and Félix: “In order to make them in a blue woolen cloth for liveries and to make them well,” Choiselat explained, the cost would be higher than anticipated.² The final decision rested with the customer, and therefore, the tailor waited for a reply before proceeding. Perhaps innocuous at first glance, the note scribbled at the end of an invoice from a tailor to his client, which was relayed through a common acquaintance, reveals several of the ways that elite men participated in the design, procurement, and maintenance of their wardrobes in the nineteenth century. Charlemagne de Maupas was involved in the design and was expecting a particular fabric. Perhaps it was one he had seen on a friend or a colleague. Either way, this note demonstrates how a man had a clear idea of what type of garment he wanted and how he understood something about the skills and materials required to make the garment.

Maupas’s visits to his tailor’s shop in 1856 were part of the everyday of managing a wardrobe in the mid-nineteenth century. Elite men routinely sought out tailors and other artisans and business for the myriad of garments, accessories, and services they required as part of their social lives. Clothing, however, was more than just a practical necessity: clothing was a means of establishing one’s social identity. In post-Revolution France dress could be used to signal one’s social class, one’s political affiliation, and even one’s position within the state hierarchy. In other words, how one dressed was a way of anchoring one’s identity. Moreover, dressing and thinking about dress also facilitated social bonds and how individuals interacted with their

² “M. de Maupas je profite de l’occasion de la visite de M. de St. Albin pour vous envoyer la note dont je vous avais parlé, car mon travail a [sic] avoir besoin de ce moment-ci pour faire des paiements. Cela m’obligerait beaucoup. Monsieur votre gilet n’est pas encore fait car je n’ai pas pu avoir à Troyes le velours dont vous m’avez parlé, j’ai donc écrit Paris [sic] et je l’attends, aux vites [sic] arrivé je vous le fera. Ce qui ne vas pas tarder ! Quant aux pardessus de vos domestiques dont vous m’avez parlé, pour leur mettre un bon drap bleu de livrée ce qui de fait de bon la pourrait coûter 80 francs chaque pour vous bien servir.” Choiselat to Charlemagne de Maupas, 23 November 1856. AN 607AP/15.

contemporaries. The tailor's shop was a space in which men could design their own identity through the garments they purchased and then wore.

Throwing open the wardrobes of two prominent French men: King Louis-Philippe I (1773-1850) and the lawyer and politician Charlemagne de Maupas (1818-1888) through a close study of their personal archives reveals how elite men engaged in the practicalities of managing dress in the nineteenth century, which are commonly associated with women.³ Both Louis-Philippe and Maupas were fairly unique men: Louis-Philippe was a constitutional monarch from the generation that lived through the Revolution of 1789, and Maupas was a successful politician and socialite during the Second Empire who was raised and lived in a post-1789 world. However, their privileged positions also mean that their records have been preserved, including archives that track their personal spending over multiple decades.

Louis-Philippe's personal spending that included his clothing was rigorously documented in the Royal Household's (*Maison du Roi*) yearly accounting between 1831 and 1846.⁴ The Maupas family papers have been well preserved and used for historical studies of the 1851 coup and the empire of Napoleon III.⁵ In the family papers are also all the receipts and invoices Charlemagne, Irène de Maupas (né Guillmot 1826-1912), their two daughters, Marguerite (b. 1849) and Gabrielle (b. 1858), and several anonymous servants kept for purchases made between 1839 and 1888.⁶ The collection documents a vast and complicated network of goods, people, and services. The family preserved their invoices for insurance policies, coal and firewood deliveries,

³ Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century*, 1st edition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

⁴ Evidence of how the invoices from 1831 to 1846 were handled suggest that the invoices for 1847 were in the process of being archived in February of 1848 when Louis-Philippe was overthrown.

⁵ Jean-Claude Yon, "Maupas et la surveillance des théâtres," *Histoire, économie société* 34, no. 2 (June 26, 2015): 102–10; Claude Vigoureux, *Maupas et le coup d'état de Louis-Napoléon* (Paris: Éditions S.P.M., 2002), 33.

⁶ The archives are incredibly sparse after 1869 and records of Charlemagne's spending end in 1868. This study focuses primarily on the invoices archived that date from 1839-1868 held in boxes 607Ap/13-17 in the AN.

ice creams eaten in cafés in Paris and Marseille, cigars, and their laundry lists. Amongst these papers are many that recorded their wardrobes and the different types of shops, artisans, and laborers solicited to create and maintain their clothing. Taken together, the accounts of Louis-Philippe's and Maupas's wardrobes provide insight into the everyday practices involved in the procurement and maintenance of substantial wardrobes in nineteenth-century France.

These rare collections of invoices provide a new perspective for understanding the practices of dressing in the nineteenth century. In particular, the two sets of archives show how clothing was used to craft political identities. In Louis-Philippe's case his invoices, as well as his iconography, show how the constitutional monarchy mobilized clothing and dressing the monarch as a means of establishing the reputation and legitimacy of the new monarchy.⁷ The July Monarchy found itself in 1830 with the need to establish its credentials as both a legitimate monarchy and the embodiment of national sovereignty. In this case, the nation exercised its sovereignty in elevating a monarch that respected the limits imposed by the Charter of 1830.⁸ Much like his Napoleonic and Revolutionary predecessors, Louis-Philippe understood the value of clothing to craft a palatable image of the regime.⁹ In Maupas's case, dress was a means of navigating the political culture of the July Monarchy and later the Second Empire. The archives also demonstrate how men participated in a community of dress: the extensive network of people that they relied on to dress themselves and their families.¹⁰ Understanding the role that men

⁷ Susan L. Siegfried, "The Cultural Politics of Fashion and the French Revolution of 1830," in *Time, Media, and Visuality in Post-Revolutionary France*, ed. by Iris Moon and Richard Taws (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 197-202.

⁸ Grégoire Franconie, *Le Lys et la cocarde: Royauté et Nation à l'âge romantique (1830-1848)* (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 2021), 13-18.

⁹ Susan L. Siegfried, "Fashion and the Reinvention of Court Costume in Portrayals of Josephine de Beauharnais (1794-1809)," *Apparence(s)*, no. 6 (August 9, 2015); Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002).

¹⁰ Susan L. Siegfried and John Finkelberg, "Fashion in the Life of George Sand," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* (Fall 2020): 5, 18-25.

played in these communities allows one to better understand the gendered social and political implications of dress in the mid-nineteenth century.

Clothing provided Louis-Philippe and the supporters of the July Monarchy a way of creating a new vocabulary about the monarchy. Both in real life and in his iconography Louis-Philippe used military uniforms and civilian clothing to fashion himself into the “bourgeois king,” one who wanted to be thought of as a monarch who knew, understood, and engaged in the same practices as other Frenchmen. By dressing strategically in fashionable civilian clothing and subdued uniforms Louis-Philippe created a new visual vocabulary about the monarchy that projected the legitimacy of the regime. Louis-Philippe’s politics of dress provides a counterpoint to examine how other elite French men adopted the same practices, and how those practices shaped the social and political culture of the mid-nineteenth century. The men who engaged in the politics of fashion were central figures in a community of dress. The archives of men like Charlemagne de Maupas show how a man with great ambitions created a wardrobe that was fit for moving through fashionable and elite political and social circles.

3.1 Fashioning the July Monarchy

With some surprise and a lot of sarcasm, the editors of the conservative fashion journal *La Mode* published a letter to their newest subscriber, none other than Louis-Philippe, the self-styled King of the French. In the January 5, 1835, issue of the magazine, the new editors of the magazine continued to use a snide line begun by their predecessors that presented the new monarchy as unfashionable.¹¹ “Oh Monsieur, what a surprise, what a gift, what a New Year’s gift for *La Mode*,” the editors exclaimed; however, their excitement was quickly tamed in

¹¹ Roland Chollet, *Balzac journaliste: Le tournant de 1830* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1983), 335-338; Siegfried, “The Cultural Politics of Fashion and the French Revolution of 1830,” 198.

acknowledgement that the king's forty-eight francs for a subscription would not begin to cover the three thousand franc fine the government levied against *La Mode* for sedition and "attack on the national wish," which referred to the idea that Louis-Philippe represented national sovereignty protected by the Charter of 1830. In attacking the King, the journal was attacking the nation.¹² Despite their differences, they expressed their hope that Louis-Philippe would enjoy and perhaps learn a thing or two from the magazine. If anything, they wanted to implore the king to dress the part. At the very least, they recommended the king stop wearing a little cockade on his hats, because it made him look like a postman.¹³ The editors were not exaggerating when they implored the king to remove his cockades. Between 1831 and 1846, according to the meticulous record keeping of the *Maison du Roi*, Louis-Philippe purchased a staggering eighty-seven cockades meant to adorn both the sixty-seven new top hats he purchased and forty-nine he had refurbished during the same period from his hat makers, MM. Vernier and Hurel.¹⁴ The purpose of this section is not to examine the dispute between a king and a fashion journal, or to breakdown the accuracy of the editor's observations about the king's accessories, but rather to show how the constitutional monarchy used fashion and sartorial goods as a way of staging the legitimacy of the monarchy, and what his dressing practices can reveal about the culture of men's fashion in nineteenth-century France.

Louis-Philippe's use of civilian and military clothing in official portraits alongside his invoices for garments purchased new and refurbished show how the regime deployed fashionable menswear in a canny politics of image making, or marketing. In deploying particular consumer

¹² "O Monsieur, quelle surprise, quel cadeau, quelles étrennes pour *la Mode*," Signed *La Mode*, "*La Mode* à son nouvel abonné, Monsieur le Roi des Français," *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol. 7 (5 January 1835):1.

¹³ "Atteinte au vœu national," "*La Mode* à son nouvel abonné," 2-3.

¹⁴ Invoices from M. Vernier, 1831-1841, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921; Invoices from M. Hurel, 1841-1846, AN O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

practices and embracing certain aesthetics the regime used dress to project an image of Louis-Philippe, and eventually the rest of his family, as the solution to France's political and social problems, in particular the failings of the restored monarchy to respect the gains and promises of the French Revolution of 1789. The iconography of Louis-Philippe includes two types of images of the king: one type shows him as an ordinary gentleman who participated in the same domestic practices as his contemporaries; the others show Louis-Philippe in military regalia. The written records of his personal wardrobe suggest that these two images of the king were also enacted on a daily basis through dress. Through a strategic combination of visually tame military uniforms and subdued, but fashionable civilian menswear the regime created a new visual and sartorial vocabulary about the monarchy, who it represented, and what its purpose was. In doing so, the regime used military and civilian dress to visually present the king as the physical manifestation of an idealized form of elite masculinity who used clothing to project stability, productivity, military might, and national prowess.

3.1.1 Louis-Philippe's Civilian Wardrobe

In 1836, Henry Scheffer painted a new group portrait of the Orléans family for Versailles; Louis-Philippe and his family appear in the painting dressed in simple but nonetheless elegant and fashionable clothes seated together in a richly decorated sitting room (Figure 3.1).¹⁵ The painting was ordered for the palace of Versailles, which Louis-Philippe had plans to refurbish. The king had rooms redone for his family and converted sections of the palace into a museum. Louis-Philippe intended the museum to be filled with military pictures, as well as

¹⁵ Noémie Wansart, "Les appartements des princesses Marie et Clémentine, filles de Louis Philippe, au Grand Trianon," *La Revue des musées de France, Revue du Louvre*, No. 1 (2019):104-111; Reproduced as École française, *Louis-Philippe 1er et sa famille*, ca 1832 in *Paris Romantique, 1815-1848* (Paris: Paris-musées, 2019), 56, cat. No. 39; "Louis-Philippe Et Sa Famille," Les collections – Château de Versailles, Accessed March 9, 2022, <http://collections.chateauversailles.fr/?redirected=true#2fc35564-c8a8-484f-a2c5-6c6fb5c5f5f2>.



Figure 3.1 Henry Scheffer, *Louis-Philippe and His Family*, 1836-37. Oil on canvas, 196 cm x 163 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.

portraits of his family members, and pictures commissioned to celebrate royal marriages, births, and funerals. Grégoire Franconie has argued that the museum at Versailles was meant to project an image of the Orléans's family as both a natural continuation of the legitimate French royal dynasty and an

example of an

idealized “bourgeois”

family. This was a political move on the part of the family that was meant to create an imagined connection between the new royal family and its political base.¹⁶ Several of Scheffer's painting's conventions, including the composition –Louis-Philippe in the center flanked by his heir and immediate family –, the intimate setting – a family salon –, and the sitters' wardrobes

¹⁶ Franconie, *Le Lys et le cocarde*, 70-71, 422-426.

show the royal family as an intimate one, bound by real affection and respect, and not very different from other elite French families in their domestic pursuits. As the historian Jo Burr Margadant has shown, Louis-Philippe's domestic habits reflect the image of a "bourgeois" family "bound by affection, reciprocal duties and the attractions of domesticity." This vision of the family contrasted significantly with the "aristocratic" marriage that "presumed a familial style based on obedience and respect, with spouses leading separate social lives." While Margadant has acknowledged that Louis-Philippe would not have referred to his family as "bourgeois," it was clear through his concern for his children's education, the efforts he made to secure their financial futures, and his attachment to his wife that the sentimental version of marriage and family inspired by Rousseau was a central concern for him.¹⁷

In Scheffer's portrait of the royal family, the clothing, while fashionable and elegant, is in no way striking or unusual. The young princes are all dressed in dark black and navy blue suits that stand out next to the dark brown one their father wore. The younger princesses, Marie and Clementine, are dressed in virginal-white silk frocks adorned with bows and flowers. Their dresses corresponded to the contemporary styles for young women which included sloping and exposed shoulders, a bodice that accentuates a narrow waist and rounded bust, gigot sleeves, and full skirts.¹⁸ The cut, color, and embellishments of their dresses indicated their youth, while their elder and married sister, Louise, the Queen of the Belgians, wore a black velvet frock over a white chemise. Louise was also dressed in contemporary fashions. Her uncovered head and fashionable hairdo emphasized her knowledge of contemporary fashions and her youth.¹⁹ Her exposed hair contrasts with the bonnets that covered Queen Marie-Amelia's and the king's sister

¹⁷ Jo Burr Margadant, "Representing Queen Marie-Amélie in a 'Bourgeois' Monarchy," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 32, no. 2 (2006): 422-423.

¹⁸ Algirdas Julien Greimas, *La mode en 1830* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000), 53-54, 75.

¹⁹ Greimas, *La mode en 1830*, 78-80.

Adélaïde's hair. While it was common for all elite women to wear bonnet's when out in public, leaving them on inside marked the women as matrons.²⁰ The queen was dressed in muted violet and stares directly at her husband, and Adélaïde is seated to the left of her brother in a luminous gold frock. Their covered hair and modest gowns were indicative of their age and gender roles, while their positioning speaks to the roles they played in Louis-Philippe's life as wife and confidant.²¹ The only indication of the family's rank is Louis-Philippe's sash of the Legion of Honor. The group portrait hints at the ways in which Louis-Philippe and his family used dress to strategically craft an image of the family: an ideal family unit, one capable and worthy of representing other French families. Gathered together in an intimate family setting, the members of the family are dressed in ways that reflected their age, gender, and positions within the family. Each member is dressed appropriately. Louis-Philippe's clothing and position mark him as the head of the household. The older male children dress like and emulate the manners of their father; they are ready to do their part for the family, while the youngest son stay's close to his mother watching. The older women adopt fashions that mark them as the modest and moral authorities in the household, while the daughters are dressed according to their age and position in the family. The clothing symbolically distinguished each member of the family as individual parts of a united whole that is bound by affection and responsibility.

In 1831, Pierre Roch Vigneron submitted a half-length portrait of Louis-Philippe to that year's Salon in which the new king appears in an elegant but informal civilian outfit: a brown, velvet-trimmed frock coat, a white silk waistcoat, a white shirt with a pleated jabot, a high collar, and a long, white silk cravat (Figure 3.2).²² The painting was a failure at the Salon of 1831. The

²⁰ Greimas, *La mode en 1830*, 92-93.

²¹ Greimas, *La mode en 1830*, 51.

²² *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivans [sic], exposés au musées royal le 1^{er} mai 1831* (Paris: Vinchon, fils, 1831), 164, cat. no. 2118.



Figure 3.2 Pierre Roch Vigneron, *Portrait of Louis Philippe, King of the French*, 1831. Oil on canvas, 32.5 cm x 24 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

painter, writer, and art critic

Charles Paul Landon wrote about the painting and the artist:

“Monsieur Vigneron, whose charming lithographs are generally admired, had a very mediocre portrait of the King in the Salon.”²³

The painting was perhaps disappointing to critics like Landon because it presented Louis-Philippe as an ordinary member of the elite who could afford to commission a portrait. The only overt symbol of his reign is a small, tri-color cockade pinned to his breast.

During the July Monarchy, Louis-Philippe adopted the tri-color

cockade in his campaign to reconcile the idea that the Orléans were a legitimate cadet branch of the French monarchy and that they were willing and able to respect the Charter of 1830.²⁴

Dressed as he was, Louis-Philippe embodied the current fashions recommended for elite men in

²³ “Monsieur Vigneron, dont les charmantes lithographies sont généralement admirées, avait au Salon un portrait du Roi, fort médiocre,” Charles Paul Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts, ou Recueil des principaux Tableaux, Statues et Bas-Reliefs exposés au Louvre depuis 1808 jusqu'à ce jour par les Artistes vivants, et autres productions nouvelles et inédits de l'École française, avec des Notices descriptive, critiques et historiques*. (Paris: Pillet aîné, 1831), 220.

²⁴ Franconie, *Le Lys et la cocarde*, 70; Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, 162.

both the fashion press as well as advice manuals and etiquette books.²⁵ This outfit, based on the itemized invoices from his tailor, linen drapers, and glove merchants, was also perhaps one of Louis-Philippe's most frequently used. During his reign, Louis-Philippe had seventy frock coats and ten redingotes made from different kinds of woolen fabrics including wool and cashmere that were lined in black silk and trimmed with a black velvet collar.²⁶ In 1831 and 1832, Louis-Philippe also had twenty-three new waistcoats made. Of those twenty-three waistcoats, twelve were white pique waistcoats.²⁷ He also purchased seventy two white percale shirts embellished with batiste jabots from his linen draper; these designs corresponded to the types of garments pictures in Vignerons's portrait.²⁸

Between 1831 and 1846, Louis-Philippe engaged eighteen different merchants and artisans across twelve specialties to create his personal wardrobe. He visited tailors, hat makers, a bootmaker and cobbler, glove merchants, *marchandes de nouveautés*, a *passementier*, linen drapers, a perfumer, a hosier, a barber, jewelers, and a gunsmith, to kit him out for this role as a constitutional monarch.²⁹ On a yearly-basis, Louis-Philippe spent between 6000 and 16,000 francs on new and refurbished garments and accessories; the yearly average amounted to 10,888 francs (almost five times what a working-class *ouvrier tailleur* earned in a year.³⁰ The vast majority was spent at the shop of his tailor, Monsieur Ebeling, while the rest was used to

²⁵ Anonymous, "Modes," *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol. 2 (5 April 1830): 312; Horace Raison, *Code de la Toilette, Manuel complet d'élégance et d'hygiène. Contenant les lois, règles, applications et exemples de l'art de soigner sa personne, et de s'habiller avec gout et méthode. Vol. 4* (Paris: J.P. Roret:1829), 105-127.

²⁶ Invoices from Ebeling and Cie, 1831-1832, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

²⁷ Invoices from Ebeling and Cie, 1831-1832, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388.

²⁸ Invoice from Mlle. Claudin, 1832, AN O/4/1388.

²⁹ Invoices documenting Louis-Philippe's personal spending, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

³⁰ John J. Baughman, "Financial Resources of Louis-Philippe," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1965): 64-70; Christopher Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent: The Tailors' History, 1800 – 1848," *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic*, ed. Roger Price (London: C. Helm, 1975), 90.

purchase the necessary shirts, ties, collars, hats, boots, and accessories that made up the rest of his enormous wardrobe. His wardrobe was made possible because Louis-Philippe commanded vast personal wealth and had access to twelve million francs a year through the Civil List, which he could use to dress like the wealthy bankers, industrialists, politicians, and aristocrats with whom he was in close proximity.³¹ While Louis-Philippe, as a wealthy monarch, was able to build a truly enormous and luxurious wardrobe that was out of reach of all but the wealthiest of his fellow citizens, his spending and dressing habits conjure up an image of a fairly typical elite man interested in using clothing to cut a certain figure: one who visually displays his identity as a respectable gentleman up to date on the latest fashions but also subdued in his display of his wealth.³²

Louis-Philippe was born and grew up away from court and at the center of the Parisian luxury trade in the Palais-Royal – which his father had transformed into a shopping mecca in the 1780s.³³ Louis-Philippe spent the first eighteen years of his life in the Palais Royal. Unlike other monarchs in the 1830s and 1840s, Louis-Philippe had received a thoroughly liberal education while growing up in the physical space that helped facilitate both a political revolution and the emergence of a thriving French consumer culture.³⁴ Furthermore, Louis-Philippe returned to the

³¹ In 1791, the National Assembly introduced the concept of a Civil List modeled on the English example established in 1688 that recognized the king as a paid servant of the state. When the monarchy was abolished on September 12, 1792, the Civil List followed suit. The Constitution of the Year XII (1804), which established the First French Empire, reintroduced it in its original form and it continued to be a fixture of the French state throughout the First Empire, the Restoration, and the July Monarchy. In 1830, Louis-Philippe wanted a Civil List of eighteen million francs annually, almost half of what his cousins were each granted during the Restoration (Louis XVIII had roughly thirty-four million francs and Charles X had thirty-two million francs annually). In 1830, however, the deputies were not willing to acquiesce to Louis-Phillipe and the question was not settled until 1832, when he was finally granted an annual income of twelve million francs. Baughman, “Financial Resources of Louis-Philippe,” 64-70.

³²Raisson, *Code de la Toilette*, 104, 116-117.

³³ Darrin M. McMahon, “The Birthplace of the Revolution: Public Space and Political Community in the Palais-Royal of Louis-Philippe-Joseph d’Orléans, 1781-1789,” *French History*, Volume 10, Issue 1, (March 1996): 1-18.

³⁴ T. E. B. Howarth, *Citizen-King, The Life of Louis-Philippe, King of the French* (New York: Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd, 1962), 35-51. Arnaud Teyssier, *Louis-Philippe, Le Dernier roi des Français* (Paris: Perrin, 2010), 33-55.

Palais-Royal during the Restoration (1815-1830) when it again became a popular center for Parisians to gather. More so than any other French monarch, Louis-Philippe knew and understood how other elite and urban French men and women really lived, because he spent so much of his life amongst them. Louis-Philippe's son, the Prince of Joinville (1818-1898) in his memoirs wrote about how his family at the Palais-Royal was embedded into the daily life of the city. Joinville, for example, remembered how he changed rooms as an adolescent because his current bedroom looked over the home of an elderly woman who frequently left her chamber pot on the windowsill. His new view, however, was slightly more desirable as he looked over where an actor from the Comédie-Française and his children emptied their chamber pots instead.³⁵ In the Palais-Royal, Louis-Philippe and his family were in the center of the city, and they found themselves living with Parisian and participating in the everyday practices and customs of Parisian shoppers.

Louis-Philippe's consumer practices were also influenced by his time in exile before 1815. Louis-Philippe spent almost twenty-five years as a private citizen in exile in Germany, the U.S. and eventually England after 1800. His time in England is particularly important because it was in England that he developed his knack for domestic pursuits including gardening and refurbishing houses.³⁶ England, moreover, was where Louis-Philippe was introduced to the revolutionary techniques of modern tailoring invented in England at the turn of the century. The time Louis-Philippe was in London coincided with the period in which tailors on Savile Row cemented London as the capital of men's fashion.³⁷ While in Britain, Louis-Philippe was

³⁵ Prince de Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe d'Orléans, *Memoirs (Vieux Souvenirs) of the Prince de Joinville*, trans. Lady Mary Loyd (London: William Heinemann, 1895), 7-8.

³⁶Howarth, *Citizen-King*, 91-95; Teyssier, *Louis-Philippe*, 59-85.

³⁷ Christopher Breward, "Masculine Pleasures: Metropolitan Identities and the Commercial Sites of Dandyism, 1790-1840," *London Journal* 28, no. 1 (2003): 60-72.

immersed in the thriving market for consumer goods like many of his contemporaries in the English upper classes, and upon his return to France, he participated in the consumer culture in France as well, already versed in the language and practices of middle-class and elite consumers.³⁸

Louis-Philippe limited his spending to stores and businesses in the shopping districts on the right bank of the Seine, in or in the vicinity of the Palais Royal, a center for luxury and consumer goods in Paris. His linen draper Madame Banes and his hairdresser Monsieur Richard rented shops in the galleries of the Palais Royal. Richard also made house calls for the king; he often followed the king to his country estate at St. Cloud.³⁹ The rest of the artisans and business he worked with were located on the streets running parallel including the Rue de Richelieu and the Rue Croix des Petits Champs, or on the nearby Boulevard des Italiens, on the Rue St. Honoré, in Paris's covered arcades, and the nearby Place Vendôme. Louis-Philippe did sometimes purchase foreign made goods. At the outset of his reign, Louis-Philippe bought English made "long cotton drawers" and "long cotton stockings" from London, and later in his reign, he purchased goods from Queen Victoria's jeweler and slippers from a Manchester based merchant. Yet, Louis-Philippe was a devotee of the Parisian clothing industry.⁴⁰

Like other elite French men and women Louis-Philippe worked with the same businesses regularly and formed relationships with artisans. He purchased goods from his tailor Ebeling, for example, one hundred and forty-five times and spent close to sixty thousand francs on new

³⁸ For more on the culture of clothing in England at the end of the eighteenth-century see Hillary Davidson, *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019).

³⁹ Invoices from Madame Banes, 1831 - 1837, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664; Invoices from Richard, 1831-1845, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/ 2201.

⁴⁰ Invoice from Monsieur White, Louis-Philippe valet, for "Expenses for the Service of his Majesty for goods sent from London," 14 December 1832, AN O/4/138. Invoice from Storr, Mortimer, and Hunt, 1844, AN O/4/2200; Invoice from Mr. Houldworth from Manchester, March 1836, AN O/4/2258.

clothing and refurbishing older garments between 1831 and 1846.⁴¹ He showed the same type of dedication to most of the businesses he purchased from, often only switching when a business closed. Louis-Philippe was a longtime customer of the hat maker Alexandre Vernier, who had also made hats for his Bourbon cousins, until 1840 when Vernier closed his store.⁴² In the late-1830s, Louis-Philippe did abandon Madame Banes in the Palais Royal, and he and the rest of his family began purchasing their *nouveautés* from Mlle. Aminthe Leigoyné. Her store was located at 102 Rue de Richelieu closer to the Boulevards des Italiens and the Chaussée d'Antin.⁴³ During the 1830s, the fashion press shifted its attention from detailing the fashions of the aristocratic circles on the Left Bank of the Seine and began to focus on covering the fashions emanating from the new shops in the commercial district around the Chaussée d'Antin. This shift in the press contributed to the emergence of a new center of fashion away from the Palais Royal.⁴⁴ The change to the new store on a more fashionable street suggests that the royal family was eager to remain up to date while still engaging in expected practices. Louis-Philippe also sampled, at least on one occasion, the goods of the up-and-coming *magasins de nouveautés* when in 1835 he purchased cravats, handkerchiefs, and 'ready-made' shirts from *Aux Quatres frères* on the Rue Saint-Honoré.⁴⁵ Louis-Philippe's invoices show he could follow trends while building long-term relationships with artisans and businesses.

Louis-Philippe's dedication to artisans and business over his eighteen-year reign suggest that he operated within a community of dress, one that was in some ways limited by his unique

⁴¹ Invoices from Ebeling et Cie, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

⁴² Invoices for Vernier, 1831-1840, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858.

⁴³ Invoices from Madame Banes, 1831-1837 AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664; Invoices from Mlle Leigoyné, 1838 – 1846, AN O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

⁴⁴ Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 47; Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 66-67.

⁴⁵ Invoice from *Aux Quatre frères*, 7 January 1835, AN O/4/1545.

position as monarch. When he became king, Louis-Phillipe set out to completely reform the royal court. The decision to reform was a response to the rigidity and formality of Charles X's court, where the family treated courtiers like servants and the king forbade members of the royal family from *tutoying* each other in front of the king.⁴⁶ At first Louis-Philippe disbanded the use of uniforms at court, including for servants as well as government ministers. This was in an attempt to create a much more informal court.⁴⁷ He and his family had an entourage made up of prominent families from the Old Regime aristocracy as well as Napoleonic *arrivistes*. Some did serve in the royal household, but the king and queen took a keen interest in managing the family's domestic habits, which included building their children's wardrobes as well as supervising their education.⁴⁸ His reforms also included disbanding many of the divisions within the royal household as well as the appointed positions reserved for close and high ranking courtiers. Louis-Philippe did not have a Grand Chamberlain or a First Gentlemen in his court. The lack of a Grand Chamberlin is significant because it was the Grand Chamberlain who was responsible for maintaining the king's wardrobe as well as organizing the coronation.⁴⁹ In 1832 when Louis-Philippe was facing push-back from conservatives, the government reintroduced liveries in the Tuileries. Evidence from the invoices suggests that paying for the wardrobes of his employees was Louis-Philippe's responsibility. The two "*garçons du bureau*" attached to the *Cabinet du Roi*, for example, were given a 400 franc yearly-allowance to cover the cost of purchasing new or refurbishing their uniforms. The linen draper M. Lohier, the tailor M. Berthelou, and the hat maker M. Hurel were enlisted year after year to supply fabrics and make

⁴⁶ Mansel, *The Court of France*, 160-61.

⁴⁷ Franconie, *Le Lys et la cocarde*, 72-73.

⁴⁸ Franconie, *Le Lys et la cocarde*, 73-76 ; Thibaut Trétout, "Louis-Philippe et la cour," in *La dignité de roi: Regards sur la royauté au premier XIXe siècle*, ed. Hélène Becquet and Bettina Frederking (Rennes: Presse universitaires de Rennes, 2009); "Dépenses de la Reine," AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609.

⁴⁹ Trétout, "Louis-Philippe et la cour," 128.

garments for Louis-Philippe's manservants.⁵⁰ However, Louis-Philippe did not go on to appoint a Grand Chamberlin. Louis-Philippe had no coronation, and his wardrobe was presumably left to trusted personal servants such as his longtime valet Monsieur White.⁵¹

Known for prizing routines and regularity, perhaps Louis-Philippe sometimes went on errands for himself. In one anecdote from 1831, the poet Alfred de Vigny remembered being invited to dinner at the Palais Royal to dine with the Queen and her family. Vigny had expected to first encounter the king in the family salon before proceeding to dinner, but Vigny had actually met the king on his way into the Palais Royal. The king was running late, he had been out, and he needed to rush in and change. Vigny remembered that his waistcoat was unbuttoned.⁵² Having grown accustomed while in England and during the Restoration to living like an ordinary elite gentleman his personal habits perhaps changed less than expected. What is more likely is that Louis-Philippe's wardrobe was managed by one or more personal servants who perhaps shopped for the king or at the least liaised between the king and the businesses that dressed him.

Louis-Philippe's community of dress was certainly unique, but the archives of the royal household suggest that the family continued to engage in other practices that formed communities of dress such as the giving and exchanging of clothing goods. In August 1832, Louis-Philippe's hat maker Monsieur Vanier created a cap for the king. In the invoice, the hat maker identified the cap was "embroidered by Her Royal Majesty Madame Adélaïde."⁵³ The king's sister, Madame Adélaïde, had embroidered a fabric that was then shaped and turned into a cap for the king. Historians of North America and Europe have shown that embroidering was a

⁵⁰ Invoices from Hurel, 1832-1834, "Dépenses personnelles du Roi."

⁵¹ AN O/4/1336.

⁵² Martin-Fugier, *La Vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris*, 65.

⁵³ "Brodée par S. A. R. madame Adélaïde," Invoice from Vanier, 1832, AN O/4/1388.

favorite pastime of elite women, and that women often gave embroideries as gifts to their family members, friends, and associates.⁵⁴ Louis-Philippe and his sister continued to engage in the practices of gift giving that were central to communities of dress.

Louis Philippe's spending habits also indicate he too sought out high-quality, fashionable goods when he visited his long-time suppliers. He spent roughly .1% of his annual twelve million francs on personal spending related to his wardrobe and was therefore able to build a very large and luxurious one.⁵⁵ Though his Civil List of twelve million francs was a meager sum compared to those of his cousins, it was nonetheless enough for Louis-Philippe to dress like the wealthy bankers, industrialists, and elite consumers that were drawn to the fashionable neighborhoods around the Palais Royal. He did not shy away from expensive fabrics when visiting his tailor and ordered pants made from "super fine" fabrics, and wore redingotes made from expensive and imported Vicuña wool and completely lined in silk.⁵⁶ He also spared no expense on embellishments often adding velvet lapels and silk linings to woolen jackets. In 1841, for example, he purchased a black Vicuña redingote completely lined in silk and embellished with velvet lapels for one hundred and seventy-five francs.⁵⁷ This was in step with contemporary fashions. In April 1831 *La Mode* advertised men's frock coats with velvet collars in a fashion

⁵⁴ Amy Boyce Osaki, "A 'Truly Feminine Employment': Sewing and the Early Nineteenth Century Woman," *Winterthur Portfolio* 23 (1988): 225–241; Siegfried and Finkelberg, "Fashion in the Life of George Sand," 23–24.

⁵⁵ He commanded vast wealth like other kings, but because of the nature of the constitutional monarchy and his experiences as an exile, his wealth was not tied directly to the crown, and in fact he worked diligently to keep the royal finances and the Orléans finances separate. When he became king, in order to maintain control of this wealth and not have it pass directly to the hands of the state, just before officially becoming King of the French on August 9, 1830, Louis-Philippe transferred ownership of these properties to his younger children on August 7, while retaining the right of use. In 1819 during Louis XVIII's illness, the Comte de Artois had set a precedent when he transferred his personal wealth to his second son the Duc de Berry. Baughman, "Financial Resources of Louis-Philippe," 68.

⁵⁶ Invoices from Ebeling et Cie, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

⁵⁷ Invoice for jacket purchased from Ebeling et Cie, 1841, AN O/4/1921.

plate (Figure 3.3).⁵⁸ The men in the fashion plate wear their dark green and black frock coats buttoned to the top of the neck with cream waistcoats, a high collar, and silk cravat. These are combined with white and light gray cashmere pants and black boots with spurs. Louis-Philippe's tailor's bill from 1831 also included the same cashmere pants, cream waistcoats and his bootmaker's bill included several pairs of black boots and galoshes as well as six pairs of gold spurs. Louis-Philippe, moreover, also wore black and white cravats as well as cream deer-skin gloves like those also worn in the



Figure 3.3 Paul Gavarni, “La Mode – Habits à collet de velours et a manches courtes de M. Caillet rue des Moulins, 6 – Pantalons de Casimir,” *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol. 7 (April 1831), pl. 18.

fashion plate.⁵⁹ Throughout the July Monarchy Louis-Philippe followed fashion trends. Louis-

⁵⁸ Paul Gavarni, “La Mode – Habits à collet de velours et a manches courtes de M. Caillet rue des Moulins, 6 – Pantalons de Casimir,” *La Mode: Revue du monde élégant*, vol. 7 (April 1831), pl. 18.

⁵⁹ Invoices from 1831, AN O/4/1336.

Philippe's shirt, for example, almost always included batiste jabots, a decorative frill that hangs from the throat, which fashion magazines frequently advertised.⁶⁰ In 1837 for example, the fashion magazine *Le Follet*, wrote that the "jabot was certainly a great favorite."⁶¹ When visiting his bootmaker and cobbler, Louis-Philippe also indulged in expensive materials such as Moroccan leather, which was reserved for only the most expensive shoes. Between 1831 and 1846, he purchased sixty-two new pairs of boots, thirty of them were "tall ordinary" Moroccan leather boots purchased for fifty five francs per pair; he also purchased some patent Moroccan leather boots for eighty francs per pair, short Moroccan patent varnished booties for sixty francs, and even Moroccan leather slippers.⁶² Moroccan leather or *maroquin* (as it appears in the receipts) was made from the hides of sheep and goats of North Africa. Due to its suppleness, radiance, flexibility, and durability, *maroquin* was used for book binding and shoe making. The trade manual, *Manuel du Bottier et du Cordonnier*, stated that it was not used more often because of its high price.⁶³

Like his contemporaries, Louis-Philippe relied on credit to build his very large and luxurious wardrobe. That being said, unlike many of his contemporaries, his debts were always paid on time because the Royal Household's internal bureaucracy processed payments on a six-month schedule. The men and women who did business with the king submitted invoices to the Royal Household twice a year: once in June and once in December. Invoices and the Royal Household's accounting refer to two "semesters." The business all followed this pattern for the

⁶⁰ Cole Shaun, *L'Histoire des Sous-Vêtements Masculins* (Parkstone, 2010), 34.

⁶¹ *Le Follet, Courrier des salons, journal des modes*, August 6, 1837, 42.

⁶² Receipts from the Van Daelen, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

⁶³ J. Morin, *Manuel du bottier et du cordonnier* (Paris: Librairie Encyclopédique de Robert, 1831), 87.

most part.⁶⁴ Whether the invoices were submitted at the end of a semester or after several years they followed the same route once given to the Royal Household. Monsieur White, Louis-Philippe's longtime valet was the first to examine the invoices and he was charged with certifying the expenses, after which they were sent to the "head of the expense division [*chef de la divisions du dépense*]" who again certified the invoices. The division head tallied the totals and submitted a report describing the different expenses to the Treasurer of the Royal Household responsible for the office that issued the payments. The division head then sent businesses a letter informing them that their payment was authorized and waiting at the Louvre, where the royal treasury was housed. Once the government paid the funds, the treasurer recorded the spending in the royal registers that tracked the monarchy's spending both on personal matters and office business. The entire process took about two months. Though Louis-Philippe had a bureaucracy behind him managing his personal spending and his various debts, the logic underlying the cycle mirrored that of his contemporaries, in particular, the importance of credit in keeping the cycle moving.

While Louis-Philippe could maintain a very large and expensive wardrobe, he also engaged in the same practices as ordinary elite French men, such as having items refurbished instead of buying new. According to the historian Farid Chenoune, the cost of new fabric and new garments made refurbishing old clothing a staple of the tailor's trade and even the wealthiest clientele had clothing refurbished.⁶⁵ Thus Louis-Philippe sometimes preferred to have his tailor alter his clothing when he gained weight. On seventy-nine occasions Ebeling charged Louis-

⁶⁴An exception was the king's gunsmith Monsieur Lepage, who submitted his invoices in 1834, 1839, 1840, 1844, and 1846 once the king and his family had accrued significant debts over the course of several years. Invoices from Lepage, 1834 and 1846, AN O/4/1492/, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/2200, O/4/2258.

⁶⁵ Farid Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 46.

Philippe for “having expanded” garments.⁶⁶ In 1833 alone the king had thirty-four pairs of pants let out.⁶⁷ The invoices from his tailor are filled with terms and phrases such as: “elongate,” “close hole,” “repair seams,” “rearrange linings,” “attach buttons,” and “refurbish like new.” Even hats could be refurbished. Vernier refurbished hats on thirty-five occasions for Louis-Philippe; he replaced silk linings and cockades, fixed frayed edges, removed stains, and whitened feathers.⁶⁸ When it came to shoes, Van Daelen supplied new heels for twenty-nine pairs of boots, galoshes, and shoes. Men and women’s shoes, especially slippers, brodequins, and dress shoes (*souliers*) needed to be repaired or replaced with much frequency in the first-half of the nineteenth-century. Shoes that were made with soft and elegant fabrics like women’s slippers, men’s slippers, and brodequins would often become filthy. Cobblers also had to replace wooden heel on nonetheless sturdy leather boots.⁶⁹ In total, over the course of fifteen years, Louis-Philippe had the Van Daelen brothers refurbish fifty-eight pairs of boots and twenty-three pairs of *brodequins*, twenty-eight pairs of galoshes, fourteen-pairs of shoes, and six pairs of slippers.⁷⁰ Louis-Philippe acted in the same manner as his contemporaries and understood the value of having clothing and accessories refurbished.

Louis-Philippe’s invoices also demonstrate how the wardrobes of even important men, like the king, were bound to the more mundane nuances involved in the making and purchasing of new garments in the era before ready-to-wear. Louis-Philippe’s garments required that

⁶⁶ “Avoir élargi,” Invoices from Ebeling et Cie, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

⁶⁷ Invoices from Ebeling et Cie, 1833, Invoices from Ebeling et Cie, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1445.

⁶⁸ Invoices for Vernier, 1831-1840, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921

⁶⁹ Giorgio Riello, *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers, and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth-Century* (Oxford: Pasold Research Fund/ Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷⁰ Invoices for Van-Daelen brothers, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

someone visited multiple shops or met with multiple artisans to put together the materials and pieces needed to make his custom garments. The task perhaps was left to his longtime personal servant Monsieur White. In 1831, it was White who purchased Louis-Philippe underclothes.⁷¹ The Van Daelen brothers charged Louis-Philippe separately for new galoshes and the spurs he wanted attached to them. The galoshes were twenty-five francs, silver spurs were fifteen francs, and the brothers charged an additional three francs for “mounting spurs.”⁷² Louis Philippe’s receipts for military headgear illustrate how men needed to purchase several elements when ordering new military headgear. Louis-Philippe’s military headgear was constructed from a beaver fur base, silk crêpe edging, a three-branch silver or gold braid inlaid with sequins and a matching pair of (silver or gold) tassels, a silver silk cockade, and a white feather. The final price of the hat varied depending on the cost of the feather and whether the hat was embellished with gold or silver.⁷³ Prices also reflected the labor that went into making garments and accessories. In the invoices from his tailor Ebeling, the main difference between a sixty-franc pair of pants and twelve-franc pair of pants was that Ebeling supplied both the fabric and the labor used to make the first pair while Ebeling only “made” the second.⁷⁴ Ebeling was a merchant tailor, which meant he maintained a stock of fabric for customers to choose from when designing garments. Merchant tailors also offered to tailor garments from fabrics purchased elsewhere, such as at a linen draper’s shop.⁷⁵ When Ebeling made new uniforms for Louis-Philippe, he

⁷¹ Receipt from White detailing purchasing the king’s underwear and socks, 1831, AN O/4/1336.

⁷² “Une monture d’éperons,” Invoice for goods from the Van Daelen brothers, 1842, AN O/4/1978.

⁷³ The cost of feathers, in particular, could fluctuate. A new feather of “the first quality” was one hundred and seventy francs; on other occasions, Louis-Philippe had Vernier mount an older, but refurbished feather, for thirty to fifty francs onto a new hat. Invoices from Vernier, 1831-1840, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921.

⁷⁴ Ebeling used the term “façon” to indicate when he made something but did not supply the fabric. For example, in 1831, Ebeling charged Louis-Philippe twelve francs for “façon d’un pantalon de Lasting noir.” Invoice for goods purchased from Ebeling, 1831, AN O/4/1336.

⁷⁵ Christopher Johnson, “Economic Change and Artisan Discontent: The Tailors’ History, 1800-1848,” in *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic*, ed. Roger Price (London: Croom Helm, 1975), 90.

embellished them using embroideries and epaulets, belts, and decorative cords purchased from the king's longtime *passementier* Hebert and his son-in-law Bricard.⁷⁶ In Louis-Philippe's case one could presume that he was not actually the one going from store to store getting the necessary supplies, but nevertheless, his wardrobe was bound to the same practices as his contemporaries.

Louis-Philippe, furthermore, was a public figure and it is worth considering how his shopping practices were not only influenced by the consumer culture he lived in but also perhaps helped shape the contours of new retail and social practices. Louis-Philippe's extensive wardrobe reflects how the new constitutional monarchy sought to legitimize its reputation through the encouragement and support of French artisans, manufacturers, and businesses. Encouraging and promoting French luxury industries, in particular, had been a state policy in France since Louis XIV's reign. Louis XIV, for example, took a special interest in promoting the French silk and calico industry.⁷⁷ His successors continued to promote French luxury manufacturers and artisans. During the Napoleonic era, in particular, the state as well as the imperial family were invested in developing French industries that could compete with the British. Female consorts, especially Josephine, and later Empress Eugenie, were known to use French luxury fabrics and clothing as political tools that were meant to encourage support for the state and French businesses.⁷⁸ This politics of dress extended to male rulers, in particular, it extended to Louis-Philippe.

⁷⁶ Invoices from Hebert and Bricard, 1831-1843, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045.

⁷⁷ Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Elisabeth Mikosch, "The Manufacture and Trade of Luxury Textiles in the Age of Mercantilism," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, (1990): 56-58; Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 120-127; Jeffery Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1830* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006), 180-191.

⁷⁸ Susan L. Siegfried, "Fashion and the Reinvention of Court Costume;" Laure Chabanne, "Eugénie, impératrice de la mode?" in *Sous l'Empire des Crinolines* (Paris: Musée Galliera, 2009), Heather Belnap Jensen, "Parures, Pashminas, and Portraiture, or, How Joséphine Bonaparte Fashioned the Napoleonic Empire," in *Fashion in*

The case of his undergarments can shed some light on the matter. As previously mentioned, in 1831 Louis-Philippe had his personal servant purchase him English-made underwear and socks. After 1831, Louis-Philippe would only buy French made undergarments. While he perhaps had gotten used to English underwear since his time in exile, as King of the French perhaps he felt he needed to completely dress in French made goods.⁷⁹ There were moments when Louis-Philippe acted to encourage certain retail practices, especially those that benefitted the French economy and French businesses. Louis-Philippe publicly visited and shopped at the *Expositions des produits de l'industrie française*. From their inception the reigning monarch or head of state visited the exhibition and presided over the award ceremony at the end which demonstrates the government's desire to encourage individuals to visit the spectacles of industrial prowess. Louis-Philippe's and his family's visits to the exhibitions were frequently detailed in the French print media. While some parts of the fashion press disdained Louis-Philippe, he and his family (especially his oldest son) were important trend setters during this period: retailers actively sought to associate their products with the monarchy hoping that customers could be relied upon to turn to the king and his family as examples to follow when considering new clothing related purchases.⁸⁰ On the occasion of Louis-Philippe's visit to the Exposition of 1834, *La Mode* mockingly recounted how when the king was so impressed with a "beautiful fleece" from Saint-Ouen that he asked the wool merchant "who is the man who has shorn this sheep?" *La Mode* implied that these types of questions were beneath the dignity of a monarch, and they further mocked that the king would give this simple merchant the highest

European Art: Dress and Identity, Politics, and the Body, 1775 -1925, ed. Justine de Young (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 36-59.

⁷⁹ Invoices for undergarments, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

⁸⁰ Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 42.

honors or even make him prime minister.⁸¹ While *La Mode* told this anecdote to mock Louis-Philippe it does give us a glimpse of Louis-Philippe touring the exhibition, where he eventually purchased goods, including fabrics which were then used to make his clothing. While not perhaps from the fleece mentioned in the article from *La Mode*, his tailor made Louis-Philippe a new jacket in July 1834 from a woolen fabric presented at the 1834 Exhibition.⁸²

In 1844 when clothing had finally come into its own at the exhibition the royal family spent close to ten thousand francs on fabrics, embroideries, hats, and bonnets sent to the exposition. Queen Maria Amalia and the king's sister Madame Adélaïde toured the exhibition halls together in 1844 and through their guide, a Monsieur Malin, the women placed orders directly with manufacturers for thousands of francs worth of fabrics and clothing goods including linen fabrics, woolen fabrics, silks, calicos, as well as felts and embroideries. Monsieur Talbot a fabric manufacturer from Ambroise sold Queen Maria Amalia and Madame Adélaïde 1200 francs worth of felted fabrics. Another merchant, Achille Boissière, wrote to Monsieur Ledieux, an employee of the royal family, to explain that he had expedited the production of the specialty fabrics he had discussed with Madame la duchesse d'Orléans. It would not be long before the wife of the heir apparent received her specialty goods. The royal family's shopping habits at the Exposition, moreover, influenced the next Parisian season when "grand magasins de Paris" began selling dresses made in the same fabrics the Queen and princess purchased.⁸³

⁸¹ "Juillet a visité le salon n 3, il s'est arrêté surtout devant une belle toison de Saint-Ouen. Il a pris dans sa main cette laine longue et soyeuse, et comme l'innocent fabricant s'approchait pour recevoir un compliment de la bouche royale. – Je voudrais bien savoir, dit Juillet, qui a tendu cette brébis-là ! Vous verrez que Juillet lui donnera la croix ou la place de M. Thiers," *La Mode*, vol. 19, (April – July, 1834), 230.

⁸² Invoice from Ebeling and Cie, 1834, AN O/4/1492.

⁸³ "Frais de transport d'objets adressés à la famille royale, Exposition de 1844," AN F/12/5005/A; "Frais de transport d'objets adressés à la famille royale, Exposition de 1844," AN F/12/5005/A; Henriette Vanier, *La Mode et des métiers, Frivolités et lutes des classes, 1830-1870* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), 135.

The archival records of Louis-Philippe's civilian wardrobe as well as the iconography that features him in this clothing conjure up an image of a fairly typical elite man interested in using clothing to cut a certain figure: one who visually displays his identity as a respectable gentleman up to date on the latest fashions but also subdued in his display of his wealth. In the family portrait for Versailles, as well as in the half-length portrait, the regime was perhaps strategically putting out an image of the king that used clothing to embody the archetypal and idealized *père de famille*: one who was practiced in the ordinary and mundane aspects of his subject's lives but also a man ready to steward the country in the same manner that he leads his family. In presenting himself as an elite man dressed in contemporary fashion, Louis-Philippe could project a marketable image of the monarchy that was differentiated from its predecessors.

3.1.2 Uniforms and Staging the Monarchy

Military strategists, commentators, and government advocates have argued since the early modern period that uniforms encouraged discipline, courage, and a desirable *esprit de corps*, and European armies steadily adopted them between 1650 and 1720.⁸⁴ Uniforms soon became fashionable in elite circles across Europe; in France however, elites resisted the use of uniforms at court and in society until the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Eras. During the Napoleonic period, military as well as civilian uniforms proliferated in France. The Napoleonic period was also when France joined the ranks of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England of the "monarch[ies] in uniform." Napoleon was usually dressed in his uniform of the *chasseur à pied de la Garde Impériale*.⁸⁵ During the Restoration, Louis XVIII and Charles X, bound between a desire to regain and retain the traditions of the past while acknowledging the changes the Revolution wrought,

⁸⁴ Philip Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac, 1760-1830," *Past and Present*, issue 96 (1982): 103-106.

⁸⁵ Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac, 1760-1830," 121.

compromised with the introduction of the especially grand civilian and military uniforms: these combined the shape and fit of the modern uniforms with Old Regime excess in the form of gold and silver embroideries and an extravagant use of feathers.⁸⁶ Charles X in particular was a fan of his military uniforms and often appeared wearing the uniform of the *Garde royale* when performing his ceremonial duties (Figure 3.4). Charles X was also known for wearing his



Figure 3.4 Emile-Jean-Horace Vernet, *Revue de la garnison de Paris et de la Garde royale passé au Champs-de-Mars, 30 septembre 1824*, 1824. Oil on canvas, 389 cm x 325 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.

uniform to attend society events and expositions such as to attend a medical operation at a Parisian hospital, which was unusual in the period (Figure 3.5). Charles X's uniforms, however, were not meant to bring him any closer to his subjects, but rather to highlight his particular rank and importance. Unlike his cousins, Louis-Philippe's use of military uniforms in his portraits and in his daily life signaled his role as the physical manifestation of the national will that had led to his elevation to his current rank.

⁸⁶ Mansel, *Dressed to Rule*, 19, 20-30, 99-101, 119.



Figure 3.5 French School, *Cataract Operation Performed by Guillaume Dupuytren (1777-1835) in the Presence of King Charles X (1757-1836) at the Hotel Dieu*, ca. 1827, 375 x 540 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Images of the king as the commander-in-chief who embodied national prestige, honor, virility, and strength compliment those that positioned him as an ordinary gentleman. On the one hand, Louis-Philippe could not be painted in coronation regalia because he never had a coronation. On the other hand, Louis-Philippe's use of military uniforms in these portraits was strategic: they marked Louis-Philippe as different from his Bourbon cousins and the monarchy they represented; his was a constitutional monarchy, and he had sworn to protect the ideas and values that had resulted in his elevation. In 1833, Marthe Camille Bachasson, Count of Montalivet, who was Louis-Philippe's intendent of the Civil List, commissioned for the Prefecture de la Seine a full-length portrait of Louis-Philippe from François Gérard.⁸⁷ In the

⁸⁷ Franconie, *Le Lys et le cocarde*, 126.

painting that would eventually hang in the Hôtel de Ville, Gérard represented the king standing with his hand over the Charter of 1830 commemorating his promise to respect the founding document of the constitutional monarchy; the monarch's throne appears on a dais in the background embossed with the new regime's insignia (Figure 3.6). Gérard's painting was used



Figure 3.6 François Gérard, *Louis-Philippe Ier, Roi des Français, prête serment sur la Charte*. 1833. Oil on canvas, 222 cm x 156 cm. Musée national du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.

as a model for copies that Montalivet also commissioned for other public buildings.⁸⁸

In 1839, the king instructed his government to commission the fashionable painter Franz Xaver Winterhalter to paint a new portrait of the king, as well as a painting of his wife

(Figure 3.7). Taken with the artist, Louis-Philippe wanted a new portrait that could serve as a model for others.⁸⁹ The portrait of

the king in military uniform would be the model for over 200 copies sent across France, Europe, and North America.⁹⁰ In

both portraits, Gérard and Winterhalter effectively channeled symbols of the French monarchy, while embracing the new symbols

that emphasized the unique aspects of the July Monarchy. Gérard's 1814 and 1825 portraits of

⁸⁸ "Proposition de faire réaliser par le Baron Gérard une répétition du « Portrait en pied du Roi » qu'il a exécuté pour la Préfecture du Département de la Seine, afin qu'elle serve de type pour les commandes de copies," 31 March 1834, AN P22 20144790/60.

⁸⁹ "Commande à M. Winterhalter François des « portraits en pied du roi » et de « Mme la Duchesse d'Orléans avec le Comte de Paris »,» 12 March 1839, AN P22 20144790/61.

⁹⁰ Franconie, *Le Lys et le cocarde*, 320.



Figure 3.7 Franz-Xaver Winterhalter, *Louis-Philippe I, King of the French and the Charter of 1830*, 1839. Oil on canvas, 260 cm x 190 cm. Musée national du Château de Versailles.

Louis XVIII and Charles X followed the conventions associated with formal portraits commemorating a coronation. In these highly staged and practiced scenes, both kings dressed in blue velvet and ermine coronation robes embellished with gold embroidered *fleur de lis* (Figures 3.8 and 3.9).⁹¹ While Louis XIII is seated and Charles X is standing, they both hold onto their scepters as their crowns and the hands of justice rest atop cushions to the left of the two kings; the portrait includes all of the traditional symbols of the Old Regime.⁹² By comparison, in his portrait of Louis-Philippe, Winterhalter strategically staged the painting to emphasize

the foundational symbols of the new regime, while also including the those of the old one. Louis-Philippe stands beside a closed copy of the Charter of 1830 with his hand resting on top of it and the gardens of his estate Saint Cloud appear in the background. The crown, scepter, and hand of justice are relegated to a minor position behind the Charter. While Winterhalter incorporated

⁹¹ Christopher Lloyd, "Portraits of Sovereigns and Heads of State," in *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution 1760-1830*, ed. Sébastien Allard, Robert Rosenblum, Guilhem Scherf, and MaryAnne Stevens (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 2007), 60-64.

⁹² Muriel Vigié, *Le Portrait officiel en France du Ve au XXe siècle* (Paris: Éditions FVW: 2000), 103, 107, 108 ; Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoléon, Ingres and David* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 2-7, 24-25.



Figure 3.8 François Gérard, *Louis XVIII, Roi de France et de Navarre*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 320 cm x 230 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.

iconographic elements from previous royal portraits, the symbol of the constitutional monarchy, in particular the Charter and a strategic use of military uniforms, overshadow the older symbols.

In Gérard's portrait, Louis-Philippe is deliberately dressed in the uniform of the National Guard in a show of solidarity with the non-noble men that made up the armed militia, and who had served as his political base at the outset of the July Monarchy. Showing the willingness to be represented in the uniform of the National Guard was in and of itself a huge departure from the actions of his cousins. Louis XVI, for example, had

only reluctantly worn the red and gold National Guard uniform introduced in 1790, and eventually Charles X would disband the National Guard. Winterhalter, moreover, painted Louis-Philippe donning his Lieutenant General of the Kingdom uniform, the sartorial manifestation of the official position he was given before being pronounced King of the French during the July Revolution.⁹³ The two portraits are significant because they use military uniforms, to project the legitimacy of the monarchy in two different but similar ways. In the first, the National Guard's uniform draws a connection between his moment of elevation and the men who provided the

⁹³ H. A. C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France* (London: Longman, 1988), 30.



Figure 3.9 François Gérard, *Charles X, Roi de France*, 1824. Oil on canvas, 276 cm x 202 cm. Musée nationale du Château de Versailles, Versailles, France.

political support to make it possible (at least ideologically). The second portrait used the uniform of the rank he was given during a moment of turmoil, and the rank that made him different from his predecessors.

But if the monarchy was to keep and even expand the use of uniforms, they needed to be different from the uniforms of the Bourbon Restoration. During the July Monarchy, the regime simplified military uniforms, and for a time, stopped the use of the civilian uniforms at court, which has been used to argue that Louis-Philippe and

his regime were stepping back from uniforms.⁹⁴ However, evidence from his portraits, his inventories, and military records, indicates that far from abandoning military and civilian uniforms, the July Monarchy's modifications were perhaps meant to create a new sartorial connection between the monarch and the French people.

Louis-Philippe's government simplified uniforms across the board. In particular, the government pulled back on the amount of elaborate gold and silver embroidery that decorated

⁹⁴ Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 88.

uniforms, which had multiplied during the Restoration.⁹⁵ The French government took a keen interest in uniforms over the course of the July Monarchy and made a concerted effort to encourage the use and conformity of the uniform of the National Guard after it was reinstated soon after the regime change. In 1831, the government introduced a new uniform that conformed for the most part to the uniform used at the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration. The Ordinance of March 21, 1831, mandated the use of four different types of uniforms: a formal (*grande*) and informal (*petite*) summer uniform and a formal and informal winter uniform. The ordinance also outlined the type of footwear, headgear, and equipment the members were required to purchase.⁹⁶

These uniforms consisted of multiple jackets and pants embellished with elaborate decorations and the need to purchase four different uniforms meant that they were relatively expensive, as such, very few men other than Louis-Philippe actually owned all of the required pieces; even Charlemagne de Maupas did not purchase all of the required items. This was a problem for the July Monarchy and the officer corps of the National Guard that insisted on the use of the uniform in order to bring a sense of unity and cohesion to the ranks of the militia. In 1837, the government went so far as to pass a new law that made the uniform mandatory. The law, however, did not appear to government officials to have been successful, and in 1846, the government issued a final ordinance simplifying the uniform to one blue tunic that would be worn by every member of the National Guard, and resembled the blue tunics worn by the army. The new jacket, according to the Duchatel, the Minister of the Interior, conserved the national

⁹⁵ Philip Mansel, *The Court of France, 1789-1830* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 150-160 -191; Anne Martin-Fugier, *La Vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris, 1815-1848* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 40-43.

⁹⁶ Le Capitaine Herlaut, *La Garde nationale. Son histoire, ses uniformes (1789-1871)* (Paris: musée de l'Enseignement public de Paris, 1913), 18.

dignity and honor associated with the uniform while making it more economically feasible for the men who had to wear them.⁹⁷

Army uniforms went through a similar process during the July Monarchy as they both became simpler but also proliferated. Military uniforms had become de rigueur in France after the Napoleonic era, and would remain an important part of elite wardrobes through World War I.⁹⁸ In order to distance the French army from the excesses of the Bourbon Restoration, embroideries across the army were simplified or even abandoned (and they would not come back in full force until the Second Empire).⁹⁹ But uniforms did not disappear, and as new regiments were established to fight in North Africa, new uniforms were also designed and commissioned. For example, in January 1832, the army created the new cavalry unit the “Chasseurs d’Afrique,” and at the same time, established a new uniform for the riders. The Duc de Nemours, Louis-Philippe’s second son and heir after the death of the Ferdinand Philippe, 1842, took a personal interest in military uniforms. In 1844 when the army began a project to create better models of the current uniforms to propose alterations, Nemours presented the committee in charge with his personal notes on how the uniforms should be designed. Nemours commented on the fabric choices, the collar heights, button suggestions, and the feasibility of the project.¹⁰⁰ These various efforts on the part of the government represented an effort to streamline, simplify, and expand

⁹⁷ “la nationalité de l’ancienne, et en ne faisant subir à l’uniforme que les seuls changements [*sic*] qui puissent se concilier avec le double intérêt de l’économie et d’utilité.” Garde National de Paris, *Ordonnance relative au nouvel uniforme, suivie des principales dispositions des lois des 21 mars 1831 et 14 juillet 1837* (Paris: Bureaux du Siècle, 1846), 3-23.

⁹⁸ Alison Matthew David, “Decorated Men: Fashioning the French Soldier, 1852-1914,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2003): 3-38.

⁹⁹ Henri Bouchot, *Épopée du costume militaire française* (Paris: L.H. May, 1898), 130-133; Henri Defontaine, *Du Costume civil officiel et de l’uniforme militaires des officiers à la Cour ou auprès des Chefs d’État française depuis 1804 à nos jours* (Paris: A Geoffroy, 1908), 58-62.

¹⁰⁰ “Commission des modèles. Notes remises par S. A. R. Monsieur le Duc de Nemours,” 15 Septembre 1844, SHD GR XS 533.

the use of military uniforms as a means of creating uniformity within the army: it was also an attempt to refashion what it meant to look like a French man.

These various efforts on the part of the government to streamline uniforms represented an attempt to simplify and expand the use of uniforms to create uniformity within the army and National Guard. In doing so, the regime attempted to refashion what it meant to look like a French man as well as create a new sartorial connection between the monarch and his subjects, especially the non-noble businessmen, clerks, artisans, journalists, who had supported his regime from the beginning and would have been expected to fill the ranks of the National Guard, and to signal his relationship to the French military and soldiers engaged in the colonization of Algeria. Over the course of his reign, he purchased twelve new National Guard and twenty-four military uniforms from his tailor Ebeling; he also had the tailor either enlarge or repair twenty-five of those uniforms.¹⁰¹ The sheer number of uniforms and how often they were refurbished speaks to how Louis-Philippe regularly turned to them for public engagements, such as presenting awards and reviewing troops, was an effort to project an image of himself as the commander-in-chief who embodied desired masculine attributes, especially virility, strength, military might and national prestige.

3.2 The Maupas Community of Dress

In 1867 Napoleon III promoted his long-time ally Charlemagne de Maupas to the *Grand-Croix* of the Legion of Honor. De Maupas had been first named to the Legion of Honor in 1849 when he joined the Bonapartist party.¹⁰² Soon after his promotion almost twenty years later,

¹⁰¹ Invoices from Ebeling et Cie, 1831-1846, AN O/4/1336, O/4/1388, O/4/1445, O/4/1492, O/4/1545, O/4/1609, O/4/1664, O/4/1728, O/4/1795, O/4/1858, O/4/1921, O/4/1978, O/4/2045, O/4/2200, O/4/2201, O/4/2258.

¹⁰² Louis-Napoléon first named Maupas a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1849. He was subsequently promoted to Commander on March 2, 1852; on August 14, 1862, he was promoted to Grand-Officer, and later on December 28 1866, he was promoted to the Grand-Croix. "Reconstitution des matricules," AN LH/1799/32.

Charlemagne de Maupas posed for a portrait in Pierre-Louis Pierson's studio with his sash and medal prominently displayed against his dark formal suit (Figure 3.10). Pierson was the



Figure 3.10 Pierre-Louis Pierson, *Portrait de Charlemagne Emile de Maupas (1818-1888), Administrateur et homme politique*, after 1867. Albumen print, 8.7 cm x 5.4 (image), 10.2 cm x 6.4 cm (mounting). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

emperor's preferred photographer and portraitist, the perfect man to capture the image of an ally of the emperor at the height of his career. Charlemagne de Maupas was a man on the rise in the mid-nineteenth century. His biographer Claude Vigoureux described him as a man of wealth and ability but lacking a noble title, which initially prevented him from reaching the top social circles.¹⁰³ He was the scion of a wealthy provincial family that was part of the "upper echelons of the peasantry."¹⁰⁴ His family's wealth, which was accrued from landownership and lucrative legal careers, and his wife Irène Guillemot's connections, Charlemagne de Maupas was able to

¹⁰³ Vigoureux, *Maupas*, 301.

¹⁰⁴ Maurice Agulhon, "Les transformations du monde paysan," *Histoire de la France rurale, Apogée et crise de la civilisation paysanne*, vol. 3, ed. George Duby (Paris: Seuil, 1992), 458-460.

enter the Ministry of the Interior as a sub-prefect in 1844 after studying law in Paris.¹⁰⁵ Despite his wealth and because of his provincial and common status the doors of elite French society were not necessarily open to him. But he was an ambitious man, and in the 1840s he was anxious to be part of *le monde*. He very much enjoyed the opportunities he had to participate in the nineteenth century forms of elite and urban sociability. During the July Monarchy, he went so far as to fabricate a noble lineage and adopted the particle “de” in order to open more doors.¹⁰⁶ A conservative, the Revolution of 1848 and subsequent establishment of the Second Republic disillusioned him and he left the Ministry of the Interior in 1848; eventually, he returned to the government after the election of President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, whom he knew personally in 1849. In 1851, Bonaparte moved Maupas to Paris to serve as the head of the police. It was in his capacity as Prefect of Police that he helped orchestrate Bonaparte’s successful coup on December 2, 1851. Afterwards, Louis-Napoléon promoted Maupas to Minister of Police, but then removed him from the post in 1852 and made him senator for life in the upper house of the French legislature. Charlemagne de Maupas held onto his position as senator until 1876. During his tenure as senator, he worked as a diplomat in Naples and as the administrator of the Bouches-du-Rhône department where he oversaw the modernization of Marseille between 1860 and 1866.¹⁰⁷

Soon after his time in Marseille, Maupas posed for his portrait in Pierson’s studio. His dress speaks to his prestigious position and influence: his dark suit and white shirt are accented with a sash and medal of the Legion of Honor, the symbols of his status and prestige.

¹⁰⁵ Alexandre Niess, “Capital familial et réseaux politiques de Charlemagne Émile de Maupas,” *Histoire, économie & société*, no. 2 (2015): 29-41.

¹⁰⁶ Vigoureux, *Maupas*, 21.

¹⁰⁷ Vigoureux, *Maupas*, 20-34; Noet Laurent, “Le grand œuvre architectural de Maupas: la Préfecture des Bouches-du-Rhône,” *Histoire, économie & société*, vol. 34 (2015): 88-101.

Strategically dressed in a sensible suit decorated with his medal, he crafted an image with the photographer of himself that conveyed to viewers his position within the imperial government, and on a more general level, his privileged social position. By the time he had posed for this portrait, he was well versed in the strategic importance of clothing and understood that fashioning the right image was central to positioning himself within his social sphere as well as in front of the French public.

Throughout the July Monarchy and Second Empire Charlemagne de Maupas played a central role in a “community of dress” that was called upon to dress himself and his family members. From their invoices, it is clear that Monsieur and Madame de Maupas, and eventually his daughters, were intent on participating in the fashion culture of nineteenth century France. In order to dress the part, they relied on an extensive network of artisans, laborers, businesses, as well as servants, friends, and family members. This community was used to help make purchases, make and design garments, as well as maintain and refurbish the family’s wardrobe. Men like Maupas played an active role in these communities because dress played an essential role in how individuals navigated the social and political culture of the mid-nineteenth century. Through dressing themselves and managing the dress of their family and friends, such men mobilized social and business connections to create their social identity as well as those of their family members and associates.

3.2.1 Dissecting a Community of Dress

De Maupas’s invoices suggest that sartorial consumption in the mid-nineteenth century was not simply a transaction between an anonymous customer and an anonymous employee, but rather, it was a practice that was built on long-lasting working relationships. As a family, the Maupas visited and made purchases and kept invoices from 154 fashion related businesses

between 1839 and 1868.¹⁰⁸ The Maupas community of dress extended across the continental France, though Paris was the central node in the extensive network. They displayed a keen preference for goods from the most fashionable districts in urban centers in Paris, Marseille, and the various cities and towns they lived in during his government career. When in Paris, whether as a law student or senator, Maupas stuck to the fashionable districts on the Right and Left banks of the Seine. He visited tailors, shirt makers, cobblers, hat makers, collar and glove manufacturers, specialty garment dealers, gunsmiths, linen drapers, and eventually department stores around the Palais Royal, the Boulevard des Italiens, the Faubourg St. Honoré, and along the Rue du Bac in the Faubourg St. Germain. When he was in Marseille full-time, he showed the same preference for stores on the Rue St. Ferréol and the Rue de Rome, the main thoroughfares in the city.

While Paris was always a bright spot on the map of French fashion, provincial communities also had opportunities to participate in the fashion culture. The Maupas family was no different, and they also formed relationships with artisans and businesses in provincial communities. On the one hand, Irène visited her family in Dijon (where her father was the president of the *cour d'appel*) every summer. In Dijon, she was able to maintain relationships with merchants from the local community. In the summer of 1862, Irène traveled by train with her two daughters and a servant to Dijon where they stayed for the month of August. While on the visit, she along with her daughters, visited a cobbler, a linen draper, and a jeweler to make several purchases. The merchants she visited in 1862 were the same places she went on previous

¹⁰⁸ I examined 2524 invoices spread out between six boxes in the Series 607AP in the French National Archives; of those 2524 invoices, roughly a ¼ of those invoices were related to the family wardrobe. Invoices for personal spending between 1839 and 1868, AN 607AP/12, 607AP/13, 607AP/14, 607AP/15, 607AP/16, 607AP/17. There are receipts from the Third Republic that were not part of this study in a separate box, AN 607AP/18.

visits and where should continue to shop on future trips to Dijon in 1863 and 1864.¹⁰⁹ De Maupas, on the other hand, visited tailors in Uzès, Beaune, and Moulins while stationed in those communities in the 1840s. He mostly relied on these tailors to refurbish garments. On occasions he would have them make new garments for himself and his manservants, but typically he waited until he made a visit to Paris and Boussart to commission new garments.¹¹⁰ Some of the stores made and sold gender specific items and therefore Charlemagne, Irène, and the girls visited some stores more than others. He spent over 26,000 francs on clothing from tailors and menswear retailers over a thirty-year period, and he only purchased one woman's garment, an *amazone* riding skirt in 1843 for 200 francs – the skirt was presumably for his wife as it was common for tailors to make riding suits for women, which was often the only women's garment they made.¹¹¹ There were invoices from dressmakers, a “woman's tailor,” *modistes*, and corset makers that worked exclusively with the Maupas women.¹¹² Some businesses provided goods for all of the members of the family, such as Monsieur Boos and Monsieur Keppeler who invoiced Maupas for shoes they made and refurbished. Both Boos and Keppeler labeled certain items with the identifiers “monsieur,” “madame” and “mlle” during the 1850s and 1860s. These labels indicated which of the family members had been served.¹¹³ While particular items and stores are gender specific, the act of shopping itself was something for everyone in the family.

Maupas's longest working relationship was with his Parisian tailor Monsieur Boussart, who owned an atelier on the Rue des Filles St. Thomas. Boussart advertised that his store was

¹⁰⁹ Invoices related to Irène's voyages to Dijon, 1861-1864, AN 607AP/15, 607AP/16

¹¹⁰ Invoices from tailors in Uzès, Beaune, and Moulins, 1845-1851, AN 607AP/14.

¹¹¹ Invoice from Boussart, 7 June 1843, AN 607/AP/14.

¹¹² Invoices for goods purchased by Irène, Marguerite, and Gabrielle, 1843-1869, AN 607AP/13, 607AP/14, 607AP/15, 607AP/16, 607AP/17.

¹¹³ Invoice for goods purchased for Monsieur, Mlles, and Domestiques from Boos, 1859, AN 607AP/15. Invoice for goods purchased for the whole family from Keppeler, 1863, AN 607AP/16.

“close to the Bourse.”¹¹⁴ According to Boussart’s invoice from 1840, Charlemagne de Maupas had been visiting him since at least 1839. Boussart invoiced him for seventeen francs that remained to be paid for 1839.¹¹⁵ At the time, Maupas was a law student, and he lived close by on the Rue d’Alger. As a result of his career and marriage, Maupas moved across the river to the other side of Paris, and subsequently around France. Nevertheless, he continued to visit his tailor Monsieur Boussart on the Rue des Filles St. Thomas until 1860.¹¹⁶ He also formed relationships with other tailors both in Paris and in other French cities, but he did not stop visiting Boussart until he moved to Marseille in 1860. In Marseille he formed a working relationship with a new tailor, Monsieur Hubert de Vautier.¹¹⁷ On some occasions, however, Maupas visited stores only once or twice to purchase specialty items. In 1852 and 1853, he visited two different britches-makers in Paris to purchase several pairs of deer-skin hunting britches from each. According to his invoices, he never returned to those establishments.¹¹⁸ While the Maupas family visited a large number of stores and business they also managed to establish long-lasting relationships with artisans and their businesses returning month after month, year after year.

Tailors were not necessarily close friends of their client, but they did know their customers on a more intimate basis because communities of dress were visible and known to the participants. Monsieur Choiselat, for example, knew that if he sent a message through St. Albin, Maupas’s friend in the community, it would reach his client Monsieur de Maupas. The social ties between the people who patronized the same establishments and the artisans and shopkeepers

¹¹⁴ “Près de la Bourse,” Invoice for good purchased from Boussart, 1840, AN 607AP/14.

¹¹⁵ Invoice for good purchased from Boussart, 1840, 1840, AN 607AP/14.

¹¹⁶ The last invoice Charlemagne received from Boussart was in 1861 for purchased made in 1860 and debts left over from 1859, AN 607AP/15.

¹¹⁷ He also frequented the ateliers of a Monsieur Pomadère between 1850 and 1856 and Chevreuil et Cie in 1852. Invoices from Pomadère, 1850, 1856, AN 607AP/14; Invoice from Chevreuil et Cie, 1852, AN 607AP/14. Invoice from Hubert de Vautier, 1861, AN 607AP/15.

¹¹⁸ Invoice from Sutton, 1852-1853, AN 607AP/14; Invoice from A la culotte anglaise, 1853, AN 607AP/14.

who operated them were known to each other and were an integral part of how these communities functioned.

Dressing in the nineteenth century was also a family affair, and while women were often responsible for organizing and planning for a new garment, men too were involved. In the Maupas's case, Irène was clearly responsible for purchasing the majority of the fabrics necessary for her own garments as well as those of her two daughters. Over 80% of the invoices kept between 1840 and 1868 for fabrics purchased from linen-drapers, *magasin de nouveautés*, and eventually department stores are in Irène's name. De Maupas visited the same retailers Irène did and purchased fabrics in his own name. But his invoices as well as hers show they both purchased fabrics for everyone in the family. They both purchased the entire gamut of fabrics available from woolen clothes for jackets, silks for waistcoats and frocks, cashmeres, cottons, percales, as well as accessories like ribbons.¹¹⁹

De Maupas did not merely visit a tailor and purchase fashionable garments, he was part of the design process. He understood the difference between fabrics, and he had his own opinions about which would be the best for his garments. In 1861 after Charlemagne de Maupas was named the administrator of the Bouches-du-Rhône department and he began his new life in Marseille he took it upon himself to have new uniforms made. He visited the tailor H. Giraldon in Marseille and ordered two redingotes, a pair of britches, a waistcoat, and two frock coats. The tailor added a small note to Maupas at the end of the invoice asking his approval for a fabric sample he sent. He also mentioned that if Maupas approved of the fabric sample his frock coats could be ready the following Monday.¹²⁰ As in 1856 when Choiselat wrote a similar note to him, the final decision again rested with the client, which is unsurprising because at the end of the

¹¹⁹ Invoices in Irène's name, 1846-1869, AN 607AP/13, 607AP/14, 607AP/15, 607AP/16, 607AP/17.

¹²⁰ Invoice for goods purchased from Giraldon et Cie., 1856, AN 607AP/15.

day, in this case, he was the one who would wear these uniforms. What is significant, however, is that this interaction between a tailor and a customer demonstrates a shared knowledge and understanding about materials and final products. Tailors did not simply dress men, they worked with them to make decisions about fabrics, embellishments, and styles.

Charlemagne de Maupas was also involved in selecting garments and fabrics for his daughters. In 1858, he received an invoice from the hosier Bidauff who had sold him undergarments, socks, and handkerchiefs for his daughters. The invoice also included ten meters of prunella for women's blouses and twelve meters of a cotton fabric (*cotonnade*) for four dresses. The invoice was accompanied by a note written by Bidauff. He wrote, "I leave for Monsieur de Maupas three pieces of a cotton fabric so that Monsieur can pick."¹²¹ Existing literature on this subject suggests that the task of clothing children was usually relegated to women, in particular mothers and sisters.¹²² But here he played more than just a passive role in dressing his family members, because Bidauff intimated that it was he who would make the final decision regarding the fabric. As a member of a community of dress, Charlemagne de Maupas was at times called upon to participate in clothing his children and even to make decisions about the final design. While the brunt of the responsibility fell on Irène, the couple shared some responsibilities concerning their children's dress.

Independent laborers and servants also played a central role in their community of dress. Between 1840 and 1868, the family employed a handful of different laundresses, independent seamstress hired to do piece work, and errand boys charged with various clothing related

¹²¹ "Je laisse à Monsieur de Maupas 3 coupes cotonnade a fin [*sic*] que Monsieur choisisse" Invoice from Bidauff for goods purchased, 1858, AN 607AP/15.

¹²² Hilary Davidson, *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 13-14, 70-89; Anna Iuso, "'Ma vie est un ouvrage à l'aiguille'. Écrire, coudre et broder au XIX siècle." *Clio. Femme, Genre, Histoire*, vol., 35 (2012). Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 63; Siegfried and Finkelberg, "Fashion in the Life of George Sand," 19; Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*, 67-69.

commissions.¹²³ Charlemagne and Irène also relied on their personal servants to run certain errands for the family. These included taking their clothing to be mended and laundered, fetching finished garments, and settling family debts with various businesses. In 1862, one of the Maupas's family's servants kept a running total of the various payments they had made on behalf of the family. The servant in question had been given 1328 francs in three installments in order to cover the family's various expenses that amounted to a total of 1297.15 francs for errands the servant divided into ten categories. The first four corresponded to the four members of the family – “Monsieur,” “Madame,” “Marguerite,” and “Gabrielle” – and represented cost incurred on their behalf, mostly purchasing various items such as an “album for Gabrielle” and “cigars” for Monsieur. Three of the other categories included “misc.” expenses, “voyages,” and “alms.” The final three categories were clothing related: “purchased linen,” “laundry,” and “ironing.”¹²⁴ For wealthy families, servants were an integral part of how individuals participated in the consumer culture because they participated in it through them.

Servants also had a second role in the community of dress: they were recipients of garments. De Maupas, for example, took charge of dressing and maintaining the clothing of his manservants and so establishing the appearance and social identity of his household. Between 1845 and 1864 he employed between two and four men at a time as valets and chauffeurs, and after 1851 when he was elevated to Prefect of Police a maître d'hôtel and an office boy [*garçon de bureau*].¹²⁵ As their employer, Maupas took over the responsibility of outfitting them with uniforms as well as everyday garments. On some occasions, such as the very first time in 1845,

¹²³ The approximation is based on anonymous invoices written in different hands maintained in the family papers, 1840-1869, AN 607AP/12-17.

¹²⁴ Anonymous list of expenses and payments, 1862, AN 607AP/16.

¹²⁵ Though the chauffeurs and “garçon de bureau” are never named. His personal valets and maître d'hôtel are, however, and there were at the least seven men whose names were recorded: James, Félix, Onézine, Joseph, Léopold, Antoine, and Baptiste, AN 607AP/12-17.

Maupas purchased garments for his servants from his own tailors, but more often than not, he worked with different tailors, hat makers, and cobblers when dressing his servants.¹²⁶ He purchased liveries (that included waistcoat, breeches, and jacket) from tailors in Paris and Marseille, as well as everyday garments such as overcoats, redingotes, and frock coats. He also furnished his employees with felt hats and leather shoes.¹²⁷ As their employer, it was Maupas's responsibility to purchase and make sure their garments were maintained and well-kept. In taking on these responsibilities, he was acting on behalf of other members of his community of dress.

The consumption of sartorial goods was a collaborative endeavor in the mid-nineteenth century; such a practice required that elite men take an active role in provisioning themselves and their family, male servants, and male friends. De Maupas understood the practicalities of managing dress and did not shy away from taking some of the responsibility for clothing himself and others in his community of dress. The entire family was bound to the same social demands that required individuals to think about their clothing and to understand the significance of garments and how they are made, procured, and maintained.

3.2.2 Charlemagne de Maupas's Fashionable Wardrobe

Versed in the language of dress and an experienced shopper, Charlemagne de Maupas understood that clothing served more than just a practical function, it was also a way of fashioning a social identity. His invoices indicate how throughout his adult life he followed fashion trends and took an interest in cultivating his position in society through the use of clothing. As a law student he lived in rented rooms close to the Tuileries on Rue d'Alger, and it was here that he was first introduced to *la vie mondaine*, which he quickly took a liking to.¹²⁸ In

¹²⁶ Invoices for garments for servants, 1840-1869, AN 607AP/12-17.

¹²⁷ Invoices for garments for servants, 1840-1869, AN 607AP/12-17.

¹²⁸ Vigoureux, *Maupas*, 16-17.

1840 he visited his tailor Boussart on ten different occasions to have pants, jackets, waistcoats, and an overcoat made and remade. For example, in April 1840 he purchased a “fine” black frock coat, white piqué waistcoat, and black satin pants, the basic outfit for elegant soirées and the opera during the spring season. The same season he also purchased more informal garments including a green redingote, colorful waistcoats, and a variety of pants in different colors and fabrics. The previous March, the young law student, moreover, also had Boussart make him a new dressing gown.¹²⁹ The selection of garments indicates that he was aware of the current trends and wanted to participate in them. Young men like Maupas were precisely those who were targeted as potential consumers in fashion advertisements from the 1830s and 1840s, and his invoices suggest that he responded willingly.

As Maupas progressed in his political career and his influence grew, his tastes became more expensive but fashionable clothing remained an important marker of his rank and status. Emile Desmason’s 1852 lithograph captured the Minister’s taste for well-made and expensive clothing (Figure 3.11). The fine tailoring is evident by the jacket falling perfectly over the hips, the waistcoat fitting snugly while leaving enough room for him to adopt the hand-inside-vest pose, and the pants fitting tightly at the waist while leaving legs unrestricted inside the shafts. The tailored fit of his jacket was made possible by the innovations in men’s tailoring use to shaped heavy woolen fabrics into an idealized masculine silhouette that emphasized a small

¹²⁹ Invoices from Boussart for goods purchased in 1840 -1842, AN 607AP/14.



Figure 3.11 Emile Desmaisons (Draftsman) and Imprimerie Lemercier (Printer). *De Maupas/ Ministre de Police*, 1853. Lithograph, 43.5 cm x 33.5 cm (impression). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

waist, broad shoulders, and muscular lower body. In the image of Maupas, for example, a small notch is visible on the lapel of his jacket, which was referred to as an M-shaped notch. This tailoring technique was meant to ensure that garments fell elegantly over the torso. The notch ensures that the transition from the high collar behind the neck to the lower half of the lapel over the torso appeared seamless.¹³⁰ His fashionable ensemble was rounded off with a pleated white shirt, a shimmering silk black cravat, white gloves (which are not obvious in the reproduction) that signaled he was married, and his gold watch chain at his waist.¹³¹ The

outfit he wore in this image would have been recognizable to the French public as a simple, yet elegant ensemble, one appropriate for a man of his position and influence.

The Second Empire represented an opportunity for the Maupas family. As a close ally of the emperor, he became a part of the new imperial elite and his invoices (and those of his family) suggest that he had to spend to hold onto his position. Even though Boussart remained his go-to tailor between 1840 and 1852, when Louis-Napoléon promoted Maupas to Prefect in 1849, he

¹³⁰ Clarissa M. Esguerra, “Tailoring Makes the Man,” in *Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear, 1715-2015*, ed. Sharon Sadako Takeda (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, Delmonico Books, 2015), 174-175.

¹³¹ The association between white gloves and marriage dates to the first half of the nineteenth century. Raisson, *Code de la Toilette*, 155.

soon began to purchase garments from the tailor Pomadère whose shop opened onto the Place de la Bourse (Boussart's was located a few meters away off of the square). At Pomadère's atelier, it seems that he tended to splurge on more refined items than those he bought from Boussart. On October 1, 1851, Maupas purchased a blue merino wool dressing gown lined in silk for one hundred and fifty francs from Pomadère, while he had been accustomed to paying much less.¹³² When he was still a law student in 1840, he purchased a dressing gown for thirty-five francs from the ready-made retailer A La Ville d'Amiens, and then in 1842 Boussart made him a new one in a simple woolen fabric for forty-five francs.¹³³ Pomadère used much costlier materials to make Maupas a more embellished dressing gown when compared to the one's he had been purchasing before. The evolution in headgear Maupas invested in also reflected a tendency to select the more expensive option when possible. During the July Monarchy as a relatively low-level civil servant and while away from government during the Second Republic, he only purchased black silk top hats for fifteen or sixteen francs.¹³⁴ While black silk top hats were indeed fashionable necessities for elite men, there was a more luxurious option: the beaver fur top hat. Beaver fur was preferable to silk because it is more water resistant, sturdier, and often luminous when the fur is properly treated. Silk hats were fashionable because they had a bright shine to them, but the shine faded quickly with use.¹³⁵ He eventually purchased the much sought after "chapeau de castor" when he was promoted again to Minister of the Police in 1852. In October, he paid his hat maker Maurice Spiegelhalter 135 francs for three beaver fur hats; each hat was worth three times what he had previously spent on silk hats.¹³⁶ Fashions were important

¹³² Invoice for goods purchased from Pomadère, 1851, Papiers Charlemagne Émile de Maupas (1452-1930).

¹³³ Invoice from A La Ville d'Amiens, February 1840, AN 607AP/13; Invoice from Boussart, 1842, AN 607AP/14.

¹³⁴ Invoices for silk hats purchased from Perillier Aîné, Maurice-Spiegelhalter, and HIRON-JOUARD, 1845-1858, AN 607AP/12, 607AP/14, 607AP/15.

¹³⁵ Julia de Fontenelle, *Manuel complet des fabricans de chapeaux* (Paris: Librairie encyclopédique de Roret, 1830), 16-17, 22-24.

¹³⁶ Invoice for beaver fur hats purchased from Maurice-Spiegelhalter, October 1852, AN 607AP/14.

to Charlemagne de Maupas, they were part of how he made his way through life and as he become more influential.

Another way he cultivated his identity was through embracing the new sartorial practices developing during the mid-nineteenth century; in particular, visiting the new types of retailers and business that emerged in this period. For a little more than a decade between 1846 and 1857, he purchased tailor-made shirts from several celebrated Parisian shirt makers who had created the industry in the 1830s. Before the 1840s, he presumably wore homemade shirts or one made by a linen draper or seamstress like the majority of the French population, but on May 8, 1846, he purchased six sixteen-franc “canvas” shirts for the first time from the shirt maker Longueville, one of the pioneers of the modern men’s shirt.¹³⁷ As we have seen, in the 1840s, the tailor-made shirt was advertised as a practical necessity for elite men. Priced at sixteen francs, the first shirts Maupas purchased were by no means the most luxurious available from Longueville, but they represent both a major departure for him from older retail practices and a desire to participate in Parisian trends. While ready-made retailers and linen dealers made cheaper shirts cut from a pattern in both Paris and the small provincial towns where he was stationed, he opted for white and colorful shirts ranging from sixteen to twenty-two francs from the most recognizable names in the industry between 1846 and 1857 including D. Darnet, successor to Catherine Pierret.¹³⁸ In the first years of the Second Empire, as a minister and senator, Maupas purchased new shirts and had old ones remade by Hadamar-Gautier, the official shirt maker of the Jockey Club.¹³⁹ All of his shirts were purchased from celebrated, reputable, and fashionable ateliers in the 1840s and

¹³⁷ Invoice from Longueville, 1846, AN 607AP/12.

¹³⁸ Invoices for shirts purchased from D. Darnet, February and March 1851, AN 607AP/14.

¹³⁹ Invoices for goods purchased from Hadamar-Gautier, 1847 - 1857, AN 607AP/12, 607AP/14, 607AP/15.

'50s. Only in the 1860s when he was in Marseille and the industry had spread beyond Paris, did he begin to purchase his shirts from local shirt makers.¹⁴⁰

During the Second Empire, Maupas and his family also began to frequent the stores that had come to embody the changing nature of retail practices in this period: the department store.¹⁴¹ All the Maupas were frequent customers at the Bon Marché and the Grand Magasins du Louvre between 1856 and 1865, as well as, at several of the smaller and less well-known *magasins de nouveautés*, and ready-made retailers in Paris and Marseille. The family purchased fabrics, accessories such as scarfs, collars, gloves, and ties, as well as umbrellas and furniture. As a family, they embraced the developments and goods these stores had to offer, in particular their extensive stock of fabrics, ready-made pieces as well as fixed prices, new return policies, and perhaps even enjoyed the new ability to simply walk through these stores and look at the goods on display.¹⁴²

That was perhaps the scenario that enticed Maupas on May 17, 1858 to venture into the ready-made menswear retailer *Au Pré aux clercs* on the Rue du Bac “across from Le Petit St. Thomas” (which happened to be Irène’s preferred *magasin de nouveautés*) where he purchased a ready-made Nankeen outfit for fifty francs. At the time, the store was advertising a special on complete outfits (*habillement*) that included for a fixed price a jacket, a waistcoat, and a pair of pants. Nankeen was light-yellow fabric made from cotton that was used in the mid-nineteenth century for informal daywear. He also purchased two waistcoats, a dinner jacket, and a second pair of pants, all at fixed prices and for a fraction of the costs he usually incurred at his tailor’s

¹⁴⁰ Invoices from A La Ville de Lyon, 1861, AN 607AP/15, 607AP/16.

¹⁴¹ Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marche: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton University Press, 1981); Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle* (University of California Press, 2001).

¹⁴² Invoices for goods purchased at department stores and *magasin de nouveautés*, 1841-1869, AN 607AP/12, 607AP/13, 607AP/15, 607AP/16, 607AP/17.

shop: the waist coats were five and six francs versus twenty francs and the pants and jacket were each seven francs, while Boussart charged anywhere from twenty to sixty for new pants and one hundred and twenty to one hundred and ninety for a new jacket. The final bill from *Au Pré aux Clercs* was seventy-five francs, a pittance compared to the tens of thousands he spent in tailors' shops.¹⁴³ The ready-made menswear industry in the 1850s and 1860s was actively advertising their products as alternative options for fashionable elite and middle-class men.

While men are often remembered in the department store as owners, employees, or spectators, they are not frequently remembered as shoppers. In Zola's fictionalization of the early years of the *Bon Marché*, men spend their money at *The Ladies Paradise* through their wives. The character Madame Marty, for example, is enthralled with the merchandise available in the department store and is described as frequently spending her husband's salary on new merchandise.¹⁴⁴ Maupas's bills from the *Bon Marché*, the *Louvre*, and the tens of *magasin de nouveautés* the family visited tell a different story. Though his wife did frequent the department stores on more occasions than her husband, he was more than just a spectator or the man holding the purse strings, he was an active participant and shopper. In 1860, Monsieur and Madame de Maupas visited the Bon Marché on twenty-one occasions when they actually purchased goods. On nineteen of those visits, the invoice was in Madame de Maupas's name. She tended to focus her attention on fabrics and clothing goods for herself and her daughters. In March of 1860, for example, she purchased several meters of violet silk, blue taffeta, and white muslin. She also purchases three pairs of gloves, and two shawls. She sometimes only purchased one item at a time like on May 17, 1860, when she purchases one ribbon; but she also sometimes purchased

¹⁴³ Invoice from Au Pré aux Clercs for goods purchased, 17 May 17 1858, AN 607AP/15.

¹⁴⁴ Emile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise*, trans. Brian Nelson (New York: Oxford World's Classics, 2013), 80-85, 309-310.

tens of items at a time, like during her subsequent visit on June 12, 1860 when she purchases dozens of buttons, multiple types of fabrics, as well as garters, scarves, and socks.¹⁴⁵ On Maupas's two visits, he focused on his own wardrobe purchasing collars and neckties.¹⁴⁶ He and his family enjoyed the new types of stores available in urban centers while not abandoning the earlier practices.

While fashionable clothing was essential for moving through *le monde*, Maupas's wardrobe also included military and civil uniforms that signaled his economic and political position as well. In the nineteenth century, men from across the economic spectrum were increasingly wearing different types of uniforms including military and civilian uniforms. The Directory first adopted the use of civil uniforms for the legislature in 1795, and Napoleon made the practice much more widespread and created uniforms for several branches of the government as well as for organized bodies such as the Institut de France. Supporters of the civil uniform argued that they were practical and necessary because they helped officials perform their duties and elicited respect. The civil uniform was also intended to strengthen the relationship between monarchies and the elite, encouraging individuals to enlist in the civil service. The civil uniform became increasingly popular during the Napoleonic Era and in 1815 the Restoration introduced its own designs for civil uniforms. Despite a brief period after the July Revolution when civilian uniforms fell out of use, they soon regained their prominent place in masculine wardrobes after 1832 but in slightly more subdued versions, the embroidery in particular was simplified. And after 1852, the civil uniform entered a sort of Golden Age, when Napoleon III had increasingly ornate and decorative civilian uniforms designed.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Invoices in Madame de Maupas's name from the Bon Marché, 1860, AN 607AP/15.

¹⁴⁶ Invoices in Monsieur de Maupas's name from the Bon Marché, 1860, AN 607AP/15.

¹⁴⁷ Mansel, *Dressed to Rule*, 120.

Men from the professional classes were sure to own at least one National Guard uniform. Since it was founded in 1791, the National Guard was restricted to “active” male citizens and Maupas because of his social and economic position was required to enlist. In 1841, he purchased a new uniform of the National Guard. He relied on his trusted tailor, Boussart in April and December 1841, to make the garments that visually signaled that he was part of this community of men.¹⁴⁸ Maupas’s wardrobe also included civil uniforms, garments that advertised his rank, service, and position in society. When Napoleon created the prefect corps in 1800, the men who made up its ranks represented a reordering of local government and its relationship to the centralizing French state as the central government became increasingly involved with local governance; their uniforms were a material reminder of their positions as the principal agents of the state. The uniforms consisted of a navy blue jacket with embroidered collar, pockets, and facings; white breeches; a red sash with silver embroidery; a hat with a black feather, and a sword. The “grande” option had significantly more embroidery to differentiate it from the “petite” option. The “grande” uniform was reserved for use at formal events, while the “petite” was reserved for less formal occasions. After the Napoleonic Empire, the subsequent regimes modified the uniform slightly. The Bourbons, for example, replaced the red sash with a white one and in 1830, Louis Philippe’s government replaced the white sash with a tricolor one and reduced the amount of embroidery on the jackets. In 1849 the uniform was redesigned to re-emphasize the embroidery, and in 1852 the imperial eagle was added to the uniform’s buttons. During the Napoleonic era many public institutions began using civilian uniforms, especially for ceremonial duties. As a functionary during the July Monarchy and a close friend and ally of the Emperor during the Second Empire, Maupas was expected to have a variety of uniforms, which

¹⁴⁸ Invoice for goods purchased from Boussart, 1841, AN 607AP/14.

were a central component of his social and political life. His invoices show that he had his Parisian tailors make all but one of them. When he entered the Ministry of the Interior as a sub-prefect in 1844, and then in 1849 when he was promoted to prefect, he again turned to Boussart for new uniforms.¹⁴⁹ Three years later when the imperial government issued new regulations regarding civilian and military uniforms, it was no surprise that Charlemagne de Maupas again went to his tailor to meet the new requirements.¹⁵⁰

In 1852, soon after Emperor Napoleon III introduced a dark green hunting costume for men to wear when accompanying him on sporting trips, Maupas visited his tailor to comply (Figure 3.12 and 3.13).¹⁵¹ The Imperial household would grant permission to men who applied to



Figure 3.12 “Chasse à courre,” *le Monde Illustré*, December 10, 1859. Wood engraving on paper, 31.5 cm x 48.0 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

wear specially designed buttons for the imperial hunt, but men were responsible for having their hunting costumes tailored themselves.¹⁵²

That same year he also visited the shop of Chevreuil et Cie, a

premier Parisian tailor, at the Place Vendôme to

¹⁴⁹ Invoices from Boussart for goods purchased, 1844, 1849, AN 607AP/14.

¹⁵⁰ Adrien Carpentier, *Codes et Lois pour la France*, 443.

¹⁵¹ Invoice from Boussart for goods purchased, 1852, AN 607AP/14.

¹⁵² Philip Mansel, “The Survival of the Royal Hunt in France: From Louis XVI to Napoleon III,” in *La Caccia reali nell’Europa dei principi*, ed. Andrea Merlotti (Florence: Olschki, 2019), 155.



Figure 3.13 “Napoléon III et Eugénie, à cheval, en costume de chasse Louis XV, entrant dans la forêt,” ca. 1860. Lithograph, 32.3 cm x 42.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

purchase an “embroidered minister’s frock coat” for his “grande tenue” for 1300 francs that followed new regulations introduced also in 1852.¹⁵³ This uniform for formal ceremonial occasion was by the far the most expensive

clothing item Maupas purchased between 1840 and 1865. In a distant second place is his embroidered frock coat for his prefect’s “grande tenue,” which set him back six hundred francs in 1850.¹⁵⁴ These were necessary expenses for a man like him whose political duties required he invest in clothing that signaled his position as a representative of the governments he served. De Maupas’s uniforms and fashionable civilian clothing are indicative of the social and cultural value men and women placed on dress in the mid-nineteenth century.

3.2.3 Credit and the Maupas’s Community of Dress

¹⁵³ Invoice from Chevreuril et Cie, 1852, AN 607AP/14 ; Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, *The Court of the Tuileries, 1852-1870: Its Organization, Chief Personages, Splendor, Frivolity, and Downfall* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1912), 360-61.

¹⁵⁴ Invoice from Boussart, 1850, AN 607AP/14.

The Maupas's community of dress survived over the course of thirty years on an extensive network of credit. The credit network they operated in follows the pattern the historian Clare Haru Crowston has identified for the eighteenth century in Old Regime France. According to Crowston, *le credit*, or credit in English, was both a part of how economic exchanges took place and a concept used to explain the dynamics of power and influence. Manufacturers, artisans, and customers all relied on extensive networks of credit to finance their businesses as well as their purchases and an individual's credit was at times synonymous for their reputation and moral character. Crowston explains, moreover, that holding onto someone's credit was sometimes more valuable to merchants than the promise of profits. For women such as Rose Bertin, Marie Antoinette's dressmaker, the prestige associated with making a new dress for the Queen or an influential courtier was more desirable than actually profiting from the sale. The cultural capital she accrued was what kept Bertin's clients coming, suppliers sending raw materials, and her business going.¹⁵⁵ The evidence from the Maupas's family invoices suggests that credit continued to occupy a similar and crucial place in French consumer culture well into the nineteenth century: it was an economic reality that helped facilitate sartorial consumption, and one that also reflected an individual's or a family's reputation and position.

At the beginning of his career, Maupas was in significant debt that he accrued from purchases for sartorial goods. In the 1840s for example, Boussart sent him his invoices at the end of each calendar year and expected payment by the following January.¹⁵⁶ At the time Maupas was not always able to pay the debts in the new year and Boussart's invoices throughout the 1840s often listed the debts that remained to be paid.¹⁵⁷ Maupas would make lump sum

¹⁵⁵ Clare Haru Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France* (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 2013).

¹⁵⁶ Invoice from Boussart, 1842, AN 607AP/14.

¹⁵⁷ Invoices from Boussart, 1841-1849, AN 607AP/14.

payments every six months to a year. De Maupas was able to stay in good standing with the merchants he did business with by making payments on a semi-regular basis. After he left the Ministry of the Interior in 1848, Maupas also struggled to pay the debts owed to his Parisian jeweler Monsieur Bassot who made household silver as well as jewelry for the family. Between 1848 and 1849, he accrued 13,573.00 francs in debt on silverware, gilded frames and albums, jewelry for his family, as well as watch chains, cufflinks, and accessories for himself. Perhaps uneasy about Maupas's debts but unwilling to forgo the man's business, Monsieur Bassot set up a payment plan for him. Following the Revolution of 1789, French law allowed for lenders to charge interest without fear of being accused of usury.¹⁵⁸ By 1850, he was able to pay off the debt and 1983.32 francs in interest. In extending credit to Maupas in the 1840s, Bassot and Boussart were hedging their bets and supplying credit based on what they perceived as his good reputation. He was from a wealthy provincial family and his career seemed promising. Bassot's patience with the Maupas family paid off, and when he was promoted in the imperial hierarchy, his family continued to shop with Bassot and their payments became more regular.¹⁵⁹

Reputation and influence went a long way when individuals wished to secure credit from their purveyors, and for creditors extending credit at times was enough to keep business going – payment was not necessarily the end goal, but rather the ability to own someone's credit or to say that they are your customer. On one occasion in 1851, Maupas had purchased several pairs of gloves for himself and his wife from a collar and glove manufacturer in Troyes. De Maupas, however, did not pay the bill until 1863 when he was reminded about it in a letter from a M. Criloup, the owner of the business. He wrote to Maupas in 1863 about having recently come

¹⁵⁸ French law did however punish "habitual usurers" or those who were found to make a living from lending above the legal limit. Erika Vause, "A Subject of interest: Usurers on trial in early nineteenth-century France," *Financial History Review*, vol. 24 (2017): 103.

¹⁵⁹ Invoice and correspondence from Bassot, 1841-1859, AN 607AP/14.

across the bill which he had never forwarded to him and asked if he would be so kind as to pay.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps Criloup was under pressure from his own debtors and therefore he had gone over unpaid bills, or perhaps he had simply come across it. Whatever the motivations and reasons for waiting, the request of payment on a decade-old bill shows how the Maupas family was extended credit by purveyors who were not always expecting immediate payment from their more influential customers.

Charlemagne de Maupas' reputation appears to have preceded him, and as he became more important in the imperial hierarchy his personal credit was worth more. In another example from the 1850s, three invoices from the tailor Monsieur Courtray suggest that at least one artisan was willing to extend Maupas credit as his influence grew without knowing very much about the man in question. On these invoices for uniforms made for his manservants, Courtray referred to Maupas as "le comte de Maupas;" though he used the "de" particle, he was not in fact a count.¹⁶¹ Napoléon III never gave him a title and he did not legally recognize the "de" until well into the 1860s. Nonetheless, Maupas's role in the coup was well-known and he was at the time a member of the senate and it seems that Courtray was willing to make assumptions about a man whose name he did not know as well as extend him 1893 francs in credit because of his position within French society. In a final example, when he was at the height of his career and working in Marseille in the 1860s, Monsieur Hubert de Vautier, his new tailor, allowed Maupas to make purchases for three years, 1862 to 1864, without making any payments.¹⁶² The tailor understood that the most senior official in the city would one day pay off his debts. For Vautier, making

¹⁶⁰ Invoice and note from Criloup, 1863, AN 607AP/16.

¹⁶¹ Invoices from Courtray, 1853, AN 607AP/14.

¹⁶² Invoice from Hubert de Vautier, 1862-1864, AN Box 607AP/15.

clothing for his client was more important than receiving payment for his services because influential customers begot more customers.

The Maupas family invoices speak to the complicated network of credit, goods, and people that were essential to the ordinary management of a community of dress and the wardrobes of its members. It is evident that ordinary Frenchmen like Maupas were intimately connected to their communities of dress, in particular, because they understood the relationship between fashion, reputation, and social position. An editorial from the men's fashion magazine *Le Dandy: Journal non-politique* on the "anti-fashionable" demonstrates how fashion was perceived in the period as something that men like Charlemagne de Maupas would hate to ignore. The "anti-fashionable" according to the author was a recognizable and lamentable figure amongst modern French men that needed to be addressed head on. The author suggested that reader might immediately think of an old man stuck in his ways, a "Géronte."¹⁶³ But alas, the anti-fashionable was more likely "a young man of thirty, handsome, well built, an excellent comrade, brave, generous, distinguished in his heart and mind; a complete boy; apart from one defect, only one, but crucial, decisive, canceling all other qualities. He hates fashion."¹⁶⁴ Not only does he hate fashion, but he is afraid of it and "would voluntarily step on a serpent rather than put his arm in a suitably cut sleeve," "hang rather than wear a collar," and not having changed how he tied his cravat in ten years "would die of shame" if the style was back in fashion.¹⁶⁵ His clothing did not fit, he continued to wear britches at balls and refused to adopt

¹⁶³ Geronte is a reference to a stock character of an old man from the *Commedia dell'arte*. In the nineteenth century, the character often appeared in eighteenth and seventeenth century costumes to emphasize his adherence to the past and old traditions.

¹⁶⁴ "C'est un jeune homme de trente ans, beau, bien fait, excellent camarade, brave, généreux, distingué par le cœur et par l'esprit; un garçon complet; à part du défaut, un seul, mais capital, décisif, annulant toutes les qualités. Il hait la mode," *Le Dandy: Journal non politique*, 10 April 1833.

¹⁶⁵ "Il hait la mode; il en a peur; il mettrait plus volontiers le pied sur un serpent que le bras dans une manche convenablement coupée; il se croirait compromis s'il enfourchait un pantalon sans pont; il se pendrait plutôt que de

new and fashionable pants, and only wore gloves in the winter. He incited both pity and an urge to “die of laughter.”¹⁶⁶ The editorial dedicated to lambasting the “anti-fashionable” framed an interest in fashion as something to which men should aspire. The young man described in the article was someone to be pitied but never imitated, and an example to learn from. He had failed in learning the significance of including fashionableness amongst his other good qualities. In other words, he failed to accentuate his bravery, generosity, and camaraderie etc. with sartorial goods. For men like Charlemagne de Maupas who were interested in running in the best circles and acquiring a position of wealth and influence paying attention to and understanding the demands of dressing oneself and one’s associates was essential. To not care about clothing and unaware of how the culture of clothing functioned was to be left in the dust.

3.3 Conclusions

By all accounts, Charlemagne de Maupas and Louis-Philippe were hardly typical Frenchmen, or even typical of the male French elite. Nevertheless, that does not mean that they lived their lives completely differently from other elite men in France in the mid-nineteenth century. Their invoices suggest that though they were unique they were also exposed to the same practices and expectations that were central to the culture of clothing at the time. In particular the social and political importance assigned to clothing and engaging in the proper forms of consumption.

In Louis-Philippe’s case, his invoices and iconography suggest that he understood how to manipulate clothing in order to project the legitimacy of his regime. Civilian clothing gave him a means of establishing himself as a member of the French elite, untouched by the excesses of the

porter un col. Depuis dix ans il affiche le même nœud de cravate. Si le malheur voulait que la mode s’emparât, il en mourrait de chagrin,” *Le Dandy : Journal non politique*, 10 April 1833.

¹⁶⁶ “C’est à mourir de rire,” *Le Dandy: Journal non politique*, 10 April 1833.

Bourbon monarchy, while his military uniforms projected his new rank and position as they also drew new connections between the monarchy and French male citizens. Charlemagne de Maupas's invoices show how elite men played a central role in designing, procuring, and managing their own wardrobes, and participated in a community of dress. Moreover, his changing consumer habits and his access to credit illustrate how fashion was integral to how individuals affixed their social identity as well as how they navigated political and social identities.

Chapter 4 – Posters of Masculine Fantasies: Advertising ‘Ready-Made’ Menswear

As French tailors innovated and adapted to the needs of a changing elite in the decades following the French Revolution, they faced a new challenge from manufacturers and retailers who aimed to expand the market for tailored menswear beyond elites to the middle and lower echelons of the growing bourgeoisie with the sale of complete ready-to-wear outfits.¹ ‘Ready-to-wear’ or ‘ready-made’ refer to clothing that has been completely made before being sold to customers as opposed to ‘made-to-order,’ tailor-made, or bespoke clothing that a tailor or seamstress made for a client based on the client’s individual measurements. As tailors touted the importance of custom fitting that only they could provide, retailers of ready-to-wear advertised a complete look that could make any man look socially appropriate at a modest price. In 1858, Monsieur Bodson, a *confectionneur* and owner of a ‘ready-to-wear’ menswear manufacturing and retail business (*maison de confection*), commissioned the printer Jean-Alexis Rouchon to make a lithographic poster for his store.² The poster advertises a sale at *A la Redingote Grise* on the rue de Rivoli: a complete outfit for forty-nine francs (Figure 4.1). Rouchon used a combination of imagery and text to introduce the viewer to the potentials of a ready-made,

¹Johnson, “Economic Change and Artisan Discontent, 91.

² While the name “Bodson” does not appear on the poster, he is listed as the owner of the business at 45 rue de Rivoli in Parisian almanacs, and, as we will discuss, his name appears on other promotional material. Bodson, moreover, and his family were later implicated in the infamous Dreyfus Affair, when it was reported that Dreyfus and Mme Bodson had an ongoing affair. The details of their relationships as well as confirmation that Bodson owned *A la Redingote Grise* appear in French newspapers from the period. *L’Intransigeant*, 25 August, 1899, 2 ; *Annuaire-Almanach du commerce, de l’industrie, de la magistrature et de l’administration, Almanach des 500,000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers (Didot-Bottin)*, vol. 66 (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot frères, fils et cie, 1863), 1099-1100.



Figure 4.1 Jean-Alexis Rouchon. *Pest! Mon cher, comme te voilà mis. Hein! A la Redingote grise*, 1858. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 45 cm x 31 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

fashionable masculine wardrobe at affordable prices. The two men on the poster appeared to have encountered each other on the street. The caption narrated the interaction for the viewers: the man on the left was surprised to see his friend fashionably dressed in a new suit and accessories and so he asked where he managed to buy these clothes. His companion responded and directed him to *A La Redingote Grise* where he too could be outfitted in a ready-made suit and the necessary accessories for forty-nine francs – a pittance compared to a similar tailor-made outfit.³ The overwhelming emphasis of the poster

is not on the fashions themselves but on their affordability. The fashion plates, fashion journalism, and prints examined in Chapter 1, by contrast, almost never commented on price.

And the price was attractive: the price was made to be affordable for the Parisian and provincial *bourgeoisie* and *petite bourgeoisie* including: lawyers, notaries, clerks, storekeepers and attendants, station conductors, and others who because of stable increases in salaries and the

³ Jean-Alexis Rouchon, printer. *Pest! Mon cher, comme te voilà mis. Hein! A la Redingote grise*, 1858. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 45 cm x 31 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

surge of new and affordable consumer goods enjoyed a lifestyle of “relative ease overall” from the end of the July Monarchy through the Second Empire.⁴ *Confectionneurs* and their posters used the techniques established in the fashion press and popular prints to draw in a new cohort of consumers: men and boys of the *bourgeoise* and *petite-bourgeoisie*.

Maisons de confection specialized in a relatively new business model that produced ready-made clothing in standardized sizes that was then sold through mail in orders, department stores, and shops in France and abroad.⁵ Importantly, the development of ready-made clothing meant that for the first time men and women with modest financial means could afford a completely new outfit that was not a refitted garment purchased from a *fripier* (a used clothing dealer).⁶ Ready-made retailers introduced new products along with new pricing schemes, retail practices such as returns, and credit programs including installment payment plans that allowed retailers to both cultivate a new cohort of consumers of finished clothing goods and created new norms of social relations between buyer and seller, retailer and consumer, and creditor and debtor. Retailers turned to advertising in print and in commercial posters to introduce these changes to consumer. Ready-to-wear, to a limited extent, democratized consuming finished

⁴ Une relative aisance globale,” Jean Le Bilan, *Au Service de l'état. Les fonctionnaires intermédiaires au XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presse universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 98. Forty-nine francs in 1858 was still out of reach for a significant portion of the French populations whose salaries did not allow for this type of consumption. Intermediary functionaries earned between 2000 and 4000 francs annually, not including indemnities, during the Second Empire, which meant they could purchase a new suit for fifty francs, especially since Camille Cordier has shown that middle-class men often spent between five percent and thirty percent of their year budgets on new clothes. However, while salaries increased for the working-class during this period, only the most senior workers in the clothing industry earned as much as the functionaries, while the rest of the working earned between 1 and 5 francs a day. It would not be until the end of the nineteenth century that the working-class would begin to adopt elite and middle-class costumes and abandon working class garments like the *blouson*. Jean Le Bilan, *Au Service de l'état. Les fonctionnaires intermédiaires au XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presse universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 80-85; Camille Cordier, “Le temps d’une vie bourgeoise: la construction des rôles genres dans les livres de comptes de la famille Guérin-Borel au XIXe siècle,” *Genre et Histoire*, no. 18 (Fall 2016): 6; Jacques Rougerie, “Remarques sur l’histoire des salaires à Paris au XIXe siècle,” *Le Mouvement social*, no. 63, Production industrielle, salaires réactions et représentations ouvrières (Apr. – Jun., 1968): 71-108; Albert, *La Vie à Crédit*, 76-81.

⁵ Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 93-100; Vanier, *La Mode et ses métiers*, 125-34.

⁶ Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 84-88.

clothing goods, in the sense that it extended the possibilities of shopping for new clothing goods to a broader segment of the French non-elite classes. The products themselves were new, but so were the social relations that made those purchases possible. Middle-class and wealthier working-class men were being presented with an opportunity to consume in a way that differed drastically with how one interacted with the local grocer or butcher. While it was not uncommon for non-elites to secure lines of credit with local merchants or for men and women to haggle with a known *fripier*, ready-made retailers made use of fixed prices and new credit and financial schemes that alienated individuals from their sources of credit. In order to potentially assuage consumer anxieties and dispel reluctance to participate in these new retail practices, retailers used commercial posters and print advertisements to educate consumers.

One marketing technique that menswear retailers overwhelmingly embraced during the Second Empire was the commercial poster. “The walls of the streets, in the middle of the nineteenth century,” the literary scholar Philippe Hamon has explained, “became a semaphore, as they began to cover themselves with inscriptions to read and images to look at.”⁷ According to the art historian Jillian Lerner, posters “came into their own as vital tools to spur the cognitive purchasing cycle of attraction, attention, and memory.”⁸ Commercial posters in the Second Empire proliferated and evolved in certain ways that speak to the marketing strategies advertisers employed and how those strategies changed the potential for French men and women from across the economic and social spectrum to consume new commodities, including menswear.

⁷ Philippe Hamon, *Imageries, littérature et image au XIXe siècle*, (Paris: Éditions José Corti, 2015), 150.

⁸ Lerner, *Graphic Culture*, 72.

Posters first appeared in large numbers in France in the sixteenth century when they were used to publicize laws, royal edicts, and municipal announcements.⁹ In this period, a large portion of French industry was legally incorporated into guilds whose restrictions forbade individuals from advertising prices which meant that these industries did not rely on the commercial poster. Book sellers, however, who were not bound to the same restrictions began using commercial posters as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. More unregulated industries, including theatres, *marchands de nouveautés*, and some charlatans selling unregulated pharmaceuticals, began to compete in earnest with public announcements with their own text heavy posters for space on French city walls by the 1720s.¹⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century, printers could make large profits in the advertising industry, especially by making commercial posters. There were three general formats available from printers: the first was a plain 355 x 455 mm or 350 x 460 mm of champi paper; the second was a 420 mm x 540 mm sheet of graph paper (*papier carré*); the third option was either a half-sheet or quarter-sheet of either paper. In some cases, printers placed multiple pages together to make one larger advertisement.¹¹ After the breakdown of the guild system during the French Revolution, Parisian artisans and shop keepers began to use posters to advertise their stores with new vigor between 1790 and 1820, but in the 1830s posters would begin to compete with the printed press for advertisements. Posters had another resurgence in the 1840s and 1850s.

By the mid-nineteenth century it was possible for printers to print up to 10,000 sheets an hour. In the 1840s, moreover, the wall-paper printer Jean-Alexis Rouchon patented a new

⁹ Gilles Feyel, "Presse et publicité en France (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)," *Revue Historique*, vol. 305 (October 2003): 838; Marc Martin, *Trois siècles de publicité en France*, (Paris: Éditions Odil Jacob, 1992); Michèle Fogel, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

¹⁰ Feyel, "Presse et publicité en France," 839.

¹¹ Feyel, "Presse et publicité en France," 843.

technique to make large-colored lithographic prints that could be affixed to walls like wallpaper. Then in the 1850s and 1860s, Jules Chéret promoted the use of lithography to produce large numbers of colored works. He is also credited with creating the formal qualities that would later inspire Toulouse-Lautrec and others during the “Golden Age” of the commercial poster in the 1880s and 1890s.¹² Furthermore, the destruction and rebuilding of Paris during the Second Empire meant that there were many new places (including kiosks, public toilets, boulevard streets, and construction scaffolding) on which to affix promotional commercial posters.¹³ The rebuilt and remodeled city was covered in much larger colored commercial advertisements.

Commercial posters from the mid-nineteenth century tapped into what John Barnicoat has described as “the popular idiom,” or in other words, posters spoke in the “language of the mass of spectators.”¹⁴ Created with the general public in mind, posters were a powerful marketing tool because they used recognizable, and at times emotional, imagery and symbols as well as simple, direct messaging that encourage the consumer habits they displayed. In the 1850s and 1860s, menswear retailers used posters to show non-elite men that they could and should be fashionable. This meant that many non-elite men and women were confronted with fashion advertising in ways they had not experienced before. The rise of ready-made allowed and encouraged them to purchase new items for the first time. Compared to the fashion plates and Gavarni prints enclosed within the pages of fashionable periodicals or sold in print shops, commercial posters, inundated the streets and all those who strolled and hurried along them with a new form of fashion advertising. Retailers used posters to not only introduce new products; they also used posters to advertise new retail practices that included fixed prices, returns,

¹² John Barnicoat, *A Concise History of Posters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 7.

¹³ Karen K. Carter, “The Spectatorship of the ‘Affiche Illustrée’ and the Modern City, 1880-1900,” *Journal of Design History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2012): 12-14.

¹⁴ Barnicoat, *A Concise History of Posters*, 184.

payment through installment plans, and credit schemes. The entrepreneurs behind the ready-to-wear industry were one of the cohorts of economic actors who attempted to challenge and reshape the relationships that were embedded in communities of dress. While ready-to-wear did not mean the immediate end for the bespoke business, it did impact what type of people could consume new finished clothing goods and how those people consumed. Advertisements were key to making this new form of consumption possible.¹⁵ Advertisements educated consumers about new products and practices. They also tapped into an already established visual and textual vocabulary that viewers had come to expect of the fashion press and popular prints. These advertisements repurposed the images, aspirational language, and the social dynamics that typified elite forms of fashion advertising. In particular, posters for ready-to-wear menswear presented owning and wearing fashionable menswear as a means of engaging in the social aspects of middle-class life. Fixed prices and new credit schemes created new and potentially disturbing relationships that could have made individuals feel vulnerable as consumers, but the commercial posters used social relationships to assuage potential fears and make customers comfortable or excited to engage in new practices. Another relationship that retailers offered customers as a potential counter to the new ones they represented was one that bound men in a national community of shoppers. Advertisers used political malleable symbols, especially those associated with the Napoleonic period, to present shopping for and wearing fashionable ready-to-wear menswear as a national pastime that crossed political and class boundaries.

¹⁵ This chapter primarily relies on evidence from commercial posters created between 1848 and 1875 available on the Bibliothèque nationale de France's digitized collection of posters from the nineteenth-century. I focused on the posters identified in the catalogue as posters for retail shops "magazines." I paid particular attention as well to the posters that were featured in the 1982 exhibit on Rouchon and his work at the Musée de l'affiche et de la publicité. *Rouchon: un pionnier de l'affiche illustrée*, (Paris: U.C.A.D., Musée de l'affiche et de la publicité: Éditions H. Veyrier, 1983).

4.1 The Rise of Ready-to-Wear Clothing and Advertising

In 1848, the Chambre de Commerce defined the ready-to-wear industry as follows: “the manufacturers called *confectionneurs* are those who make, or have made, men’s clothing in advance and in a certain number of sizes and models, articles which are displayed for direct sale or are shipped to the departments or foreign lands.”¹⁶ Note that this type of production was limited to clothing for men. Early *confectionneurs* specialized in making loose fitting garments, such as smocks, because they did not require extensive tailoring and could be produced in standardized sizes. The earliest of these businesses opened in Paris in 1828, but they struggled to get their footing during the economic downturn at the end of the decade. However, by the end of the July Monarchy and during the Second Empire, ready-made retail and manufacturing had gained its footing and expanded to include the entire gamut of menswear items: overcoats, riding coats, suits, waistcoats, pants, shirts, and accessories.¹⁷

The industry quickly adopted several practices to compete with custom tailors. First and foremost, *confectionneurs* made cheap goods using inexpensive fabrics. This was a major departure from older practices of clothing production in France, especially since in the Old Regime the clothing industry was heavily regulated by guilds. These guilds not only restricted advertisements they also enforced product standards which allowed them to coordinate price with quality as well as the labor required to make a good. In the clothing industry, the price of tailored jacket or a sewn gown was set according to a combination of costs of materials and the amount of labor required. Price could vary, but they had to reflect the costs of producing a well-

¹⁶ Chambre de Commerce, *Statistique de l’industrie à Paris résultant de l’enquête faite par la chambre de Commerce pour les années 1847-1848* (Paris : 1851), 279.

¹⁷ Johnson, “Economic Change and Artisan Discontent,” 91-95; Johnson, “Patterns of Proletarianization: Parisian Tailors and Lodève Woolen Workers,” in *Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. John M. Merriman (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979).

made garment. This model was all about using cheaply sourced materials to make lower quality goods that could be sold in larger numbers for lower prices. These entrepreneurs would often buy unused stocks of affordable fabrics from drapers at the end of season when drapers wanted to refresh their stocks. *Confectionneurs*, therefore, could maintain a large stock of fabric for constant putout work cheaply. Second, the *confectionneurs* reorganized the labor structures of the tailoring industry to suit the needs of the new businesses. They employed men and women to do similar tasks as in the tailor's shop, such as cutters, basters, and sewers. Typically, *confectionneurs* maintained two or three cutters and basters while the rest of the work was done on a putout basis. Women who worked from home did the majority of this putout labor. The low amounts paid for piecework done at home also drove down the cost of labor. The primary difference between the tailor and the ready-made retailer's workshop was that ready-made manufacturers also employed men and women during the various off seasons of the clothing industry, which allowed them to pull workers away from more traditional clothing makers such as seamstresses and tailors.¹⁸ In retooling the practices of the tailoring industry, retailers were able to introduce a revolutionary new retail practice: fixed prices.

By fixed, retailers implied that the cost of a product was predetermined and would not change over the time it took for a purchase to be transacted. That did not mean that prices could not change from day to day. Rather it meant that the price that was given at a certain moment for a good was the final price expected when proceeding to payment. Fixed pricing also meant that haggling was not an option. Before fixed pricing, the final cost of a garment also depended on several factors including the cost of the material and labor. In cutting out several steps and simplifying the final accounting, ready-made garments not only simplified for consumers the

¹⁸ Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent," 96-98.

process of getting a new garment, but it also made the garment cheaper to produce. Ready-made garments sold at fixed prices were therefore far cheaper than bespoke items.

Take the garments advertised in a poster for the retailer *Aux Pré aux Clercs* based at 36 rue du Bac, one of the few ready-made retailers on the left bank of the Seine (Figure 4.2). The poster advertises the special prices they offered on liveries: twenty-two francs for pants, twenty



Figure 4.2 Jean Alexis Rouchon. *Aux Prés aux Clercs*, 1853. Paper, lithograph, 21.9 cm x 144.3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

to twenty-five francs for britches, jackets for fifty to sixty-five francs, and overcoats for seventy-five and 120 francs.¹⁹ This store offered a more economic option for elite men who were expected to furnish clothing for their male servants. The cost of a livery form *Aux Pré aux Clercs* was about three-quarters of the price for bespoke items.²⁰ *Aux Pré aux Clercs*'s competitors throughout the city offered similar, or even cheaper, prices. To commemorate its opening under new management in 1858, the retailer *Aux Armes d'Angleterre* commissioned a poster that included a message to viewers (Figure 4.3). The owners proudly announced,

“This establishment has recently changed proprietors and the new Directors understand, first and foremost, that to make this a first-rate establishment, and to get that reputation, we must sell

¹⁹ Jean Alexis Rouchon, printer. *Aux Prés aux Clercs*, 1853. Paper, lithograph, 21.9 cm x 144.3 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

²⁰ See Chapter Three for a closer look at the pricing patterns of bespoke tailors.

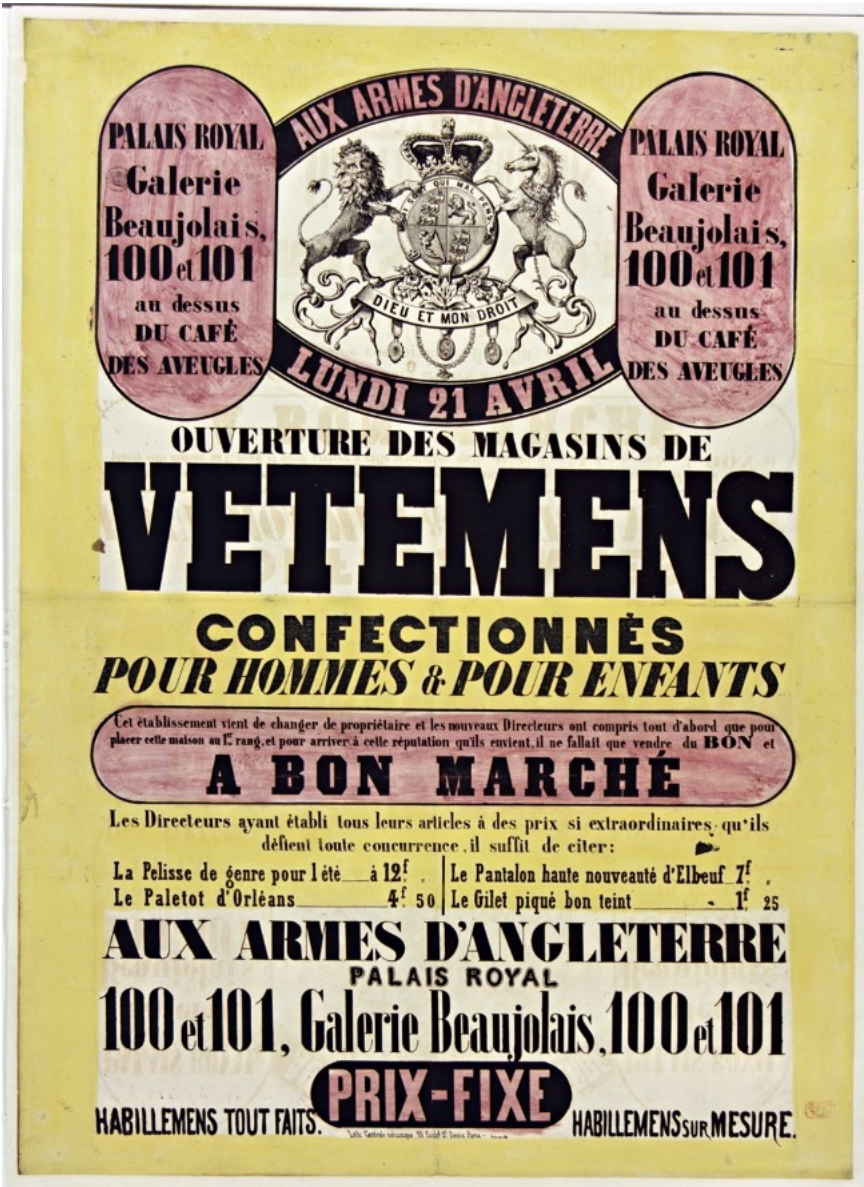


Figure 4.3 *Aux Armes d'Angleterre...*, *Ouverture des magasins de vêtements*, c. 1858. Paper, Hand-colored lithograph, 126 cm x 95 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

good products at cheap prices” (emphasis in original).²¹ The way to compete with, therefore, was to offer the best prices: waistcoats for one franc and fifty centimes or pants in fashionable fabrics for seven francs.²² These same garments would have cost ten or twenty times as much from a bespoke tailor.

The newness of these relatively inexpensive prices for garments was crucial to the advertising campaigns

of the retail industry. One retailer, *Au Palais de Cristal*, had “prix fixe” in bold lettering plastered to the balcony surrounding the fourth floor of the rounded corner of the building at an

²¹“Cet établissement vient de changer de propriétaire et les nouveaux Directeurs ont compris tout d’abord que pour place cette maison au 1^{er} rang, et pour arriver à cette réputation qu’ils envient, il ne fallait que vendre Bon et A Bon Marché,”(Emphasis in the original), *Aux Armes d’Angleterre, ouverture des magasins de vêtements confectionnés pour hommes et enfants*, 1858, paper, lithograph, hand-colored, 126 cm x 95 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

²² *Aux Armes d’Angleterre*, 1858.

intersection (Figure 4.4).²³In 1876, the retailer *Du Grand Bon Marché* (not to be confused with the *Bon Marché*) commissioned a poster from Jules Chéret of a man in a traveling costume holding a valise (Figure 4.5). The accompanying caption narrates Chéret's illustration: the man has recently gone on a trip around the world, but nothing he saw compared to the exceptional prices at *Du Grand Bon Marché*.²⁴ Other retailers used fixed prices as a

marketing tactic in print

advertisements. In June 1856,

for example, *Le Figaro's* fashion reporter wrote a promotional column for *Au Prince Eugène* in

which the cost of their garments was emphasized as one of the deciding factors that separated

them from bespoke tailors. According to the column, in the first week of June 1856 *Au Prince*



Figure 4.4 *Palais de Cristal, place de la Bourse, rue Vivienne 25. Vêtements d'hommes et d'enfants*. 1855. Paper, lithograph, 88 cm x 63 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

²³ *Palais de Cristal, place de la Bourse, rue Vivienne 25. Vêtements d'hommes et d'enfants*. 1855, paper, lithograph, 88 cm x 63 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

²⁴ Jules Chéret, *Je viens de faire le Tour du Monde... vêtements de la Maison du Grand Bon Marché*, 1876, paper, colored lithograph, 124 cm x 90 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.



Figure 4.5 Jules Chéret, *Je viens de faire le Tour du Monde... vêtements de la Maison du Grand Bon Marché*, 1876. Paper, colored lithograph, 124 cm x 90 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Eugène had sold an astonishing, and perhaps exaggerated, four thousand coutil and piqué (popular summer fabrics) jackets as well as the accompanying waistcoats and pants.

Au Prince Eugène, the article continued, was “a single *maison de confection*, that brings together by itself ten *maisons de confection*.”

The advertisement emphasized that their size and productive capabilities allowed them to produce a huge number of garments in different sizes, fabrics, and styles. The

reporter commented that the store was able to service men and boys of

any age: “they dress up to delight young boys, big boys, and old boys.” “A traveler or an artist who enters au *Prince Eugène*,” who is outmodedly “dressed like Don César de Bazan,”²⁵ the reporter continued, “comes out a Dandy, a Lion... with a complete outfit, made with exquisite

²⁵ Don César de Bazan is the titular character in the French playwrights Dumas's and Adolphe d'Ennery's collaboration *Don César de Bazan* that was first performed in 1844 at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin. Dumas's and d'Ennery's play drew heavily on the character developed in Victor Hugo's drama *Ruy Blas* from 1838. Don César is a noble, brave, and courageous grandee in seventeenth-century Spain, but he is, unfortunately, very poor and is therefore drawn into the intrigues at the Spanish court. *Don César de Bazan* was a popular drama and eventually Jules Massenet transformed it into an opera that was first performed in November 1872.

taste and artistically cut to last.”²⁶ After only a half-hour, “a man is remade like new completely, and does not give off an air that he is wearing his neighbor’s clothing on his back, which often happens when one deals with incompetent tailors.”²⁷ Above all, however, the deciding factor for shopping at *Au Prince Eugène* was that it was a “very economical” option.²⁸

Advertisements for these retailers insisted that customers did not need to sacrifice quality when purchasing a more affordable option. *Aux Armes de Paris* in eastern Paris at the Place de la Bastille visually emphasized the quality of their garments in a poster from 1852 (Figure 4.6). The poster advertised fixed prices on wholesale and individual orders of premade menswear. Though their stock was premade, the two mannequins on the poster display the quality of tailor-made garments. On the left is a back-view of a man’s brown redingote. The jacket’s skirt is pleated and comes in at



Figure 4.6 *Aux Armes de Paris*. 205 rue St. Antoine, 1852. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 167 cm x 99 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

²⁶ “C’est une maison de confection, qui résume à elle toute seule dix maisons de confection, et qui habille à ravir les petits garçons, les grands garçons et les vieux garçons... Un voyageur ou un artiste entrent au *Prince Eugène*, costumés en Don César de Bazan, il en sortent en dandys, en lions,... avec un habillement complet d’un goût exquis et d’une coupe hardie et artistique,” “Les Modes de Paris,” *Le Figaro*, 15 June 1856.”

²⁷ “En une demi-heure de temps, un homme est remis complètement à neuf, et n’a pas l’air d’avoir sur le dos les habits de son voisin, ce qui arrive très souvent quand on a affaire à un tailleur inhabile,” “Les Modes de Paris,” *Le Figaro*, 15 June 1856.”

²⁸ “Est très économique,” “Les Modes de Paris,” *Le Figaro*, 15 June 1856.”

the waist, the jacket is also embellished with matching buttons. The illustrator accentuates how darts are used to shape the back, shoulders, and arms. The mannequin on the right supports a dark-blue frock coat and white waistcoat that had been tailored to fit well together. The white waistcoat remains slightly visible underneath the form-fitting jacket, which corresponded to the current fashion.²⁹ The advertisement wanted to convince customers that whether purchasing wholesale or for individuals, they had nothing to fear at *Aux Armes de Paris*. Protecting the quality of their garments from misrepresentation was essential to competing with tailors who frequently criticized *confectionneurs* for making shoddy goods.³⁰

In print and in visual advertisements entrepreneurs and advertisers worked against a common presumption that fixed pricing was a scam. The potential scam was played out in Louis Huart's *Physiologie du Tailleur*, one part of a highly successful and humorous series of *physiologies* he wrote between 1841 and 1842. In one scene, Huart presented an encounter between a male customer and a shirt maker. The reader learns that the customer has gone for a shirt after seeing fixed prices advertised in the shop window. Pretty quickly the customer learned that 'fixed prices' are a lie as the shirt maker consistently adds to the price of his goods. In this case, the shirt the man picked cost a 'fixed price' of fifty francs; however, that sum did not include the additional fifteen francs for labor, seven francs to adjust the waist, or fifty sous for sturdy cuffs and buttons on the right arm (the one he presents to women when they promenade), or another four francs and ten sous for a collar.³¹ These *physiologies* aimed to capture, in a humorous tone, the nuances of contemporary Parisian life and were part of the popular "modern

²⁹ *Aux Armes de Paris*. 205 rue St. Antoine, 1852, paper, hand-colored engraving, 167 cm x 99 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

³⁰ Henriette Vanier, *La Mode et des métiers, Frivolités et lutes des classes, 1830-1870* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), 125-29.

³¹ Louis Huart (Author) and Paul Gavarni (Illustrator) *Physiologie du tailleur* (Paris: Aubert et Cie, 1841), 61-68.

life” genre of ephemeral print media.³² While these were fictional stories, the author and his audience expected to find kernels of truth in the narrative. In this story for example, the narrative obviously exaggerates the exchange between a shirt maker and his customer. The main thing that makes this clear is that shirt makers did not offer to reinforce men’s dominant sleeves for a sturdier promenade. For example, when the lawyer and politician Charlemagne de Maupas visited the shirt maker D. Darnet, who advertised shirt for fixed-prices, Maupas was able to purchase eight shirts for twenty francs each and was charged a total of 160 francs.³³ But there were perhaps shirt makers, retailers, or even tailors that offered not so fixed ‘fixed’ prices.

Terms and phrases such as “vrai” (real) and “invariable” often precede or follow the phrase “prix fixe” on posters.³⁴ Posters also frequently announce that the fixed prices are labeled

³² Lerner, *Graphic Culture*, 92-94; Martina Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth-Century. European Journalism and its Physiologies, 1830-1850*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Valérie Stiénon, *La Littérature des Physiologies: Sociopoétique d’un genre panoramique (1830-1845)* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012) ; Nathalie Preiss and Valérie Stiénon, “ ‘Sketched by themselves,’ The Panorama tested by the “Panormic,” *Intérférences littéraires/ Littéraire interférentiers* (May 2012): 17-24.

³³ Invoice from D. Darnet, 17 March 1851, AN 607AP/14.

³⁴ The retailer *Au Chatelet* used “vrai prix fixe,” while other companies such as *Au Congrès de Paris* used “prix fixe invariable.” *Au Chatelet, 43 R. de Rivoli, maison spéciale d’habillements sur mesure et tout faits pour hommes & enfants, modes d’automne & d’hiver*, 1859, black impression on colored paper, 85 cm x 124 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Congrès de Paris 138 rue de Rivoli 138... Prix fixe invariable. Vêtements pour hommes*, 1856, wood-engraving, hand-colored, 150 cm x 110 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

clearly in “known” or “recognizable” numbers (Figure 4.7). *Au Maréchal Moncey*, the self-described “department store of ready-made and bespoke clothing for men and boys,” advertised that their “fixed prices are marked with recognizable figures.”³⁵ These types of reassurances also appeared in Parisian almanacs, such as in 1863 when the retailer *Aux quatre nations* advertised “fixed prices marked in known digits.”³⁶ Finally, several of these retailers often turned to describing and labeling themselves as “trusted houses/ businesses” (*maisons de confiance*) (Figure 4.8. and Figure 4.9).³⁷ The overt emphasis on “fixed” prices and recognizable



Figure 4.7 *A Maréchal Moncey, maison de confiance, grand magasin d'habillements confectionnés et sur mesure pour hommes et enfants, 4, Grande Rue des Batignolles*, 1865. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 125 cm x 91 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

figures, as well as frequent mentions of trustworthiness, points to the expectation that viewers needed to be reassured that if they were to spend the little money they had, it would not be wasted and they would not be taken advantage of. How these advertisements continuously refer

³⁵ “Grand magasin d’habillements confectionnés et sur mesure pour hommes et enfants,” *A Maréchal Moncey, maison de confiance, grand magasin d’habillements confectionnés et sur mesure pour hommes et enfants, 4, Grande Rue des Batignolles*, 1865, paper, hand-colored lithograph, 125 cm x 91 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

³⁶ “Prix fixes marqués en chiffres connus,” Ambroise Fernin-Didot, *Annuaire-Almanach du commerce, de l’industrie, et de la magistrature et de l’administration, almanach des 500,000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers* (Paris : Chez Fermin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1863), 1100.

³⁷ Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Galerias des Halles centrales. A J. J. Rousseau*, 1852, paper, hand-colored engraving, 167 cm x 100 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France; Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Bon Fermier, Maison de confiance. Prix Fixe invariable*, 1852, paper, hand-colored engraving, 168 cm x 101 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.



Figure 4.8 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Galeries des Halles centrales. A J. J. Rousseau*, 1852. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 167 cm x 100 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

to fixed prices corresponds to what the sociologist Valérie Sacriste has described as the “mechanic” form of advertising which uses repeated, short and to the point, slogans or phrases that to introduce potential customers to new products and experience while perhaps assuaging anxieties about new practices.³⁸ The fixed pricing represented a rupture with the practices and social relationships that had previously defined commercial exchanges for clothing, which meant that entrepreneurs needed to develop strategies to introduce the public to their new goods and retail practices.

While fixed prices had a direct impact on the types of people who could now afford new clothing, these entrepreneurs also tried new and different retail and financing strategies to attract customers. Menswear retailers, for example, were among the first Parisian businesses to offer exchanges in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁹ *Au Roi de Prusse*, for example, began offering an eight-day return policy in 1846 which was then extended to fifteen days in 1847.⁴⁰ The practice would catch on and become a staple in department stores.⁴¹

Another new retail strategy was to offer new credit markets for middle-class and working-class people. Menswear retailers, for example, engaged in the practices of offering

³⁸ Valérie Sacriste, “Communication publicitaire et consommation d’objet dans la société moderne,” *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, no. 112 (2002): 132-133.

³⁹ Perrot, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 81.

⁴⁰ “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 17 October 1846; “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 5 May 1847; Perrot, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, 76.

⁴¹ Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marche: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton University Press, 1981), 24.



Figure 4.9 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Bon Fermier, Maison de confiance. Prix Fixe invariable*, 1852. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 168 cm x 101 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

formalized installment payment plans. Installment payment plans, which the sewing industry pioneered, established a new method of extending credit to working-class men and women. While the idea that people could pay for goods on credit was by no means new in France in this period, installment plans, according to Judith Coffin, did represent a new way for working-class people to borrow money. Installment plans from anonymous retail giants represent a shift away from older credit markets where customers received credit from their neighborhood shops and artisans, which has a long history in France.⁴² Before the formalization and expansions of credit markets, the French credit relationships that exemplified how ordinary people used and received credit were ones

based on trust produced through face to face economic relationships. Men knew their tailors, their butchers, and the litany of other retailers who gave them credit. The ready-made retailers were offering a different sort of economic relationship which alienated people from some of their debt.

Monsieur Crépin, for example, a Parisian pioneer of the installment plan model, created a scheme in the 1850s that allowed customers, whether Parisians or visitors, to purchase credit in the form of coupons (*bons d'abonnement*), which in turn could be used at a variety of

⁴² Coffin, "Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women's Desires, 752; Albert, *La Vie à crédit*, 70-72.

participating stores. As Coffin has described, customers would make a down payment of twenty francs for a coupon worth 100 francs of merchandise. Customers could immediately use the coupon to purchase their desired goods while deferring the payment of the remaining eighty francs.⁴³ One of the “300” merchants that accepted the Crépin coupons, as well as supplying the

Crépin flagship store, was the menswear retailer *Au Masque de Fer* which used the installment plan to entice potential customers in keeping with the over-all theme that fashionable menswear could be affordable (Figure 4.10).⁴⁴ *Au Masque de Fer* announced on its poster from the 1870s that not only did they accept Crépin coupons, they also offered to pay a round-trip ticket for customers who traveled up to twenty-five kilometers to reach the store in Paris as long as they held a coupon worth at least fifty francs.⁴⁵ The



Figure 4.10 Jules Chéret, *Au Masque de Fer... Nouveautés*, 1872. Paper, Lithograph, 130 x 95 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

development of financing schemes along with new marketing techniques was intended to attract

⁴³ Coffin, “Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women’s Desires,” 753.

⁴⁴ The number 300 comes from an advertisement for the Maison Crépin in the April 11, 1875 issue of *L’Éclipse: Journal hebdomadaire*, 4.

⁴⁵ Jules Chéret, *Au Masque de Fer... Nouveautés*, 1872, paper, lithograph, 130 x 95 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

new customers. In turn, these schemes also embedded customers in a wide range of financial relationships that they did not control themselves.

The evidence of these new retail practices appears in the historical record in much the same way that many French men and women first learned about them: newspaper advertisements. These advertisements were intended to educate consumers about new products, new pricing schemes, and credit practices. *Au Roi de Prusse* was one of many businesses that embraced the economic potentials of investing in print advertisements in major newspapers that reached tens of thousands of readers in Paris and in the French provinces at the tail end of the July Monarchy. Printed advertisements reappear in large numbers in French periodical during the 1820s and 1830s after a hiatus during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. Print advertisements appeared in large numbers in the 1770s and 1780s, but they were pushed out of the press when papers took on a decidedly political turn during the Revolution. After Charles X introduced new taxes in the 1820s, French newspaper publishers began to publish advertisements again in the press in order to offset publishing and shipping costs. During the July Monarchy, despite a lowering in the taxes, major newspapers including popular dailies such as *La Presse* and *Le Constitutionnel*, political papers including *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, as well as illustrated dailies like *Le Charivari*, continued to include advertisements often dedicating special weekly issues or even a page of daily issues to advertisements.⁴⁶

Au Roi de Prusse opened in the Place de la Bourse on September 15, 1845, and the business began advertising in French newspapers as early as the spring of 1846.⁴⁷ *Au Roi de Prusse* was strategic in its print campaigns, placing advertisements in *La Presse*, *Le*

⁴⁶ Feyel, "Presse et publicité en France," 340, 846-848.

⁴⁷ "Au Roi de Prusse," *Le Charivari*, 18 April 1846; "Au Roi de Prusse," *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 24 May 1846.

Constitutionnel, *Le Charivari*, and *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* at various moments between 1846 and 1847. The timing of the advertisements coincided with the seasons of the fashion cycle. Between October 1846 and February 1847, *Au Roi de Prusse* ran an advertisement offering a special deal on winter coats.⁴⁸ The following spring the store ran a new advertisement offering garments meant for the spring horse races at Longchamps.⁴⁹ Some of these advertisements, such as those in *Le Journal des débats* were placed in newspapers, while *Au Roi de Prusse* also used the “advertisement-poster” (*annonces-affiches*) to advertise in the spring and fall of 1846 and 1847 in other papers (Figure 4.11). The “advertisement-poster”

combined images, typically a stores logo, and a printed advertisement creating a sort of miniature poster. The advertisements varied in size: the largest could reach up to ½ of the page, while the majority were confined to the paper’s columns.⁵⁰



Au Roi de Prusse’s *annonces-affiches* all followed a similar

Figure 4.11 “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 8 May 1847. Paper, 4 cm x 4 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁴⁸ “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 2 November 1846. This advertisement also appeared on thirteen more occasions between 4 November 1846 and 28 November 1846; “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 15 October, 1846; “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 17 October 1847. This advertisement also appeared another twelve times in *Le Constitutionnel* between 19 October 1847 and 28 November 1847. The same add appeared in *La Presse*, 6 November 1847; *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 19 October 1847, 15 November 1847; *Le Charivari*, 2 November 1847.

⁴⁹ “Au Roi de Prusse,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 6 May 1847. This advertisement appeared fourteen more times in *Le Constitutionnel* between 8 May 1847 and 30 May 1847; The same add appeared in *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* 16 May 1847, 22 May 1847; *La Presse*, 11 May 1847, 17 May 1847, 1 June 1847, 3 June 1847.

⁵⁰ Feyel, “Presse et publicité en France (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle),” *Revue Historique*, vol. 305, n. 4 (October 2003): 858.

pattern. A figure of a man in a military uniform holding a bicorne hat appears to the left of a large block of text that introduced the store, the particular garments on sale at the moment, and mentioned the stores return policies. The man in the advertisements is perhaps a stylized representation of King Frederick William III of Prussia, whose was often represented dressed in military uniforms.⁵¹ In pursuing these print advertising campaigns that combined information about the store, its products, as well as a visual logo, *Au Roi de Prusse* was engaging in a modern form of advertising meant to introduce the public to new commercial practices, including fixed prices, returns, and credit schemes.

At *A La Redingote Grise* Monsieur Bodson and his colleagues clearly understood the potential benefits that advertising could have for their business venture. They offered customers access to an illustrated catalogue and between 1850 and 1890 the store issued metal commemorative tokens (Figure 4.12).⁵² Finding new customers and giving them new ways to finance and purchase clothing was perhaps the driving force behind *A La Redingote Grise*'s



Figure 4.12 Front (left), *Magasin d'habillement masculine "A la Redingote Grise": 45, rue de Rivoli à Paris, XIXe siècle, metal*. Back (right), *Magasin d'habillement masculine "A la Redingote Grise": 45, rue de Rivoli à Paris, XIXe siècle, metal*. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France

⁵¹ Franz Krüger, *Portrait of Frederick William III of Prussia*, 1837, Oil on canvas, 280 cm x 174 cm (Private Collection).

⁵² The illustrated catalogue is mentioned in several advertisements from the 1870s and the 1880s. *Le Journal Amusant, journal illustré*, 20 November 1875, 8; *Gil Bas*, 22 May 1882, 4.

practice of issuing commemorative tokens that functioned as advertisements for the business.

The tokens all have the same basic information. On one side of the tokens appears the text:

“Dépôt central vêtements pour hommes.” On the other side of the token is a copy of the floating redingote seen on the poster from 1856, and the store’s name usually encircles the jacket.

Evidence from the tokens kept in the Musée Carnavalet suggests that they were issued on

multiple occasions because they differ in shape, and sometimes in their design. For example,

some of the coins are twelve sided while the rest are round, some tokens include the proprietor’s name while others do not. Following Laurent Nesly’s study of French tokens, those of *La*

Redingote Grise most likely served one of two purposes. First, they were most likely a form of advertising. The tokens would be given out to people passing the store or to customers who had

entered and began browsing. This was a common strategy that other menswear retailers such as the department store *A La Belle Jardinière*, as well as none-clothing related business including

restaurants, shops, and theatres practiced. A second possibility is that they filled the same role as

Crépin coupons, they were a type of tender the store accepted or they were given to customers to use on items if they had made a return or an exchange. However, Nesly suggests that tokens for

commercial ventures, like those of *La Redingote Grise*, were most likely simply forms of advertisement for the new store.⁵³

The addresses listed on posters also explain the geography of the ready-to-wear industry.

They show how retailers expanded into the socially mixed neighborhoods on the right bank of

the Seine. These were the parts of the city where new industrial and commercial centers

developed between 1850 and 1870.⁵⁴ Several of the menswear retailers, moreover, used the

⁵³ Laurent Nesly, *Les Jetons-reclame d’expression française (1750-1950)*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Association des collectionneurs de jetons-monnaie, 2020), 5-7.

⁵⁴ Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, La Ville (1852-1870)*, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1997), 75-78.

names of city streets and their association with celebrated figures to draw inspiration for their marketing strategies. *A Jean-Jacques Rousseau* for example opened across from the Rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Mazarin* was on the intersection of the rue de Buci and the Rue Mazarin, just as *A Voltaire* was most likely a reference to the Boulevard Voltaire. Some stores opened in the traditional elite commercial centers in Paris such as *Aux Armes d'Angleterre* in the Palais Royal, *Au Prince Eugène* close to the Bourse, and *Au Pré aux Clercs* in the faubourg Saint Germain, but these were exceptions. For the most part, menswear retailers opened in commercial neighborhoods that catered to a broader mix of middle-class, lower middle-class, and even working-class customers.⁵⁵ Evidence from the 1863 *Didot-Bottin*, the principal French almanac, shows how these businesses thrived in places like the Sentier district, where many of the earlier clothing factories were located, as well as along the busy Rue de Rivoli. Menswear retailers also opened in commercial and travel hubs around the Place du Château d'Eau and Place de la Bastille in eastern Paris, and the Place de Clichy in northern Paris.⁵⁶ *A Voltaire*, was in the Place du Chateau d'Eau. Its location is indicative of the process that Jeanne Gaillard has identified in this period when large retail business, such as *A Voltaire*, transformed the Place du Château d'Eau into "a major crossroads in Eastern Paris," where a growing population of middle-class, lower middle-class, and the working-class mixed and shopped.⁵⁷

After Haussmann and Louis-Napoléon orchestrated the annexation of the communities surrounding Paris in 1860, retailers also opened, for example, in and around the commercial centers of 17th arrondissement at the Place de Clichy, in the 19th arrondissement in the Faubourg

⁵⁵ Barrie M. Ratcliffe and Christine Piette, *Vivre la ville: Les classes populaires à Paris (1ère moitié du XIXe siècle)* (Paris: La Boutique de l'histoire, 2007), 16-17,

⁵⁶ Firmin-Didot, *Annuaire-almanach du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature et de l'administration: ou almanach des 500.000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers* (Paris: 1863), 1101.

⁵⁷ Gaillard, *Paris*, 178-180; 411.

Saint Martin, and on the left bank of the Seine in the Mouffetard neighborhood. Gaillard has shown that neighborhoods such as the area surrounding the Place de Clichy experienced a large growth in population during this period that attracted new commercial ventures.⁵⁸ Increased circulation and transportation transformed places like the Place de Clichy and the previously mentioned Château d'Eau into new and thriving segments of the Parisian commercial sector catering to a mix of middle-class and working-class populations.

The menswear industry was changing during the mid-nineteenth century. New products, new retail practices, and new credit options were contributing to the modernization of the French consumer economy. It was modernizing, in so far as, these new practices made clothing consumption potentially egalitarian (finished goods become available to more people), actors such as Crépin added new intermediaries to the act of buying potentially isolating individuals from their finances, and the private sector is engaged in advertising practices which “educate” the public establishing new norms of social relations between buyer and seller, between retailer and consumer, between extender of credit and debtor, that are embedded in the economy. Ready-to-wear and fixed prices were creating new and potentially disturbing options for consumers, and it was in their advertisements that retailers hoped to assuage these anxieties.

4.2 Reformatting Fashion Advertising for a New Audience

Fashion in the *confectionneur*'s advertisements was not the purview of the elite, but rather a practice in which non-elite men could and should participate. Entrepreneurs and the creatives they worked with appropriated various techniques from French visual and print culture, that had been used to sell clothing to elites for at the least fifty years, to make the affordability of

⁵⁸ Gaillard, *Paris*, 134-135.

ready-made and the necessity of participating in its consumption legible to consumers using a new medium. Commercial posters from the 1850s and 1860s draw heavily on the forms, styles, and subject matters that French artists, publishers, and fashion journalists popularized through fashion plates, large scale fashion prints, and commercial prints. In doing so, the ready-made clothing industry presented the possibilities of shopping to a new cohort of consumers and altered where and how people saw and experienced fashion imagery. While these new advertisements borrowed and retooled the techniques of the fashion press and fashion imagery, ready-made retailers tailored their advertisements to a new cohort of consumers, especially members of the middle-class and wealthier individuals in the working-class.

A La Redingote Grise's 1858 poster mimics several of the qualities of fashion plates and popular prints from the preceding decades (Figure 4.1). First, early commercial posters use the same formal structure of fashion plates: a large image dominates the page and below it appears a caption. The image and the accompanying text are kept separate because printing technology did not allow for the two to be combined (later in the century, however, new technology would allow printers like Chéret to combine texts and images and intersperse them). Second, models in the posters appear in the same positions as in fashion plates. Since the 1820s, fashion plates featured two or three individuals who model fashions for viewers, and it was common technique to show one of the models slightly or completely turned away from the viewer. This was done to allow them to model clothing from behind such as in the menswear journal *Le Lion* (Figure 4.13). The

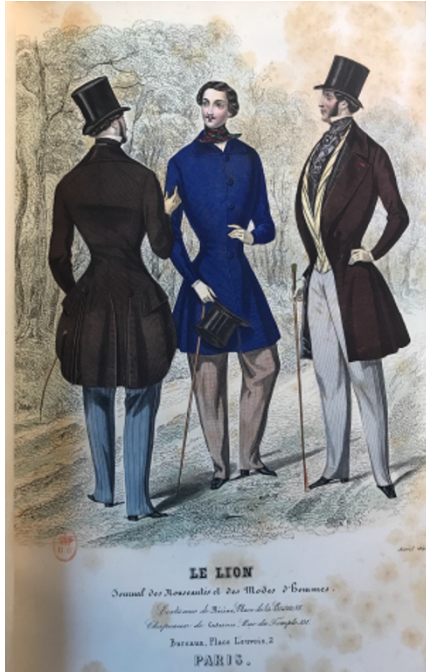


Figure 4.13 “Costumes de Bésin, Place de la Bourse, 10; Chapeaux de Cadessus, Rue du Temple, 131.” *Le Lion, Journal des Nouveautés et des Modes d’Hommes*. (Avril 1845).

two men in *A la Redingote Grise*’s poster could easily be copied and used in a men’s fashion journal or vice versa. *Au Chatelet* commissioned a poster in 1859 that features fashionably dressed men and boys positioned in a line in the center of the poster mimicking the style increasingly common in fashion magazines during the Second Empire (Figure 4.14). Menswear journals such as *l’Homme du monde* and *Le Progrès* would include full sheet fashion plates that folded down the middle inside of the journals (Figure 4.15 and Figure 4.16). These sheets depicted between five to eight models in a wide array of outfits meant to demonstrate the variety of clothing available from advertisers. *Au Chatelet*’s



Figure 4.14 *Au Chatelet, 43 R. de Rivoli, maison spéciale d’habillements sur mesure et tout faits pour hommes & enfants, modes d’automne & d’hiver, 1859*. Black impression on colored paper, 85 cm x 124 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

poster has the same effect with three central men in variations on formal and informal menswear as well as four examples of children’s clothing. Text and two flanking men bearing standards announcing fixed prices surround the seven models. Third, the texts that accompany these images of fashionable men and children are meant to explain or



Figure 4.15 “L’Homme du Monde,” *L’Homme du Monde, Magasin complet du gentleman français*, 10 May 1863. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 31 cm x 49 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.



Figure 4.16 “Chapellerie de Desprey,” *Le Progrès*, July 1854, pl. 53. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 32 cm x 49 cm. Private Collection, Toledo, Ohio.

give life to the scenarios depicted above, or at the very least anchor the viewer in time and place.⁵⁹

These fashion images provided viewers with aspirational images; or in other words, the advertisements give people a way of imagining themselves wearing the clothing displayed and participating in the activities that went with certain outfits. The commercial

posters in the second half of the nineteenth-century engaged in the same aspirational politics that Kate Nelson Best has identified in fashion plates from the previous decades.⁶⁰ At first glance the image on *La Redingote Grise*’s poster from 1858 simply represents two men in contemporary French clothing but a close reading of

the accompanying text shows how these images were meant to tell viewers a story, one they could relate to and imagine themselves doing. The caption presents the following scenario,

⁵⁹ Susan Siegfried explores the nuances of the relationship between draftsman and editors/ publishers who often were responsible for the captions of popular lithographic prints. See Siegfried, “Portraits of Fantasy, Portraits of Fashion,” 14-28.

⁶⁰ Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 35-40.

which is also mentioned in the introduction: the man on the right, who is visually disheveled in this poster, has stopped in shock at the sight of his friend transformed in clothes from *La Redingote Grise*. When confronted with his friend the man exclaims, “Psss! My boy, look at how you are dressed.” Interested he asks, “Hein! That’s it... Which is the *Maison* that has dressed you?” His friend then directs him to *La Redingote Grise* and their special on a “complete outfit” for 49 francs, and the other man responds with “I’ll take the address.”⁶¹ In 1871, a little over a decade later, Jules Chéret used the exact same scenario in a poster for *A la Redingote Grise*’s neighbor and competitor, *La Maison du Châtelet* (Figure 4.17).⁶² Whoever was



Figure 4.17 Jules Chéret, *Maison du Châtelet... Pest mon cher comme te voilà mis*, 1876. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 126 cm x 89 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

responsible for creating the actual text has conspicuously included a particular syntax and verb structure that indicates the two men are either friends, close acquaintances, or even family. The two men, for example, use the informal “tu” with each other as well as terms of endearment like “*mon cher*.”⁶³ In using the familiar verb tense and sentence structure, the advertisers were challenging the idea that fashion was only the preserver of the elite. Rather, in this poster, the social dynamics of fashion are being extended to

⁶¹ Rouchon, *Pest! Mon cher, comme te voilà mis*, 1858.

⁶² Jules Chéret, *Maison du Châtelet... Pest mon cher comme te voilà mis*, 1876, paper, hand-colored lithograph, 126 cm x 89 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁶³ Rouchon, *Pest! Mor cher, comme te voilà mis*.

include members of the middle and working classes.

The dialogue in these advertisements follows what the sociologist Valérie Sacriste's describes as an advertisement's ability to invoke an imagined but realistic scenario that encourages readers to view themselves as consumers. She explains that an advertisement's purpose is to sell, and to sell it must influence, and to influence it must seduce the consumer "adjusting to representation, tendencies, and social practices."⁶⁴ Sacriste continues by explaining that advertisements tend to reflect an imagined social reality, that is by no means objective or grounded in truth, but rather "a typification of what individuals believe it to be."⁶⁵ In mobilizing a friendly conversation between two men who are known to each other, these posters attempted to bring in other men to imagine themselves engaging in the same type of transformation through clothing.

This differentiation between advertisements for non-elites versus those for elites is modeled in Chéret's 1875 poster for *A Voltaire*, a menswear retailer that could be found on the Place du Château d'Eau (which would become the Place de la République in 1880), reached by the Boulevard named for Voltaire only five years earlier. The poster uses the vignette style that magazines such as *La Vie Parisienne* had popularized in the previous decade, but the emphasis on price distinguishes it from the vignette style used to advertise elite tailors (Figure 4.18. and 1.19). Chéret's strategic use of four vignettes that surround an image of the store's namesake, Voltaire, speaks to the ways in which illustrators designed these posters to appeal to the aspirational tendencies of the viewers while keeping price in mind. The poster is divided into four quadrants, in each of which the viewer is presented with a man engaging in a middle-class leisurely pursuit. In the top left a man appears in formal daywear attending a concert in a

⁶⁴ "Se calant aux représentations, tendances et modes sociales," Sacriste, *Publicité et consommation d'objet*, 137.

⁶⁵ "Une typification de ce que les individus croient qu'elle est," Sacriste, *Publicité et consommation d'objet*, 137.



Figure 4.18 Jules Chéret, *A Voltaire vêtements pour hommes et enfants*, 1875. Paper, Color lithograph, 120 cm x 80 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

bandstand (*kiosque*), of which there were approximately 4000 built in France between 1850 and 1914. These venues served as a principal site for middle-class sociability and leisure.⁶⁶ The three remaining images show men enjoying a day at the beach, a day fishing, and tending a country garden in casual day-wear. The activities represented in these three vignettes also correspond to new forms of middle-class sociability and leisure that were made possible with the advent of the French railways system. For example, new trains that connected Normandy beaches to Paris meant that the urban middle-class could take advantage of a day at the beach or a day in the country and return

to Paris in the evening. Leaving Paris for a bit of country air is immortalized in several popular novels including Emile Zola's *Au Bonheur des Dames* (1883) as well as *Therese Raquin* (1866).⁶⁷

In many ways *A Voltaire's* 1875 poster and Humann's advertisement from 1869 are very similar: men are shown engaging in leisure activities, and each requires a different outfit. They do, however, differ in one very important way: they present two different types of sociability

⁶⁶ Marie-Claire Mussat. "Kiosques à musique et urbanisme. Les enjeux d'une autre scène," *Le Concert et son public: Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002), 317-319.

⁶⁷ Gabriel Desert, *La Vie quotidienne sur les plages normandes du Second Empire aux Années folles* (Paris: Hachette, 1983).

through the activities presented. The vignettes in Humann's advertising reflect elite forms of sociability, while Chéret's poster speaks to middle-class and lower middle-class sensibilities. The scenes depicted on these posters embedded the consumer in comfortable and familiar relationships between men whose friendship is part of what sustains their common commitment to looking good (at a good price) in public and in aspirational social settings. It is the social dynamics of fashion that are used to encourage the purchase of these ready-to-wear garments. However, the actual buyer of these goods is not necessarily cementing this kind of familiar relationship with a friend or colleague. In fact, in the act of buying from a retailer, customers were entering into a series of anonymous and potentially troubling relationship of debt and vulnerability with business interests that the buyer does not actually know or maybe even understand. Posters were instrumental in allowing retailers to educate their potential consumers about their products while also assuaging any potential anxieties caused by the relative newness of the practices these in which these businesses engaged.

4.3 Menswear for Everyman and Advertising

Menswear retailers and the illustrators and printers they worked with used an array of figures and symbols that were highly charged emotionally and could arouse the sentiments and ambitions of French audiences. The historian Matthew Truesdell, following Emile Durkheim, convincingly argues that symbols attached to highly emotional concepts or figures have the power to "conjure up" potent responses from audiences. In the Second Empire symbols that evoked concepts like the First French Empire and the Tricolor tended to produce such powerful responses from mass audiences that the government used them to create an image of Louis-Napoleon as the "culmination of French history, the guarantor of prosperity and stability, and the

embodiment of the national will.”⁶⁸ Furthermore, these symbols are “multivocal,” that is, they are symbols that have the ability to attract different people for different reasons.⁶⁹ Those discrepancies, however, do not preclude groups from forming a consensus around the importance or emotional value of the symbol. Menswear retailers, like the French government, relied on a neat repertoire of evocative symbols that included Napoleon I and his empire, the military, the Catholic Church, and France’s intellectual past to present clothing consumption as a part of everyman’s life, as part of what it meant to be French, despite differences in creed, political opinion, and class position. The posters are an example of retailers and advertisers mobilizing marketing strategies that appeal to the ideological dimensions of class identity and national politics. These posters demonstrate how retailers could commodify patriotism in a non-threatening way and how patriotism could find a mass outlet. The nation was a commercially useful idea, as well as a politically useful idea.

One common theme in the advertising campaigns of the menswear industry in the Bibliothèque nationale de France’s collection is Napoleon, his armies, and the celebrity of the emperor, especially during the Second Empire when the government was equally obsessed with drawing on Napoleon I to legitimize the regime of Louis-Napoleon. Louis-Napoleon used a “canny politics of image,” or rather, “marketing,” to make this happen. During the 1850s, symbols like the tricolor, Napoleon’s eagle, bees, and representations of Napoleon himself were incredibly emotionally charged symbols that the regime aimed to coopt.⁷⁰ The regime was not, however, the only ones who recognized Napoleonic imagery as a powerful tool, the retail industry quickly adopted the First Empire as its own fountain of inspiration.

⁶⁸ Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics*, vii.

⁶⁹ Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics*, 7.

⁷⁰ Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics*, 5-8.

Take for example the store *A La Redingote Grise*: the store’s name, “the Gray Redingote,” is a direct reference to Napoleon I’s famous jacket that he wore as part of his colonel’s uniform and that became the store’s logo (Figure 4.19).⁷¹ The redingote itself was wrapped up in the mythology of Napoleon, who was often represented wearing the gray redingote in artistic representations of his life and accomplishments. For example, Napoleon slouches in his redingote in Paul Delaroche’s painting *Napoleon I à Fontainebleau, 31 Mars 1814* (1840) (Figure 4.20)



Figure 4.20 Jean Alexis Rouchon, *45 rue de Rivoli 45 au coin de la rue St-Denis À la Redingote grise...*, 1856. Wood engraving, 142 cm x 101 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

and uses it to keep his body warm in Delaroche’s *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (1850) (Figure 4.21). Whether Napoleon was surmounting impossible obstacles or in his final defeat, his gray



redingote helped audiences identify the former emperor. The garment also featured in satirical prints such as “Un Âne Chargé de Reliques” from the Second Republic, in which a donkey parades down a country lane carrying Napoleon’s iconic clothing (his sword, a bicorn hat, black boots, and his gray redingote), while women on the left

Figure 4.19 Hippolyte Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau, 31 March 1814*, 1846. Oil on canvas, 69.2 cm x 53.2 cm (support, canvas, panel). Royal Collection Trust, Osborne House, Billiards Room, Isle of Wight, England.

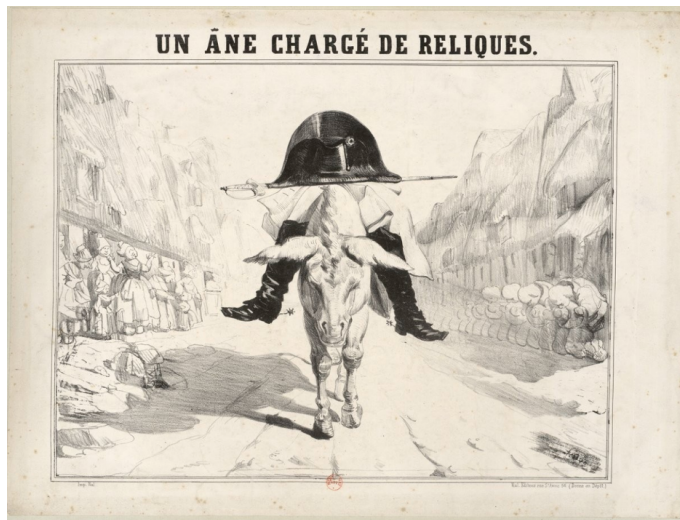
⁷¹ Jean Alexis Rouchon, *45 rue de Rivoli 45 au coin de la rue St-Denis À la Redingote grise*, 1856, wood engraving, 142 cm x 101 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.



Figure 4.21 Hippolyte Paul Delaroche, *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*, 1850. Oil on canvas, 279.4 cm x 214.5 cm. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England.

celebrate and men on the right prostrate themselves before the emperor's relics. (Figure 4.22).⁷² Images such as these speak to the highly emotional ways in which people were thought to respond to the symbols of the long-gone emperor. Some men are humbled and in awe while others mourn; either way, the redingote can recall the emotional epoch of the empire. The jacket, moreover, is still intimately tied to the memory of the emperor and one, on loan from the Louvre, remains on display in the Musée de l'Armée in the Invalides in Paris (Figure 4.23).⁷³ Though it was not obvious in the poster from 1858 (Figure 4.1),

Monsieur Bodson's other advertising campaigns often feature the emperor's jacket prominently, as in the company's first poster from 1856 as well as on the previously discussed tokens (Figure



4.12). In using symbols such as

Napoleon's famous jacket, Bodson was

Figure 4.22 "Un âne chargé de reliques" (bottes, épée, petit chapeau et redingote grise), traverse la grand'rue d'un village, au bord de laquelle, à gauche, les femmes et les enfants manifestent leur joie tandis qu'à droite, les hommes sont respectueusement agenouillés," ca. 1848. Paper, lithograph, 21.5 cm x 29 cm. *Collection de Vinck. Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1770-1870*, vol. 122, pl. 15139. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁷² "Un âne chargé de reliques" (bottes, épée, petit chapeau et redingote grise), traverse la grand'rue d'un village, au bord de laquelle, à gauche, les femmes et les enfants manifestent leur joie tandis qu'à droite, les hommes sont respectueusement agenouillés," ca. 1848. Paper, lithograph, 21.5 cm x 29 cm. *Collection de Vinck. Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1770-1870*, vol. 122, pl. 15139. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁷³ *Capote ayant appartenu à l'empereur Napoléon Ier*. Inv.: Ca 16; P 601.2. Paris, Musée d'Armée.



Figure 4.23 Emperor Napoleon I's redingote, France, various textiles, circa 1815. On display at Musée de l'Armée, on loan from Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes, Paris, France. Inventory number: MS 199.

using Napoleonic imagery to attract a particular type of clientele, middle-class and working-class men that supported the Napoleonic regime, by creating a link between the positive associations of the emperor and his regime with the act of shopping for ready-made clothing.⁷⁴ The use of emotional imagery and themes in these posters were also significant because they were being invoked to potentially mask the fact that the relationships of consumption were in fact not emotional. Rather they were relationships between retailers, creditors, customers, and debtors. These posters covered up those economic relations with

different levels of meaning that could make them more acceptable.

Another poster for *A La Redingote Grise* from 1856, which advertised the same deal it offered in 1858, also advertises a new and improved pocket design that had been patented and was meant to protect customers from pickpockets (Figure 4.24). The fictional scene pictured in the ad showed Napoleon I dressed in his famous gray redingote and bicorne hat attempting to get past a soldier on a patrol. The soldier has denied Napoleon passage; crying out: "You cannot

⁷⁴ Branding is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.



Figure 4.24 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *A la Redingote grise. On ne passe pas! Ignorez-tu qui je suis?* 1856. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 138 cm x 100 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

pass!”⁷⁵ A dismayed Napoleon asks the soldier if he has recognized him. The soldier responds, “Even if you are the little corporal in a gray redingote, I repeat that you cannot pass.”⁷⁶ That same night, the emperor awarded the soldier a medal, the caption concludes. Like the steadfast soldier, the pocket designs used on jackets sold at *A La Redingote Grise* would protect the consumer.

The Second French Empire’s military campaigns as well as the First Napoleonic empire also produced a strong sense of pride for patriotic French men, which more retailers exploited in their marketing. Part of the emotional

effectiveness of these marketing strategies was that they linked clothing consumption to the powerful emotions associated with the military and its relationship to French nationalism. Truesdell argues that “no institution more closely resembled the ideal of a unified national community or so poignantly evoked the strong, emotional commitment conjured up by the nation – especially in facing death in the service of that community – than the army.”⁷⁷ The memory of Napoleon was a powerful one that the Second Empire and the July Monarchy both hope to

⁷⁵ “On ne passe pas!” Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *A la Redingote grise. On ne passe pas! Ignorez-tu qui je suis?* 1856, paper, hand-colored lithograph, 138 cm x 100 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁷⁶ “Quant bien même vous seriez le petit caporal avec sa redingote grise je vous répète que l’on ne passe pas,” Rouchon *A La Redingote Grise... On Ne Passe Pas!*, 1856.

⁷⁷ Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics*, 137.

channel in the attempts to secure their own political legitimacy.⁷⁸ It seems that several of these retailers understood that mobilizing the memory of Napoléon would attract exactly the type of men that they hoped to encourage to consume – the lower-middle and middle-class men whom Louis-Napoléon courted as his political base. Napoleon I and his nephew would not have appealed to the elite of old aristocrats and Legitimists, but those were not the people to whom ready-made retailers were advertising.

This was especially true during the military campaigns of the Second Empire, in particular the Crimean War (1853-1856). Retailers used the excitement, patriotism, and anxiety surrounding these campaigns to market the use of ready-made clothing. *Au Congrès de Paris*, for example, opened in 1856 and was named after the 1856 Congress of Paris where France, Great Britain, Sardinia, Russia, Austria, and the Ottoman Empire met to settle a peace to end the Crimean War (Figure 4.25). The center of the poster is dominated by a representation of the various diplomats who went to Paris to settle the peace terms. European and Ottoman representatives are huddled around a large table in front of which stands the Comte Walewski, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs who presided over the peace conference. As in the posters for *Au Prince Eugène*,



Figure 4.25 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Congrès de Paris 138 rue de Rivoli 138... Prix fixe invariable. Vêtements pour hommes*, 1856. Paper, hand-colored engraving, 150 cm x 110 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

⁷⁸ Louis-Philippe, for example, began a campaign in 1840 to have Napoleon's corpse exhumed and brought back to France. The project would not be completed until the Second Empire.

the central images are based on popular prints. The signing of the peace treaty on March 30, 1856, was the subject of several lithographs issued with accompanying captions that identified the assembled diplomats, such as René de Moraine's *Congrès de Paris, Signature de la Paix le 30 mars 1856*, published in 1856 (Figure 4.26). The historian Sudhir Hazareesingh has argued that the Crimean War was a turning point in the public perception of the new emperor and the role of the French military since the coup. The public image of the army was transformed from an instrument of domestic order into a harbinger of French national glory, especially after the



capture of the Russian naval base at Sebastopol in 1855.⁷⁹ French success in the Crimea, the excitement around the conference, and national pride were channeled in this poster to entice men to purchase new clothing and participate in a modern consumer culture.

Figure 4.26 René de Moraine, *Congrès de Paris, Signature de la Paix le 30 mars 1856*, 1856. Lithograph, 18.4 x 26.7 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

The military of the

First French empire also

resonated with French advertisers. *Au Prince Eugène* was named, for example, after Napoleon's stepson Eugène de Beauharnais (1781-1824). Beauharnais served as Napoleon's aide-de-camp in Egypt and eventually became a captain in the Consular Guard after the coup of Brumaire.

Napoleon then appointed Beauharnais Viceroy of Italy, a position he held until 1814. After the

⁷⁹ Sudhir Hazareesingh, "A Common Sentiment of National Glory": Civic Festivities and French Collective Sentiment under the Second Empire," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (June 2004), 297-300.



Figure 4.27 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Prince Eugène. Vêtements confectionnés*, 1849. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 280 cm x 138 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

fall of the Napoleonic Empire in 1814, Beauharnais went to Munich where he lived until his death in 1824. When the store opened in March 1849, he was the perfect reference for a new store that wanted to make a quick name for itself because Beauharnais was a popular and famous relative of the old emperor and the new president, Louis-Napoleon (soon to be new emperor). In order to benefit from its famous namesake's reputation, the poster advertising the store's grand opening in 1849 reproduced a portrait of Beauharnais in his army uniform (Figure 4.27)

based on similar portraits such as Johann Heinrich



Figure 4.28 Johann Heinrich Richter, *Portrait of Eugène Beauharnais*, 1830-1833. Oil on canvas, 132 cm x 102 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Richter's posthumous portrait of Beauharnais (Figure 4.28) and ones that appeared in popular prints from the Restoration (Figure 4.29) and in collections of celebrated figures like François Georffin's *Gloire nationale* from the July Monarchy (Figure 4.30). Dressed in his military uniform, Eugène Beauharnais was a sight to

behold and the entrepreneurs behind the store hoped he would be good at drawing in men who were looking to emulate the military figure and French military glory which he embodied.



Figure 4.30 *Portrait d'Eugène Beauharnais, en pied*. Paris: Andre Bourguin (publishers), ca. 1824. Paper, engraving. Collection Michel Hennin, Estampes relatives à l'Histoire de France, vol. 163, Pièces 14246-14337, 1824-1825, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

The people behind *Au Prince Eugène* mobilized crucial events in Eugène Beauharnais's life, such as his childhood and military victories, to attract new customers when retelling the military man's life. In 1856 *Au Prince Eugène* was expanded and at this point it occupied the first two stories of a building on the rue Vivienne. To commemorate the occasion and to advertise the store's reopening, a poster was

commissioned that prominently features the new building (Figure 4.31). The ground floor appears overflowing with

men's jackets, pants, waistcoats, and accessories as men and women gather outside the store, and on the left the viewer gets a glimpse of a man and his son entering the store. Panoramas that chronicle the life of Eugène Beauharnais and his time serving Napoleon and his



Figure 4.29 François Georgin, *Gloire nationale. Eugène Bauharnais* (sic). Paris: Pellerin, 1837. Collection Images d'Epinal de la Maison Pellerin. Vol. 1, 1810-1836. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.



Figure 4.31 *Au Prince Eugène 17 Rue Vivienne ouverture le jeudi 24 avril des nouveaux magasins de vêtements d'hommes et d'enfants*, 1856. Paper, hand-colored lithograph, 130 cm x 94 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

armies replace the second-story windows. The three largest panels represent military campaigns in which Beauharnais participated, and the smallest of the panels recreates an anecdote from Beauharnais' childhood. In 1794, soon after Beauharnais's father, was executed, Napoleon met with Eugène and presented him with his dead father's sword. it was rumored that Napoleon was first presented to his future wife Josephine during this meeting; however, she does not appear in the panel. Josephine's absence reflects a practice that the art historian Todd Porterfield has identified in images that used the

anecdote as a subject. Josephine is elided, Porterfield argues, to emphasize the masculinity of the bonding between men across generations and its intent to replicate a military ethos.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ One picture Porterfield discusses, which could have been the inspiration for the panel, was Charles Steuben's painting *General Bonaparte Remits to Young Eugène de Beauharnais His Father's Sword* from 1824 where Josephine is not featured. Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 103.

These panels connected the story of Beauharnais' life with the experience of shopping for menswear. The father and son are recreating the bonding experience through the act of consumption. *Au Prince Eugène's* advertising strategy is an example of how fashionableness and self-fashioning a new consumer identity was transmitted through recognizable models of masculinity that were intended to make fashion accessible and enticing to a growing portion of the French population. This advertising campaign also supports the historian Brian Joseph Martin's argument that military reforms instituted during and after the French Revolution established an enduring model for "fraternal" friendship based on a sense of camaraderie forged between fellow soldiers on the battlefield. Men conscripted into the army by lot during the middle of the nineteenth century would take this model of friendship with them when they left and entered civilian life.⁸¹ The panels recreated in the advertisement drew on the model established by Napoleon's armies to make the connection between men, their masculinity, and the act of shopping for menswear. The father who learned about camaraderie and service in the army now teaches his son about the importance of clothing and dress.

In advertisements for menswear retailers, one of the most popular themes alongside references to Napoleon and the military were references to France's political and cultural past. Napoleonic references competed with associations with other celebrated men like the almost mythological figures Emperor Charlemagne and King Louis IX (Saint Louis), as well as famous Old Regime politicians including Cardinal Mazarin.⁸² Some entrepreneurs used advertising

⁸¹ The men who served in the army tended to be from the working-class because elite men would pay for a substitute in order to avoid service. Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (Hanover: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011).

⁸² Anonymous, *A Charlemagne rue St-Denis 370, manufacture de vêtements [sic] pour hommes*, 1855, paper, lithograph, 128 cm x 93 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France; Anonymous, *Au Grand St Louis 76 rue St-Louis*, 1855, paper, lithograph, 128 cm x 94 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France; Anonymous, *A Mazarin rue de Buci 1... vêtements [sic]*, 1854, paper, lithograph, 140 cm x 110 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

campaigns that relied on the Enlightenment for their inspiration, by invoking Jean Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire. As we have already seen in this chapter, *A Voltaire* used the philosopher's name and face to advertise the store. *A J.J. Rousseau*, moreover, used Rousseau's name and image in the 1850s. As mentioned above, many of these stores drew their name from their proximity to streets that shared their namesake. While the city's geography played a significant role in their naming, this practice also reflects what Philippe Hamon has described as commercial advertising making use of French literature for commercial gains. In using these names, retailers localized the store in the city while also channeling popular sentiments associated with the figures in question such as Rousseau and Voltaire.⁸³ In a perhaps sacrilegious attempt to attract more customers, retailers also mobilized popular religious sentiments and devotion for financial gains. Catholic saints and even Jesus Christ provided ample fodder for store names and advertising campaigns. In 1854 the retailer, *Au Bon Pasteur*, strategically used a figure of Jesus Christ draped in robes and carrying a wounded lamb to advertise their special price on dressing gowns (Figure 4.32). Marketing campaigns such as this one support Suzanne Kaufman's assertion that popular religion was a mobilizing factor in the commercialization of nineteenth-century France.⁸⁴ By making these different associations in

⁸³ Hamon, *Imageries*, 156-158.

⁸⁴ For more on the commercialization of Catholicism see Suzanne K. Kaufmann, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).



Figure 4.32 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *La Maison de vêtements pour hommes. Au Bon Pasteur, robes de chambre à 15 francs*, 1854. Paper, lithograph, 108 cm x 69.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

their marketing campaigns these entrepreneurs were making a concerted effort to present clothing consumption as an activity that all types of Frenchmen could enjoy.

Once again we will return to the example of *A La Redingote Grise*: Alongside a robust poster campaign, the store also used an aggressive print campaign advertising in popular dailies such as the conservative financial newspaper *La France* and the radical republican daily *Le Rappel*.⁸⁵ As the political and ideological differences between these two papers suggests, Monsieur Bodson was interested in presenting his business as the retailer *par excellence* for every man, despite differences in political leanings or class status.

Napoleonic imagery was perhaps especially popular in the 1850s and early 1860s because of Louis-Napoleon's frequent claims of working and speaking for the common people of France. While it also served to attract Bonapartists and jingoists who harkened for the former days of the French empire.

In drawing on emotional symbols and by associating themselves with an illustrious past or hopeful present retailers present shopping and engaging in the social politics of clothing as an essential part of everyday life in France. From Napoleonic imagery to associations with France's intellectual past, these posters mobilized different symbols to attract the largest number of

⁸⁵ *La France*, 8 December 1879; *Le Rappel*, 30 November 1875.

shoppers possible. In terms of the larger effect on the development of modern capitalism in France, the breath of subject matters and the use of a range of emotional symbols demonstrate how the spread of modern consumer culture in France relied on retailers, entrepreneurs, and advertisers mobilizing the various ways in which people identified themselves, through unifying ideas, to encourage the spread of consumer culture in the mid-nineteenth century. Whether it was Napoleon, the War in the Crimea, or the famous men whose names were remembered on street signs and storefronts, these retailers show how patriotism and the nation could be commodified for a mass public and used to assuage anxieties about new economic relations.

Conclusions

The mid-nineteenth century was by no means the first time that non-elite men in France engaged in a blossoming commercial culture. Historians of the eighteenth century, for example, have shown that a consumer driven desire for new goods was well underway in modern Europe before the advent of the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ The rise of ready-made clothing in France in the mid-nineteenth century did mean that retail and commercial practices were changing. For starters, it was the first time many more people were able to purchase a new garment and did not have to rely on a used jacket or frock. While in and of itself this might not seem revolutionary to contemporary consumers who can purchase almost anything on a whim, for non-elites in France in the 1850s this was a major shift in practice.

The rise of ready-made clothing was made possible by the variety of retail and manufacturing practices and techniques the industry developed including fixed prices and new

⁸⁶ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing; Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France*; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

financing schemes. They provided potential shoppers with a host of new opportunities designed to encourage them to spend and contribute to a growing consumer economy. Participating in the world of ready-made goods also invited customers to experience new financial practices such as installment plans that shifted how individuals handled their credit. Credit markets made it possible for more people to consume and they would continue to do so during the Third Republic.⁸⁷ But these advertisements suggest that individuals had to learn to engage in these potentially disturbing economic relations. Learning how to participate, however, required that these new practices be legible and recognizable; therefore, retailers reformatted recognizable forms, styles, themes, and symbols for commercial gains. Ultimately, what these posters show is how the development of a modern commercial culture relied on a politics of image making; in other words, retailers needed to create a palatable and convincing image of the potentials of ready-made clothing for potential customers to consume. By engaging with fashion imagery as well as powerful political and emotional symbols, retailers created the idea that all men, not just a small elite, could and should participate in the purchase and use of relatively new commodities.

⁸⁷ Albert, *La Vie à credit*, 1-2.

Chapter 5 – Branding and Modern Menswear: *La Maison du Phénix* and the French Economy of Display

In 1868, the collar and shirt manufacturer *La Maison du Phénix* released a poster advertising the range of collars and cuffs they made and distributed in France and abroad from their factory on the Boulevard du Prince Eugène (Figure 5.1). The poster offered the viewer several images and texts that the retailer hoped were easily identifiable, reliable and enticing. The poster prominently displayed the firm’s multi-building factory complex (complete with a smokestack) surrounded by their products: thirty-five collars and three cuffs. The address for the

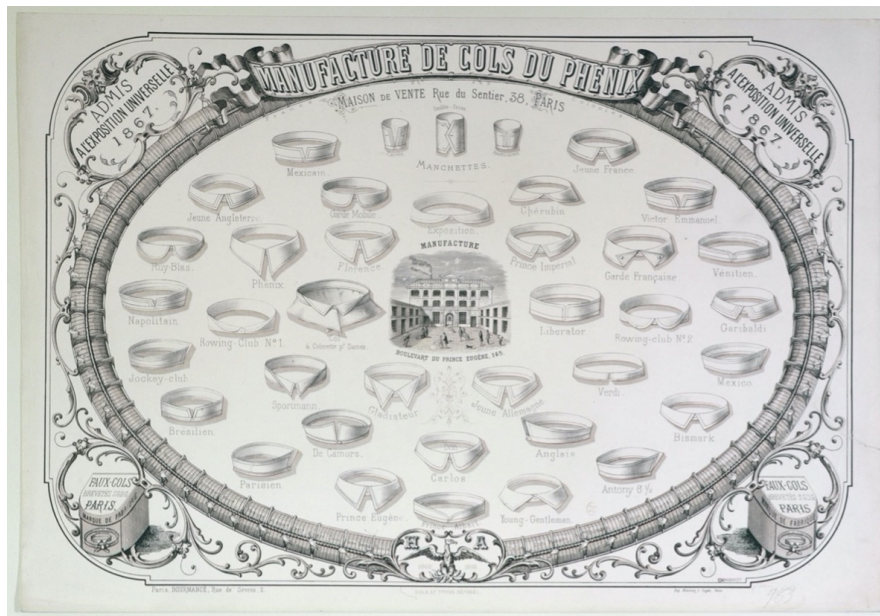


Figure 5.1 Bourmancé (draftsman), *Manufacture de cols du Phénix*, 1868. Paper, zincography, 40 cm x 57.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

firm’s flagship store at 38 rue du Sentier, Paris’s center for clothing manufacturing, was also proudly displayed. Cartouches in the bottom right and left of the poster featured the company’s trademarked label superimposed onto

decorative pedestals that advertised the family’s patents; and a cartouche in the bottom-center featured the company’s logo (Figure 5.2 and 5.3). Finally, cartouches in the top right and left



Figure 5.2 Detail of La Maison du Phénix's logo from Bourmancé (draftsman), *Manufacture de cols du Phénix*, 1868. Paper, zincography, 40 cm x 57.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.



Figure 5.3 Detail of La Maison du Phénix's label and reference to patents from Bourmancé (draftsman), *Manufacture de cols du Phénix*, 1868. Paper, zincography, 40 cm x 57.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.



announced *La Maison du Phénix's* participation in the Universal Exposition of 1867. A stylized glass roof inscribed with the names of the European and North American countries and their colonies that participated in the exposition surrounded the collars and cuffs. The roof's design drew explicitly on the actual oval exhibition hall built for the 1867

exhibition (Figure 5.4). Any one of these visual and textual representations demonstrated the potential advantages of purchasing goods from the Parisian manufacture: there was a range of products to suit individual tastes and desires, and customers could be assured that all of the goods, no matter which they decided to purchase, were made with technical precision and superior craftsmanship in a modern French factory. The visual display of the variety of

collars promised customers the opportunity to express

Figure 5.4 *Exposition Universelle de 1867*, 1867. Photography. Conciergerie, Paris, France.

their individual choices and preferences, while also limiting that self-expression within narrow boundaries of variation. The poster highlights a paradox for consumers: you as a customer get to pick your collar that best suits your taste and needs, but your choices are restricted to the collars that are being produced in mass quantities for a large group of consumers.

Owned and operated by members of the Hayem family from 1830 until the twentieth century, *La Maison du Phénix* was a large family-run collar and shirt manufacturer in nineteenth-century France. The relatively little information that remains about the early years of *La Maison du Phénix* suggests that it was built and modeled on the traditional family-run business that the historian David Landes has argued typified French industry in the nineteenth century.¹ Even as the option to form *sociétés anonymes* and joint-stock ventures became a reality, French entrepreneurs continued to prefer maintaining ownership of their business in order to enhance their family's position and maintain their wealth.² At a first glance, the evolution of *La Maison du Phénix* follows the path Landes describes, but this desire to create a family business does not mean that the Hayems and families like them were afraid to take risks, distrustful of innovations, or uninterested in pursuing the aggressive capitalist practices that, according to Landes, typified American and German (but not French) firms in this period. Rather, as Jeff Horn and other historians have argued, France simply took a different road to industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century, in particular how the French government took an active role in paving the way for modern industrial capitalism in France.³ Through their use of legal patents and

¹ David S. Landes, "French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 9, no. 1 (May 1949): 45-46.

² Landes, "French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the Nineteenth Century," 53.

³ Jeff Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1830* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2008); Christopher H. Johnson, *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700-1920, The Politics of Deindustrialization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014); Serge Chassagne, *Le Coton et ses patrons: France, 1760-1840* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en

trademarks, and their participation in the French industrial expositions, the Hayems provide a good example of how access to legal institutions and support from the French state contributed to the growth of French industries like the menswear industry.

More than a decade before *La Maison du Phénix* released the poster, another advertisement in Henri Boudin's guidebook to the Universal Exposition of 1855 utilized the same themes to entice potential customers:

All the different kinds of collars and ties, detachable collars, shirts, and flannel vests that you find in the main shops in France and abroad, come from the *la Maison du Phénix*. When it comes to these items it has no competition, because its manufacturing capabilities are established to such a high level that no one can match its quality and affordability. [Simon] Hayem's business experience and unmistakable taste have won him all the capital's export commission agents, and the many merchants who place their trust in him can only be praised for their relationship with him. Concerning *La Maison du Phénix* we have observed... that the consumer will find on all the articles leaving the rue du Sentier a phoenix label, which is a guarantee of superior manufacturing.⁴

Here *La Maison du Phénix* touts its brand: a recognizable product manufactured by a single company using a particular name, logo, insignia, or word phrase. That brand was recognizable because the company produced innovative goods, made in a well-run factory managed by a man who was trustworthy, experienced in business, and had good taste. The company's products and reputation were, furthermore, guaranteed by the label and trademark. The branding techniques this company engaged in are significant because they show how these types of businesses relied

sciences sociales, 1991), *Veuve Guérin et fils: Banque et soie, une affaire de famille, Saint-Chamond-Lyon (1716-1932)* (Paris: Éditions BGA Permezel, 2012).

⁴ "Tout [sic] les genres de cols-cravates, de faux cols, chemises et gilets de flanelle qu'on trouve dans les principales maisons de la France et de l'étranger, sortent de la maison du Phénix. Pour ces articles elle n'a pas de concurrent, car sa fabrication est établie sur une si haute échelle que nul ne peut égaler ses qualités et son bon marché. L'expérience de M. Hayem dans les affaires et son goût incontestable lui ont acquis la totalité des commissionnaires exportateurs de la capitale, et les nombreux négociants qui lui accordent leur confiance n'ont qu'à se louer de leurs relations avec lui. Nous avons à faire pour la maison du Phénix une observation aussi importante pour le public qu'honorable pour elle c'est que le consommateur trouvera sur tous les articles sortent de la rue du Sentier la griffe du Phénix, c'est une garantie de fabrication supérieure," Henri Boudin, *Le palais de l'industrie universelle : ouvrage descriptif ou analytique des produits les plus remarquables de l'exposition de 1855* (Paris: Henri Boudin, 1855), 213-214.

on advertising techniques to make the limited choices, they offered to consumers palatable. Branding allowed companies like *La Maison du Phénix* to claim to offer a distinct and reputable product that was also mass-produced. Branding and advertising were crucial for companies that aimed to both encourage individual consumption while limiting that consumption to a predetermined range of products.

Isaac Hayem (b. 1786) and his wife Sara Charlotte Oulman (1777-1830), Ashkenazi Jews from Northern France moved to Paris with their three sons Simon (1811-1895), Michel (b. 1815), and Isidore (b.1817) in 1830.⁵ There Isaac opened *La Maison du Phénix*, a small-scale manufacturing business, on the rue Mauconseil, but Sarah died later that same year.⁶ All three of the children would eventually join the firm, and by 1838, the firm was on solid financial footing. That year the four Hayem men formed a legal partnership “for the exclusive purpose of manufacturing and selling collars and other articles.”⁷ According to the legal notice published in the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, the business owned stock and tools, was up to date on all of its leases, and had almost sixty-six thousand francs in capital.⁸ By 1840, Isaac and his sons had moved the seat of the family business to the rue de Sentier. The business was in the heart of the clothing manufacturing center of Paris where, according to the anonymous author of the *Code de la Cravate*, “[whalebone collars], that essential article of the *toilette* were made the best.”⁹ In addition to whalebone collars, these small-scale manufacturing and retail businesses sold

⁵ MC/ET/VIII/1526.

⁶ Sara Charlotte died in 1830 soon after Isaac opened *La Maison du Phénix*. MC/ET/VIII/1526.

⁷ “Pour objet exclusive la fabrication et le commerce de cols et autres articles.” In 1838, Isidore was underage but legally emancipated by his father which allowed him to do business in his own name. “Acte Hayem,” *Gazette des Tribunaux*, 23 January 1838.

⁸ “Acte Hayem,” *Gazette des Tribunaux*, 23 January 1838.

⁹ “Cet article essentiel de la toilette se confectionne le mieux,” Anonymous, *Code de la Cravate: Traité complet des formes, de la mise, des couleurs de la cravate ; ouvrage indispensable à tout homme de bon ton* (Paris: Audin, 1828), 19-20.

neckties and shirt collars; their goods catered to “all the men of the *bon ton*.”¹⁰ When Simon Hayem and his brothers took control of the family business in 1840, the three brothers applied for legal patents for new inventions, built a large factory in Paris, trademarked their products, and exhibited at the Great Expositions and Universal Expositions; in doing so they transformed the small-scale collar manufacturing business started by their father into a large and successful manufacturing giant.

Through a combination of their large fortune and “good” marriages with other important Jewish families, the Hayem family slowly inched their way into the upper echelons of French society in the Second Empire and later the Third Republic. Flore Hayem, Simon’s wife, was the daughter of Léon Abraham, one of the founding members and financial benefactors of the Communauté israélite de Paris, one of the seven municipal consistories into which French Jews were organized following Napoléon’s institutionalization of the consistory system.¹¹ With her marriage she brought her husband and, later, her children into the limited corners of *le monde* where rich Jews were welcomed. In their home on the Boulevard Malesherbes, the Hayem family were part of the community of rich and elite Jews that lived around the Parc Monceau in the 8th arrondissement of Paris including the Rothschilds, Péreires, and Ephrussi.¹² In 1846, Simon’s oldest son Charles Hayem married Flora Amélie Mélanie Franck. Flora was the daughter of the Jewish philosopher Adolphe Franck; Charles and Flora would go on to host one of the most exclusive literary salons of the second half of the nineteenth-century. Notable

¹⁰ “tout homme du bon ton,” Anonymous, *Code de la Cravate*, 21.

¹¹ Isidore Cahen, “Nécrologie: Simon Hayem, à Paris,” *Archives Israélites, Recueil politique et religieux*, vol 56, no. 17, Jeudi 25 avril 1895, 132-133.

¹² Edward J. Ahearn, “Monceau, Camondo, *La Curée, L’Argent*: History, Art, Evil,” *The French Review*, vol. 73, no. 6 (May 2000): 111; Marie Aboulker, “Le Comité de Bienfaisance israélite de Paris: Ses membres dans l’espace philanthropique parisien (1887 – 1905),” *Histoire urbaine*, no. 52 (2018): 33-48; Maurice Samuels, *Inventing the Israelite: Jewish Fiction in Nineteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009), 19; Barrie M. Ratcliffe, “Some Jewish Problems in the Early Careers of Emile and Isaac Péreire,” *Jewish Social Studies* 34, no. 3 (1972): 189–206.

acquaintances and friends of the couple included writers Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, Léon Bloy, and Jean Lorrain as well as the painter Gustave Moreau and members of the imperial family including the princess Mathilde Bonaparte. In his correspondence, Barbey d'Aurevilly remembered fondly the extravagant balls Simon Hayem hosted and the intimate but elegant evenings chez Charles and Flore (Figure 5.5), and the gifts of cravats and fabrics the family friends were often given. Simon, for example, gave Barbey an emerald tie after the writer mentioned wanting one.¹³ Charles, moreover, was a major collector of modern French art and his collection, which he donated to the Musée du Luxembourg in 1898, included works by modern painters like Gustave Moreau and Jean-François Raffaëlli.¹⁴ Julien Hayem, Simon's second son, would work closely with his father and would eventually succeed him at the helm of the business. Julien was also a prolific writer and advocate for modernizing French business and



Figure 5.5 Edgar Degas, *Soirée (Barbey d'Aurevilly in the Salon of Mme Hayem)*, 1877. Pencil drawing in notebook, pp. 46-47, 24.8 cm x 68 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.

¹³ Letter from Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly to Charles Hayem, undated, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, *Correspondance général IX (1882-1888), et lettres retrouvées* (Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 1989), 281.

¹⁴ Raymond Bouyer, "Le Don Hayem au Musée du Luxembourg," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 24 (1900): 593-598; Véronique Long, "Les collections juifs parisiens sous la Troisième République (1870-1940)," *Archives Juives*, vol. 42 (2009): 84-104.

industrial practices. He advocated, for example, for reforms to French trademark laws in the 1880s and 1890s. Armand Hayem, the third son worked as a publicist, and the fourth, George Hayem, would make a name for himself as a doctor and member of the Académie de médecine, and has been credited as one of the founders of modern hematology.¹⁵

The family was able to reach social heights that were previously unheard of for French Jews. Their success was in large part due to fortune they were able to build through their manufacturing company. By the time Simon Hayem transferred the directorship of the company to his son Julien in 1890, the business was valued at two million francs.¹⁶ The history of the *Maison du Phénix* and the Hayem family serve as an opening into the ways in which the menswear industry was transforming in the second half of the nineteenth century. Through the institutionalization of a large and partially mechanized factory, the Hayem family was able to turn collars and neckties into mass produced items available on the open market. Through patent applications the family was able to define and subsequently advertise their mass produced products as tools that men could use to self-fashion their identities. In using patents to articulate their credibility, manufacturers like *La Maison du Phénix* appeared to be offering clients distinct opportunities for self-expression while restricting options to a narrow set of mass-produced manufactured goods. Branding and protecting trademarks would become a key component of *La Maison du Phénix's* strategy for preserving their claims of creating distinct and reliable products. *La Maison du Phénix's* trajectory also highlights two of the ways in which the French economy

¹⁵ Cahen, "Nécrologie," 133. George Hayem published at the least 23 medical studies and articles on subjects ranging from stomach cancer, hematology, and cholera.

¹⁶ In 1880, Simon Hayem had invited Julien to act as a partner in the business, but in 1890 he formally retired and left his son Julien responsible over the day-to-day operation of the business. At this point in 1890, the business was no longer a simple partnership but rather a *société en commandite*, Simon and his other children remained owners and investors, but Julien was responsible for the management of the company. "Modification et Programmation de la Société S. Hayem aîné, 11 décembre 1880," MC ET/VIII/1836.; "Modification de la Société en nom collectif S. Hayem aîné, fab. de chemises, cols, etc.," *Archives commerciales de la France : journal hebdomadaire*, 18 June 1890, 795.

was changing in the second half of the nineteenth century. First, *La Maison du Phénix*'s legal battles to protect their brand demonstrate how French companies were conceptualizing what it meant to compete in a free market economy. Second, *La Maison du Phénix*'s participation in the Universal Expositions shows how ideas about what could and could not be manufactured were changing in France, which had significant implications for how the French state presented its economy and its industrial capabilities.

5.1 “Une Cité Ouvrière” and Retail Giant

The Hayem family reshaped where and how collars and neckties were manufactured. As discussed in chapter four, by the end of the July Monarchy clothing production was still for the most part done by small scale operations and homework. In the second half of the century the clothing production landscape changed drastically as firms such as *La Maison du Phénix* built and operated large factories. *La Maison du Phénix*'s factory introduced new manufacturing processes while also adopting labor practices that predated the mid-nineteenth century. The factory was much larger than the small shops that had typified the French collar industry in the 1840s, and in the factory, they employed hundreds of women who sewed by hand and with sewing machines to create an economically robust and industrialized factory.

La Maison du Phénix was a small firm in the 1830s and 1840s, and perhaps even the 1850s. While no source remains that provides evidence of the organization and operation of the business on rue du Sentier it most likely resembled the other collar manufacturers and retailers in the neighborhood that for various reasons had to file for bankruptcy leaving records that speak to the scale of their operations. Businesses on the smaller side included ones like Pierre Renaud's, a “fabricant de cols-cravates,” on the rue des Jeûneurs in the Sentier district that filed for bankruptcy in February 1860. Renaud (b. 1821) moved to Paris in 1843, from his hometown of

Condomine in southern France, where he worked for a few years in a carriage factory. When he married a Mlle. Ravignau in 1848 he used 500 francs from her 1200-franc dowry to set up his own collar manufacturing business. From 1848 to 1860, he rented a room facing the street on the second story of a building at 3 rue des Jeûneurs that, according to Louis Victor Achille Bourbon, the syndic assigned to the bankruptcy, “served as a shop.”¹⁷ The room was furnished with three larger counters, a large desk, three lockers for storing the finished merchandise, and two display cases that presumably brimmed with merchandise. There was also a large mirror (that belonged to the landlord) as well as boxes with sewing utensils and a large press (*presse à bascule*). Renaud’s inventory also included 4000 collars in thirteen styles as well as bundles of cotton, satin, silk, linen, and woolen fabrics; porcelain, metal, and leather buttons; whalebone stays and elastic bands “for collars.”¹⁸ Renaud operated a small business with only three employees: Mlle. Constance who worked as a domestic and seamstress, and two men, M. Livret and M. Quentin-Durand who worked in the shop. Renaud sold his merchandise in the shop and for a time tried to work with commission agents who would sell his products to retailers in the French provinces (according to the syndic Renaud was unsuccessful). The firm managed for over a decade but the lack of profits from the commission agents combined with the sunk cost of supplying those agents meant that Renaud was constantly being chased by his own debts and eventually had to file for bankruptcy.¹⁹

While Renaud described himself as a “fabricant” (manufacturer) in his legal paperwork this title, in this period, can be slightly misleading for contemporary Anglophone readers. Since at least the eighteenth century and well into the first half of the nineteenth century, it was

¹⁷ “Faillite du Sr. Renaud, Pierre, fabricant de cols-cravates demeurant à Paris, rue des Jeûneurs, 3,” 27 February 1860, AP D11U3 313.

¹⁸ AP D11U3 313.

¹⁹ AP D11U3 313.

common for retailers, like collar retailers, to use the title of *fabricans* (manufacturers) when they were not manufacturers at all. They did not operate factories, but rather were retailers who contracted out most (if not all) of the manufacturing process to day laborers working from their homes or incarcerated women in prisons and convents.²⁰ Even larger businesses used this same system well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1860 and 1872, the manufacturers Loëb fils, Worms et Cie, for example, maintained three rooms on the ground floor of a building on the rue Notre Dame des Victoires but none of them were designed for manufacturing. According to their inventory the largest room was reserved for a shop, which was connected to an office and a separate “packaging” room.²¹ They maintained a large stock of the necessary materials to manufacture collars, neckties, and shirts including an impressive stock of cashmeres, different types of cotton fabrics, silks, percales, and flannels. However, the manufacturing did not take place on the premises and instead they outsourced shirt and collar manufacturing to women in the Convent of the Good Shepherd in the small town of Sens in the Yonne department and day laborers.²² These two examples from the bankruptcy archives bring to the forefront a key practice that would continue to shape production in large, urban and mechanized factories like those of *La Maison du Phénix*: the businesses were owned and operated by men who employed other men in middle-management positions while the majority of the labor was done by women in the factory who sewed by hand and with sewing machines.

Between 1860 and 1864, Simon and Flore Hayem purchased land on the recently completed Boulevard de Prince Eugène and built a factory and office complex from which

²⁰ William M. Reddy, *The Rise of Market Culture: The Textile Trade and French Society, 1750-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 22.

²¹ “Faillite de la Société en nom collectif Worms et Loëb ayant pour objet la fabrication de cols, cravats, dont le siege est à Paris rue Notre Dame des Victoires, 26,” 3 December 1872, AP D11U3 709.

²² AP D11U3 709.

Simon would, according to his eulogist, “transform a clothing related industry” into an important sector of the French economy (Figure 5.1).²³ The plot of land, which they purchased for 200,000 francs, was the ideal location for a modern factory. Part of Baron Haussmann’s modernization efforts, the street had only recently been completed in 1857 (it would be renamed the Boulevard Voltaire in 1870) and it connected the neighborhood of Nation to the shopping and entertainment districts in the western part of the city along the Grand Boulevard and the Boulevard des Italiens. On a major Parisian artery, the new factory could easily supply its Parisian retailers as well as easily access water and rail shipping routes.

By 1880, the main four-story “large factory” opened onto the courtyard; it was flanked by two two-story “contiguous houses whose façades face[d] the Boulevard Voltaire.”²⁴ Together they added up to 4183 square meters of space, a huge number compared to the small shops in the Sentier district that only occupied two or three rooms at the most.²⁵ At this point, the factory and office complex was valued at 960,000 francs. The central factory was the highest valued at 500,000 francs, while the buildings at 145 and 147 were valued at 300,000 and 160,000 respectively.²⁶ In 1872 when Loëb fils, Worms and Cie filed for bankruptcy their entire operation was only valued at 110,422 francs and ninety centimes.²⁷ Even if one were to account for inflation

²³ “Il créa ou tout au moins transforma profondément une des industries qui se rattachent au vêtement : il lui a ouvert des débouchés presque universels, il a organisé boulevard Voltaire une sorte de cité ouvrière pour préparer les produits de sa maison,” Cahen, “Nécrologie,” 132-133.

²⁴ “Liquidation Hayem,” 11 December 1880, MC ET/VIII/1836.

²⁵ MC ET/VIII/1836.

²⁶ These numbers come from the notarial records drawn up at the time of Flore Hayem’s death in 1880. According to their marriage contract drawn up in 1830, Flore and Simon were in a community property marriage. They had shared all of their assets over the course of their marriage which included Simon’s stake in *La Maison du Phénix* as well as all of the properties they owned outright including the factory complex at 145 and 147 Boulevard Voltaire (they did not own the building on the rue du Sentier therefore there is no mention of it in these records). The factory and offices were inventoried and assessed as part of the distribution of her assets. According to French communal property law all of her assets were to be divided between her children if she had not specified otherwise in a will, which she had. The business was to remain in the hands of her husband while the rest of her assets were divided between her five children. MC ET/VIII/1836.

²⁷ AP D11U3 709.

between 1872 and 1880, *La Maison du Phénix*'s operations were far larger, to say the least. When Simon's eulogist referred to the transformation of the industry the "cité ouvrière," as he called it, was the most evident manifestation of that transformation. The factory, moreover, would feature prominently in its advertisements as well as in the estimation of French and foreign observers. In 1873, for example, a reporter covering the proceedings of the Exposition Universelle de Vienne wrote that *La Maison du Phénix*'s ability to control the South American market for collars, shirts, and neckties was directly tied to the modern organization of its factory in Paris. According to the reporter, *La Maison du Phénix* was able to offer a deal on a dozen shirts for fifteen francs because of the factory's ability to cut on average 110 to 123 dozen shirts a day. The company's success, therefore, was tied to its ability to produce goods industrially.

Men occupied all the management positions at *La Maison du Phénix*. Simon, his brothers, and later his son Julien are the only members of the Hayem family who are recognized in the patents or any public facing text (advertisement/ news report) for playing a significant role in the operation. Simon's daughter, for example, is only ever mentioned in her mother's will. *La Maison du Phénix* also employed men as commission agents, notaries, and lawyers. Men were recognized as the brains behind the company's innovative designs and products, which aligned with the process we saw in chapter two where shirtmakers increasingly defined tailoring and making men's clothing as a man's job.

In *La Maison du Phénix*'s factory the actual sewing, washing, and packaging of their products was left to women who worked eleven-hour days in the factory for relatively low wages compared to men employed in other types of factories. According to a surviving copy of an apprenticeship contract with *La Maison du Phénix* young girls entered the factory when they were as young as eleven or twelve at which point, they began a four-year training program.

When the young girls arrived at the factory on the Boulevard du Prince Eugène they were divided into different groups that would be trained for different jobs including, according to the apprenticeship contract, “laundry, sewing, mechanics, and cardboard box making.” Other possible jobs would have included: cutting, packaging, and perhaps more.²⁸

During a fifteen-day trial period at the beginning of the apprenticeship all the girls earned fifty centimes a day. After the trial period they earned seventy-five centimes a day. Wages increased to one franc and twenty-five centimes in the second year, one franc and fifty centimes in the third year, and two francs in the fourth year. However, *La Maison du Phénix* withheld a portion of each day’s pay which the women were entitled to be paid at the end of the year. The deduction was twenty-five centimes a day for the first three years, and then fifty centimes the fourth year. The young girls were paid on a weekly basis, and their premiums were given to their male guardians at the end of each year, unless they gave permission for the young women to manage it. At the end of the apprenticeship period, if they successfully completed 300 days a year, the young women earned a total of 1,650 francs: 1,275 francs in salary, plus 375 francs from the amount withheld. After the apprenticeship period the women could go on to make between two francs and four francs a day. In 1867, Michel Hayem explained that in the collar industry in general the least skilled [*moins habile*] women earned one franc and seventy-five centimes a day, while the “hardest working” could earn between three francs and fifty centimes and four francs.²⁹

The highest earning women in the factory, as well as in the industry more generally, were the ones who were trained to operate sewing machines. From their entrance into the factory as

²⁸ Julien Hayem, “Contrat d’apprentissage,” *Les Révolutions du XIXe siècle, 1852-1872*, vol 2, (Paris: 1872), 323-324.

²⁹ Michel Hayem, *Lingerie confectionnée pour hommes, chemise, flanelles, cols-cravates et faux-cols* (Paris: Dupont, 1868), 3-4.

apprentices the young women who trained to operate sewing machines were singled out in the factory structure for the skilled work. They started on the second pay scale and their apprenticeship was reduced to three years. The historian Judith Coffin has argued that industrialization and mechanization in French factories did not destroy old regime labor hierarchies based on gender. As French industries industrialized in this period, Coffin argues, “workplace roles and job definitions were redefined in ways that more often than not persevered gender hierarchies and male privilege.”³⁰ The introduction of the sewing machine in the mid-nineteenth century did more to harden gendered assumptions about sewing than it did to level the playing field. In the Hayem factory, for example, the sewing machine meant that the painstaking labor that used to be done by women in their homes, small workshops, or in institutions, moved to a new location where they were taught to use a machine they did not own. The high cost of sewing machines meant that poor working-class women were limited in their access to the new machines unless they gave up their independence and entered the factory workforce.³¹

As in Simon’s eulogy in 1873, *La Maison du Phénix* would continue to be recognized for improving how clothing manufacturers organized their business and how they adopted modern factory techniques. This “new” type of manufacturing would inevitably become part of *La Maison du Phénix*’s brand. The brand’s success, however, was also predicated on making mass produced items desirable.

³⁰ Judith G. Coffin, “Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women’s Desires: Selling the Sewing Machine in Late Nineteenth-Century France,” *French Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 757, fn. 28; See also: Michelle Perrot, “Femmes et machines au XIX^e siècle,” *Romantisme*, no. 41 (1983): 5-18; Nicole Pellegrin, “Femmes et machine à coudre : remarques sur un objet technique et ses usages,” *Pénélope, Pour l’histoire des femmes* (Fall 1983): 65-71.

³¹ Judith G. Coffin, “Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women’s Desires,” 750.

5.2 Inventing a More Comfortable Collar, 1841-1871

When the Hayem siblings took over the family business part of their success was due to their various inventions that would soon become industry standards. They invented several new types of detachable collars as well as the various buckles, clasps, and buttons used to attach them to shirts and neckties. Between 1841 and 1871, Simon, Michel, Isidore, and later Simon's son Julien, applied for twenty-seven individual patents and ten additions to patents.³² When operating in international markets the family also applied to secure their intellectual property when possible. In 1860 when Isidore Hayem patented the "cravate-magique" in France (which will be discussed in further detail), he also applied for an English patent for "magical cravats."³³ On July 26, 1866, Isidore also patented "buttons or studs to be used fastening the shirt, the false collar and the cravat or bow cravat, ladies' collar and cravats, or other wearing-apparel [*sic*]."³⁴ A few years earlier, Simon Hayem had hired a commission agent in London, Samuel Salomon Maurice. In February and November 1864, Maurice applied for two English patents on behalf of *La Maison du Phénix*: one for "an improvement in collars for the neck" and another for "an improvement in the manufacture of buttons, studs and other fastenings for or appendages to wearing apparel."³⁵ A decade later on July 9, 1877, Simon Hayem also patented "improvements in the manufacture of cravats and other similar articles."³⁶ He also made sure to protect *La*

³² Hayem Brevet Files: INPI 1BA9020, 1BB3511, 1BB3932, 1BB4487, 1BB5357, 1BB6730, 1BB11773, 1BB13037, 1BB13533, 1BB13562, 1BB16626, 1BB16890, 1BB23371, 1BB40230, 1BB43687, 1BB49592, 1BB50288, 1BB52096, 1BB52310, 1BB62588, 1BB64957, 1BB71997, 1BB77952, 1BB80977, 1BB87078, 1BB90618, 1BB90654, 1BB93389.

³³ Bennet Woodcroft, *Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted, For the Year 1861* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1861), 51.

³⁴ Bennet Woodcroft, *Subject-Matter Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted, For the Year 1866* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1867), 56.

³⁵ Bennet Woodcroft, *Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted, For the Year 1864* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1865), 33, 202.

³⁶ *The Commissioners of Patents' Journal*, vol. 2 (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, July to December 1880), 142.

Maison du Phénix's interests across the Atlantic, and in 1881 he patented a "necktie-fastener," which we would recognize as a clip-on tie, in the United States.³⁷ To put these numbers into perspective, Lami-Housset and Pierret as well as Longueville only ever applied for one or two patents during their careers (chapter 2). However, much like the earlier cohort of shirt makers, the Hayem brothers recognized how legal patents both secured their intellectual property while allowing them a way to articulate for consumers why and how the product could suit their needs. In doing so, manufacturers like the Hayem family both encouraged particular forms of consumption that emphasized paying attention to and conforming to male bodies while also delineating the boundaries of self-expression. Mass-production increased the variety of options available to men, while also limiting their choices to the products being manufactured. Legal patents allowed the Hayem family to claim the distinctiveness of their products. The patent that was endowed by the state was a guarantee to consumers that their mass-produced products could still be used as a mark of distinction for elite men. Men in France had begun wearing what are recognizable today as neckties and detachable collars as early as the eighteenth century including detachable whale bone collars as well as rectangular pieces of fabric that were wrapped around the collar and tied in a knot, much like contemporary neckties.³⁸ Exaggerated collars and neckties appear frequently in satirical representations of fashionable men from the eighteenth century and the Revolutionary era. Caricaturists such as Carle Vernet created engravings of the anti-Jacobin *Incroyables*, a precursor of the nineteenth-century dandy, wearing multiple neckties at once and others who have wrapped neckties so many times around their necks and faces their

³⁷ Simon Hayem, Necktie-fastener, U.S. Patent 249,618, patented 15 November 1881.

³⁸ Katherine Lester and Bess Viola Oerke, *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004), 215-220.



Figure 5.6 Carle Vernet (draftsman), Louis Darcis (printer), *Les Incroyables*, 1796. Hand-colored stipple, 30.6 cm x 35.5 cm. The British Museum, London.

mouths are no longer visible (Figure 5.6).³⁹ During the Restoration neckties and collars were a regular part of the elite masculine wardrobe and, in 1829, Horace Raison recommended to his readers that every man should “own three dozen neckties, of which a dozen should be colorful (*de fantaisie*); [and] six dozen detachable collars.”⁴⁰ A

decade later, King Louis-Philippe purchased several dozen collars and neckties at a time. For example, in 1839 his linen draper Mlle. Charlier sold him four dozen neckties and two dozen “jockey club” collars, as well as black neckties and detachable collars for his military uniforms.⁴¹

The ubiquity of these goods and the incredible variety in shape and design also inspired several etiquette manuals dedicated to instructing men on how to properly pick, purchase, wear, and maintain them including Balzac’s, written under the pseudonym Baron Émile de l’Empésés, *L’Art de mettre sa cravate de toutes le manières connues et usitées* (1827) and the anonymous *Code de la Cravate* (1829). Balzac’s included, for example, recommendations for fifty necktie retailers and fifteen collar manufacturers located in the shopping districts on the right bank of the

³⁹ Elizabeth Amann, *Dandyism in the Age of Revolution: The Art of the Cut* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁴⁰ “Trois douzaine de cravates, dont une douzaine de fantaisie ; six douzaines de faux cols,” Horace Raison, *Code de la Toilette: Manuel complet d’élégance et d’hygiène*, vol. 4 (Paris: J.P. Roret, 1829), 106-107.

⁴¹ The “jockey club” collar, which also appears in the poster for the Maison Hayem from 1868, is collar that turns up towards the face, the ends are shaped into triangles that also turn towards the face. Invoice from Mlle. Charlier for purchases made in 1838, AN O/4/1728.

Seine.⁴² He also described thirty-two different ways of tying a necktie over a detachable whale bone collar or shirt collar. Plate B, for example (Figure 5.7), provides a step-by-step guide for tying a necktie into a basic knot around a detachable whale-bone collar. Balzac also included visual guides for different ways of tying a necktie. Plate C (Figure 5.8) features twelve examples of popular neckties from the end of the Restoration. Each tie is given a descriptive title that could be easily identified with a figure, current event, or concept. The titles are not just taxonomical,

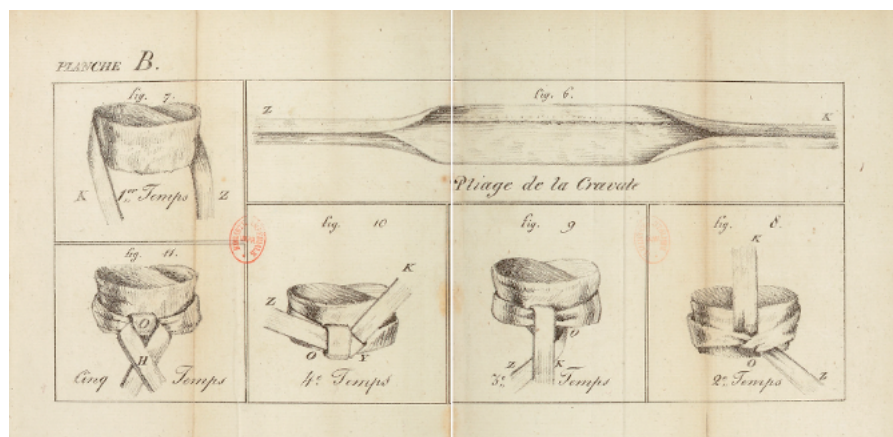


Figure 5.7 *L'Art de mettre sa cravate*, plate B, recto, Paris: Librairie universelle, 1827. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.



Figure 5.8 *L'Art de mettre sa cravate*, plate C, recto, Paris: Librairie universelle, 1827. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

however, they also correspond to how, when, or by whom they are used. The “cravate de bal” was meant to be worn at balls and elegant soirées and was typically white, while a colorful “cravate de Byron” was popular amongst aspiring artists and poets who, according to Balzac, had an affinity for the necktie’s namesake Lord Byron.

⁴² Honoré de Balzac, *L'Art de mettre sa cravate de toutes les manières connues et usitées, enseigné et démontré en seize leçons* (Paris: Librairie universelle, 1827), 113-118.

Their ubiquity did not, however, amount to uniformity. Which type of necktie and collar a man chose to wear depended on his personal tastes as well as his economic and social position. For example, white neckties were reserved for elegant soirées and the Opera while black collars and neckties usually indicated a man's position in the army. As Balzac intimated there was a necktie for "all fortunes, all seasons, all temperaments, in short, for all conditions and circumstances in life."⁴³ The range of colors available and the variety in shapes also speak to how manufacturers were engaging in a process that allowed men a limited form of self-expression using a predefined category of acceptable products.

La Maison du Phénix would continue to describe their inventions in terms that aligned their goods with the consumer's sartorial concerns. The Hayem family claimed their inventions would for the most part address two concerns: comfort and elegance and their utility were expressed in terms of how well they addressed both. In focusing on these two concepts, comfort and elegance, the Hayem family was using the individual customer's concerns about their bodies and how those bodies appeared in public and social settings. Comfort is about the experience of one's own body while elegance is about the image of the body that one projects to others. Promising both was a way for manufacturers and advertisers to say that their clothing choices would allow men to feel at home in the image they project to the world and that there will in fact be no disjuncture between one's bodily experience and the clothed self-presentation.

In the 1840s, the *Maison du Phénix* set out to transform what was then known as the *vesticol*: a detachable collar composed of a large whalebone stay that was inserted into a fabric collar and then wrapped around the neck. According to Julien Hayem the *vesticol* was meant to resemble the large neckties popular in the 1790s and 1800s that wrapped around the neck several

⁴³ "Il en a offert pour toutes les fortunes, pour toutes les époques, pour tous les tempéramens [*sic*], enfin pour toutes les conditions et toutes les circonstances de la vie," Balzac, *L'Art de mettre sa cravate*, 7.

times. The collar was fastened with a pin buckle to the shirt and a necktie was worn over the collar.⁴⁴ The entire process was cumbersome, difficult, and at times dangerous: men often worried about pricking their neck with the fishhook end of the pin buckle and wrinkling their neckties in the process.⁴⁵ The first collar the Hayems patented in 1841 made collars easier to use by removing the pin buckle (that dangerous foe) and adopting a slide loop buckle. They kept the basic structure of the detachable collar described above. A knot was sewn over one end of a slide loop buckle in the center of the collar. The part of the collar that wrapped around the neck was covered with a fabric that was meant to “imitate the ends of a necktie.”⁴⁶ One end was fixed under the knot while the other hid a whalebone that was introduced into the knot when placed on the body. All of this covered a slide loop buckle that could be used to adjust the size of the collar.⁴⁷

This first attempt to reconfigure the collar and necktie speaks to how their inventions would continuously attempt to improve the necktie and collar while maintaining a particular type of look that French consumers expected. This particular invention was designed with mimicry in mind, as the application explained. A necktie and collar are supposed to frame the face by drawing a clear division from the torso. The new *vesticol* still had the same purpose and was made to look like the real thing, but it was easier to use. Maintaining or augmenting the look of collar and necktie would continue to appear in their applications for legal patents throughout the 1850s and 1860s.

⁴⁴ Julien Hayem, “Notice sur les différents moyens employés pour fixer la cravate autour du cou jusqu’au moment où M. S. Hayem Aîné a inventé la nouvelle fermeture pour cols-cravates dite fermeture à pression perpétuelle et brevetée le 28 septembre 1867,” *Poursuites en contrefaçon* (Paris: Imprimerie centrale des chemins de fer, 1869), 5-6.

⁴⁵ Hayem, “Notice sur les différents moyens employés pour fixer la cravate,” 7.

⁴⁶ Hayem frères, “Brevet d’invention de 5 années, pour un genre de col, 23 janvier 1841,” INPI 1BA9020.

⁴⁷ Hayem frères, “Brevet d’invention de 5 années, pour un genre de col,” INPI 1BA9020.

In 1860 Isidore Hayem patented the “cravate-magique” which drew on changes in fashions to describe the necessity of his current project. The “cravate-magique” was, according to Isidore, his response to a recent change in fashion: simpler neckties such as the bowtie had replaced the large neckties popular in the 1840s and 1850s. However, these were made using a “simple knot. Because the knot itself “requires some care and a little time to do it well,”⁴⁸ Isidore proposed a pre-tied bowtie that when worn was meant to resemble those that were tied as they were placed over the neck. The “magic” lay in that: 1) it resembled a regular necktie when worn, 2) it could be put on in “such a short time” that it saves men time and energy when dressing and undressing. In other words, in Hayem’s mind the necktie was elegant and fashionable while also practical and ingenious.⁴⁹ Whether or not the previous fashions were indeed uncomfortable or even potentially dangerous, by focusing on the potential differences between the old and new products the Hayem family could attempt to establish in the minds of the consumers that these new products were in some ways making participating in fashion a much easier and comfortable experience.

Following along with Figure 5.9 we can see how the “cravate-magique” worked. “Fig. 1” represents the necktie before it is tied and “fig 2” represents the necktie after it is tied. The decorative knot is formed by parts a, b, c, and d which are visible clearly in “fig 1”: a and b are the butterfly wings and c and d are the “natural progression” of a and b. Parts b and c are separated by the piece of fabric f which passes over this entire portion of the knot. Part f is sewn onto the knot in such a way as to leave enough space for part d to pass through the knot. In order

⁴⁸ Isidore Hayem, “Brevet d’invention de 15 années pour perfectionnement dans la fabrication des cols cravats, ou cravats dites: cravates magiques, 25 janvier 1860,” INPI 1BB43687.

⁴⁹ “J’ai combiné une disposition que tout en représentant le nœud d’une cravate ordinaire parfaitement mise, peut être placée en si peu de temps que j’ai crée devoir lui donner le nom de cravate-magique,” Hayem, “cravate-magiques,” INPI 1BB43687.

to make this final process even faster, part d is reinforced with either whalebone, cardboard, parchment, animal skin, or “any material that provides enough strength to facilitate the passage.” Isidore assured the reviewer of the application that because of this design “it only takes a moment to put on or take off a necktie thus perfected.” In addition to protecting against the necktie coming undone as “a result of movements of the neck, head, or body,” Isidore also sewed a clamp made of two thin metal plates inside the knot to keep part d firmly in place.⁵⁰

Isidore reminds the reader of the application that there are two important and distinctive features of his necktie. First, although the knot is premade it still resembles other fashionable neckties made with “all the care and the desirable perfection.” Second, the tie can be “instantly”

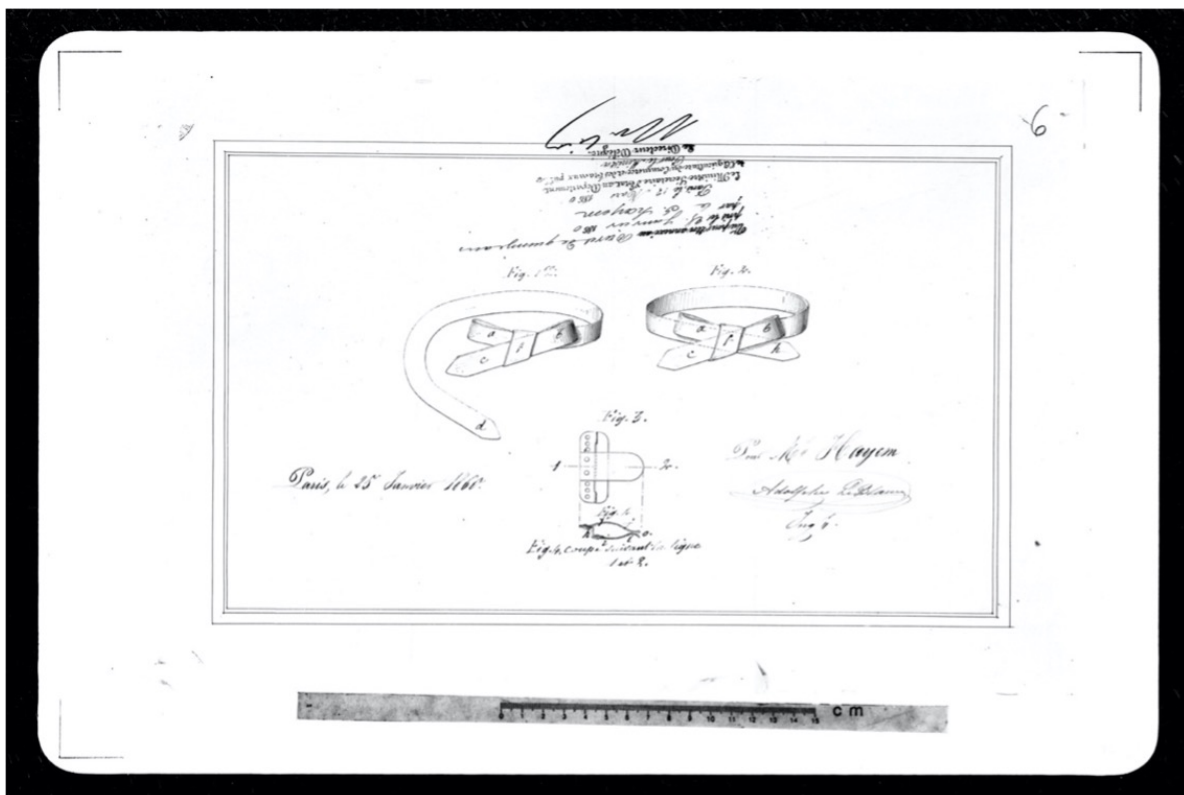


Figure 5.9 Isidore Hayem, “Dessin, Cravate-Magique,” 1860. Paper, Hand-colored, 30 cm x 25 cm. INPI 1BB43687.

⁵⁰ INPI 1BB43687.

put on and taken off.⁵¹ Isidore presented the “cravate-magique” as a product that had been adapted to suit current consumer practices while linking their particular value to the language of comfort and ease. However, it is essential to note that comfort and ease are only valuable in this instance because they allow men to look like they are participating in the current fashions while also saving time and effort. Protecting the “look” of the necktie was at least as important as speeding up the entire dressing process. The emphasis on how the final product looked indicates that Isidore and his siblings acknowledged that French consumers expected innovative products that complemented the fashion culture in which they operated. The invention had no value if it did not acknowledge current fashions.

Isidore and his brothers would continuously draw on consumer habits to underscore the value of their inventions. In March 1859, the utility of Isidore’s most recent invention, a buckle that could be used to attach a bowtie to a collar before placing either around the neck, was based on its ability to “facilitate the use of [neckties and collars] [which are] important parts of a

⁵¹ INPI 1BB43687.

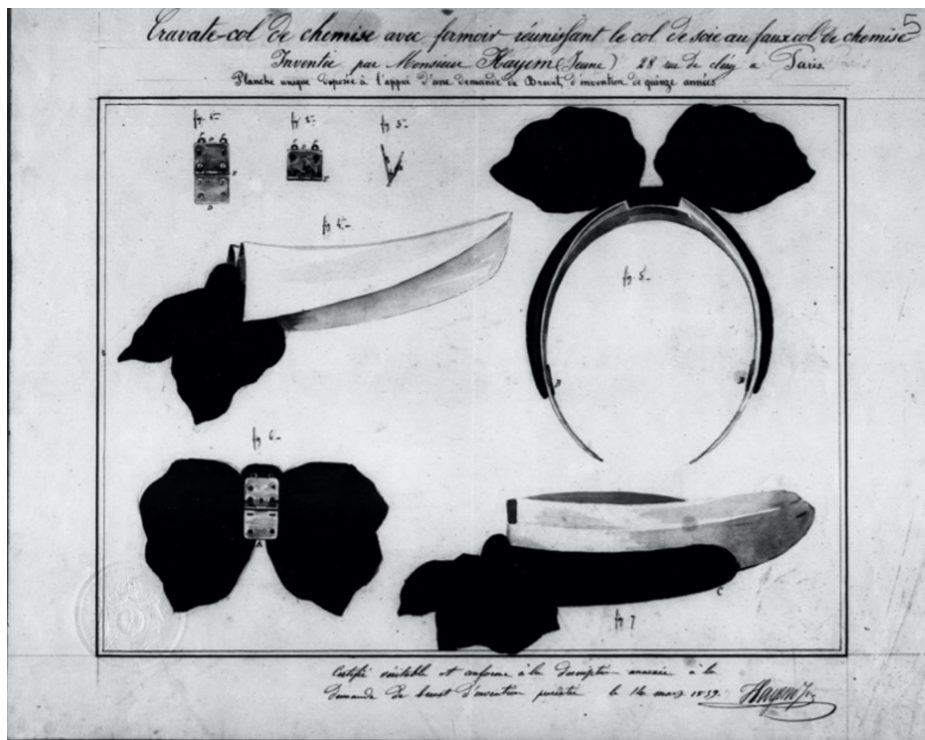


Figure 5.10 Isidore Hayem, “ Dessin - Cravate-col de chemise avec fermoir réunissant le col de soie au faux col de chemise, Inventé par Monsieur Hayem (Jeune) 28 rue de Cléry à Paris,” 1859. Paper, Hand-colored, 30 cm x 25 cm. INPI 1BB040230

meticulous man’s
toilette” (Figure
5.10).⁵² Here, the
significance of the
invention is that it
facilitates participation
in the culture of
fashion: it makes it
easier for a
fashionable man to
remain fashionable.

Almost a decade later
in 1867, Simon

Hayem listed the advantages of his latest “fermeture à pression perpétuelle,” another buckle meant to secure a necktie to a collar: “1. Time Saving; 2. Elegance.” This new invention saved time because the knot was made in advance, and it was elegant because the knot “is already made, [and therefore] it is better made” and the fabric used to make it “does not run the risk of wrinkling or fraying” from handling.⁵³

In their applications for legal patents the Hayem brothers were able to lay out what they envisioned their products were capable of: they combined innovative production techniques and

⁵² “Pour faciliter l’emploi de ces objets importants pour la toilette des hommes soigneux ,” Isidore Hayem, “Brevet d’invention de 15 années, pour un genre de cravate col de chemise, 14 mars 1859,” INPI 1BB40230.

⁵³ Simon Hayem, “Brevet d’invention de 15 années, pour emploi d’une disposition mécanique à pression perpétuelle, plus six additions, 1867,” INPI 1BB77952.

designs with the ability to replicate the aesthetic demands of a fashion culture marked by its ephemerality. In their patent application and subsequent advertisements that focused on the innovations the patents claimed, the Hayem family used individual concerns about male bodies and how they appeared in social settings to make mass-produced items for mass consumption desirable. By focusing on how men experienced their clothing, especially how they felt (comfort) and how they looked (elegance), they advertised a new bodily experience that could be both distinct and an expression of one's individuality, while also forcing men to remain firmly within the boundaries of appropriateness and fashion. As companies like *La Maison du Phénix* expanded and began operating on a mass scale, patents allowed them a way to claim a form of authenticity and distinctiveness.

5.3 Trademarking the Phoenix

Branding was instrumental for companies like *La Maison du Phénix* because it gave them a way of protecting the veneer of distinctiveness they had worked to create. Briefly defined, a trademark is an exclusive right to a name, sign, word combination, or image meant to function as a guarantee of a product's origins. As the historians Teresa Da Silva Lopes and Paulo Guimares have explained, trademarks are part of the larger branding process that businesses develop in order to differentiate themselves from competitors and protect their innovations from being marketed by those competitors. A brand and a trademark are not the same thing: a brand is a much more encompassing term and generally refers to a name or symbol used by a firm to identify its goods and services broadly. Trademarks are a crucial part of the branding process, however, because they are meant to act as a guarantee that the products were indeed made by the

right brand: the one a consumer or supplier wants to work with.⁵⁴ *La Maison du Phénix* began using trademarks as early as the 1850s and would continue to do so throughout the nineteenth century as a way of marking their goods as reputable and well-made. By understanding why and how companies like *La Maison du Phénix* turned to trademarks this section demonstrates how a particular form of “fair” competition inscribed within a legal framework that acknowledged private property came to be understood as a critical part of the modern economy and how that economy was supposed to function. In other words, the trademark helped create a cultural understanding about competition that would inevitably shape the way manufacturers and retailers were supposed to engage in commerce.

The trademark is a legal category that the French state adopted in the nineteenth-century for entrepreneurs to replace the privileges extended to manufacturers through their guilds in the Old Regime. In early-modern France, as the historian Clare Crowston has explained, a major draw to the guild system was that it was one of the few ways individuals could secure legal rights. When the king issued royal letters patent establishing a guild, he bestowed a “collective legal personality” onto the corporation which extended to its members.⁵⁵ Guild membership was a double-edged sword for artisans and manufacturers because they regulated their businesses, but also provided them with the legal standing to protect themselves from unfair competition.⁵⁶ The guild insignia used to mark businesses were for all intents and purposes an early version of the trademark because they were meant to be a guarantee of a products quality. The insignia was a

⁵⁴ Terasa Da Silva Lopes and Paulo Guimaraes, “Trademarks and British Dominance in Consumer Goods, 1876-1914,” *The Economic History Review*, vol. 67, no. 3 (August 2014): 794-795.

⁵⁵ Clare H. Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1651-1791* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 220.

⁵⁶ Reedy, *The Rise of Market Culture*, 36.

symbol that potential customers could recognize as a promise that the products would be well made and sold at a reasonable price.

In 1791 the Le Chapelier law officially banned the guilds in France; the move was supposed to favor free commerce, but French manufacturers quickly challenged the law and agitated for legal protections.⁵⁷ Significantly, the law banning guilds also did away with the legal restrictions that kept prices “fair:” guilds regulated the prices of their goods by setting prices at a level that was meant to guarantee standards.⁵⁸ The law also meant that French manufacturers now competed with unregulated manufacturers.⁵⁹ After the radical period of the Revolution there was a push to create a new system for trademarking goods that came from manufacturers themselves who wanted to protect their goods from counterfeiters.⁶⁰ In line with the Napoleonic efforts to establish universal property rights, the Consulate issued several edicts that allowed certain industries to use a trademark in order to protect their goods from fraudulent competitors: in 1801 the French government instructed hardware (*quincaillerie*) manufacturers and the cutlery industry (*coutellerie*) to brand their goods with a trademark, which had to be engraved and deposited at their subprefecture; and in 1802, a special dispensation was issued to the *manufacture nationale de bonneterie orientale d’Orléans* in order for the company to label their exported goods. In addition, the law of 21 germinal Year XI (1802) authorized more manufacturers and artisans to use trademarks on goods they produced. This law, as Valérie Marchal has argued, “above all, was meant to combat against counterfeiting.”⁶¹ Businesses could

⁵⁷ Marchal, “Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles,” 105-106.

⁵⁸ Gail Bossenga, “Protecting Merchants: Guilds and Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France,” *French Historical Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1988):693-703.

⁵⁹ Ogilvi Sheilagh, “The Economics of Guilds,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 28, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 180-181;

⁶⁰ Marchal, “Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles,” 106.

⁶¹ “S’agit avant tout de lutter contre la contrefaçon,” Valérie Marchal, “Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles. Évolution des protections de propriété industrielle au XIXe siècle en France,” *Documents pour l’histoire des techniques*, vol. 17 (Fall 2009): 107.

apply for short term trademarks that lasted one, three, or five years or they could apply for a trademark in perpetuity. The shorter trademarks required a tax of one franc per year, while firms could pay a one-time tax of ten francs for the long-term option. Firms that wanted to pursue an infringement of their trademark had three options: they could go through the police, the commercial courts, or the *conseils des prud'hommes* which in France are courts that specialize in settling litigation between laborers and employers in manufacturing centers like Lyon. While the system was designed to protect them from counterfeiters, it was not reliable and a lack of information exchange meant that pursuing claims of counterfeiters was not a straightforward procedure. During the July Monarchy, a push to liberalize commercial laws was underway. These reforms were meant to reinscribe the rights of property owners while also encouraging commercial activity. Efforts to reform trademark laws were undertaken again in the late-1840s but were repeatedly stalled by unforeseen circumstances: first the Revolution of 1848 and then Louis-Napoléon's coup in 1851.⁶²

A new law, however, was adopted on June 23, 1857, and it created the legal framework for manufacturing and commercial trademarks that stayed in place until the twentieth century. The law made room for several different types of trademarks: it could take the form of a denomination, an emblem, or any other sign that distinguished between different manufactured goods or agricultural products. Above all, this law was meant to streamline the process that was already in place. In a report submitted to the *Corps législatif* defending the new law, the deputy Julien-Henri Busson explained that the Napoleonic system, because it was composed of diverse

⁶² There was a law proposed on April 8, 1845 in the Chambre de Pairs, and it passed with relatively few changes. It then moved to the Chamber of Deputies in 1847 but was never discussed in the chambers because of the Revolution of 1848. Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles," 107-111.

elements, was frequently “contradictory.”⁶³ One could deposit a trademark with the sub-prefecture, the commercial courts, or with the *conseil des prud’hommes*, which meant that when it came to legal battles one had to consider the different courts’ jurisdictions. There was no one clear path forward when it came to the Napoleonic legislation, in Busson’s estimation. The new law made things far simpler. Ownership of the trademark was established using two criteria: either you used it first, or you deposited an example with the proper authorities first. In the first instance there was no mechanism for pursuing counterfeiters. In the second instance, however, there was a way of pursuing them, but it required that firms file for the protection with the proper government authorities (preferably the local commercial court but the local civil court also sufficed when a commercial court was not available). The process required the deposit of a one-franc tax, at which point the owner of the trademark enjoyed its use for a period of fifteen years and it could be renewed indefinitely. Businesses had to deposit two copies of the trademark with the authorities and these served as the basis for any attempts to pursue counterfeiters.⁶⁴

The Hayem family recognized the potential benefits of trademarking *La Maison du Phénix* and they began doing so, perhaps, as early as the 1830s, trademarking their goods even before the law of 1857 streamlined the process.⁶⁵ They also took advantage of legal changes in Great Britain, the United States, and continental Europe to secure foreign trademarks.⁶⁶ When

⁶³ Busson is quoted in J. B. Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements, et avis du Conseil d’Etat*, vol. 57 (Paris: Guyot et Scribe, 1857), 185-186.

⁶⁴ Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois*, 185-195.

⁶⁵ In their application to renew an American trademark in 1888, Simon Hayem claimed the company logo and label had been in use “since 1830.” “La Maison du Phénix,” *The Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*, March 5, 1889, 1114.

⁶⁶ French trademark laws developed earlier than their American or British counterparts. There are examples of common law in various states that date back to the colonial era that legally protected trademarks, but it was not until 1870 that Congress passed a federal trademark policy. In Britain, firms could not register a trademark with the government until 1875 and the Trade Marks Registration Act. It is no surprise, therefore, that the first companies to file for trademarks in large numbers in Britain were in fact French companies. *La Maison du Phénix* secured American patents in the 1870s and again in the 1880s. Da Silva Lopes and Guimaraes, “Trademarks and British Dominance in Consumer Goods,” 803; “La Maison du Phénix,” *The Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*, March 5, 1889, 1114; *La Maison du Phénix* also applied for trademarks in Luxembourg in the 1890s, “J.

Henri Boudin’s visitor’s guide to the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* explained why readers should consider *La Maison du Phénix*’s products, the advertisement mentioned that the “griffe du Phénix” guaranteed their superior quality.⁶⁷ The copy-writer behind the text was undoubtedly aware of the inherent double entendre, as were, perhaps, the readers: a *griffe* is the talon of the phoenix, but it can also refer to a label or brand name. The wordplay draws attention to the actual phoenix and his talons that appear prominently in the center of the company’s logo that was in use by this period. The logo is visible in the bottom-center cartouche on the poster from 1868 (Figure 5.2). On this poster the logo is made up of a phoenix rising from ashes flanked by the initials H. A. for Hayem Ainée. This was a simplified version of the standard logo that also included the Parisian cityscape beneath the phoenix, and eventually a ribbon of the Legion of Honor (Figure 5.11).⁶⁸ This logo appeared on all business papers (including receipts and invoices) and packaging.⁶⁹



Figure 5.11 “Maison du Phénix,” *l’Album illustré de l’Almanach Didot-Bottin* (Paris: Léon Estor, 1878), 137.

Hayem et Cie, à Paris: Maison du Phénix” *Recueil officiel des marques de fabrique et de commerce déposées en conformité de la loi du 18 mars 1883* (Luxembourg: 1891), 5-6.

⁶⁷ Henri Boudin, *Le Palais de l’Industrie universelle, ouvrage descriptif ou analytique des produits les plus remarquables de l’Exposition de 1855 dédié à l’industrie, au commerce et aux arts* (Paris: Henri Boudin, 1855), 213-214.

⁶⁸ Simon Hayem was named a chevalier in 1867 and subsequently promoted in 1878 for his contribution to French industry, “Documents related to Simon Hayem, 1811-1895,” AN LH/1274/25.

⁶⁹ *Recueil officiel des marques de fabrique*, 6.

Another series of advertisements that ran in major French periodicals including *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* during the fall of 1855 and winter 1856 make it very clear that the company used a recognizable and trademarked label (Figure 5.3). The ad assured readers of *Le Journal*, *La Presse*, and *Le Pays* they could find *La Maison du Phénix*'s detachable collars and neckties in the “best stores in Paris, the Provinces, and Abroad;” they need only look for *La Maison du Phénix*'s “brand” (marque).⁷⁰ The label is composed of several distinct features: a “cravate-magique” is in the center and on it appear the words “Maison du Phénix,” “Paris” and “declared,” and the necktie encircles one of their collars (Figure 5.12).⁷¹

Taken together, the trademarked logo and label represent how protecting against competition actually contributed to the branding process by creating a recognizable and legible



Figure 5.12 “J. Hayem et Cie, à Paris: Maison du Phénix,” *Recueil officiel des marques de fabrique et de commerce déposées en conformité de la loi du 18 mars 1883* (Luxembourg: 1891), 6.

⁷⁰ “Cols-cravates. Maison du Phénix; vendus avec sa marque dans les premières maisons de Paris, en Province, et à l’Étranger.,” “Renseignements utiles – Commerce et Industrie,” *Le Pays: Journal de l’Empire*, September 11, 1855. The same advertisement was reprinted in *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* on January 30, 1856 and in *La Presse* on March 26, 1856.

⁷¹ The choice of collar appears to have changed quite a bit, presumably to suit current styles. In 1868 the necktie encircled a *gladiateur* collar, which features two triangular lapels that folded over the rest of the collar. When Julien Hayem registered the company trademark again in Luxembourg in the 1890s the company kept the signature necktie and replaced the *gladiateur* with a *carpeaux*, (a large-winged collar) named after the celebrated French sculpture Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (Figure 5.12), and the advertisement from 1878 featured a third type of collar: the “magenta” recognizable by its curved tips.

piece of iconography that identified a company's products for potential consumers. First, the phoenix, a mythological bird from Greek antiquity that combusts at the end of its life and is then continuously reborn from its own ashes draws a link between the image and the name of the brand. Second, both the logo and the label drew on the fact that the company was based in Paris, the recognized center for fashion and fashionable life.⁷² Third, both the logo and the label drew on the legal recognitions to confer legitimacy and respectability to the company and its products. The logo, for example, proudly featured the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, which Simon Hayem was first awarded for his contributions to French industry. The company label also used the word "declared" to indicate that the firm had taken the legal steps to protect their products from unfair competition. Both the legal and symbolic features were meant to translate to potential suppliers, retailers, and customers that the company was, ultimately, reputable.

In practice, moreover, the trademark amounted to a confirmation of a brand's legal standing. On at least one occasion *La Maison du Phénix* pursued one of their competitors for infringing on their trademark. In the fall of 1863, Simon Hayem accused Loëb fils, Worms et Cie, of infringing on *La Maison du Phénix's* trademark because they started selling neckties labeled in English: "the Phenix [*sic*]-cravate."⁷³ Though technically supposed to be in English, the name was too close for comfort for Simon, who sued for 30,000 francs in damages.

The presiding magistrate Monsieur de la Renaidière heard the case in the *Tribune de commerce de la Seine* on October 29, 1863.⁷⁴ In court, the defendant's lawyer Monsieur Buisson argued that they were in no way infringing on *La Maison du Phénix's* trademark. They had only used the word phoenix to describe the "special shape of one of their products" (though the

⁷² Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1998), 2-6.

⁷³ J. Pateille, ed., "Art. 1056, Tribune de la Seine, 29 Octobre 1863, Hayem c. Loëb, Worms et Cie," *Annales de la propriété industrielle, artistique et littéraire de 1864*, vol. 10 (Paris: 1864), 188-189.

⁷⁴ "Art. 1056," 188.

summary never specified how).⁷⁵ The judge, however, was unconvinced and mentioned in the summary of the case that the similarity between “The Phenix-cravate” and “*La Maison du Phénix*” was undeniable and that it was particularly troubling because, as he underscored, there was no way “that they [Loëb and Worms] could not be unaware of [the similarity], notably because of their situation vis-à-vis Hayem Senior.”⁷⁶ According to Renaidière, the defendants had to be aware of their biggest competitor whose flagship store was only a few blocks away.⁷⁷ Most importantly for the magistrate, moreover, was that in his opinion, “the word ‘Phénix’ affixed to its products represents the sign under which the applicant’s business is known to buyers.”⁷⁸ The magistrate recognized that the phoenix was a recognizable and trademarked emblem that businesses who worked with them and customers who purchased from them had learned to expect to find on *La Maison du Phénix*’s products. The company used the trademark on “all of their products,” Renaidière reminded the defendants, and it was synonymous with their brand.⁷⁹ Renaidière ruled in favor of Hayem and found the defendants guilty of “unfair competition” and the defendants had to pay 500 francs with interest to *La Maison du Phénix*.⁸⁰ They were also responsible for destroying all the merchandise that had the false advertisement.⁸¹

In a pamphlet from 1884 on the benefits and drawbacks of reforms made to the French laws governing the use of trademarks, Julien Hayem presents for his readers the necessity of trademark laws that protected against unfair competition from foreign competitors:

⁷⁵ “Art. 1056,” 188.

⁷⁶ “Qu’en effet, ils ne pouvaient ignorer, à raison notamment de leur situation vis-à-vis de Hayem aînée,” Renaidière quoted in “Art. 1056,” 189.

⁷⁷ Loëb fils, Worms et Cie operated from the rue Notre Dame de Victoire from 1860 to 1872 when the company was forced to file for bankruptcy and its assets were liquidated to pay off the company’s debts. D11U3 709.

⁷⁸ “Le mot “Phénix,” apposé sur ses produits représentait l’enseigne sous laquelle la maison du demandeur est connue des acheteurs,” Renaidière quoted in “Art. 1056,” 189.

⁷⁹ “sur tous le produits,” “Art. 1056,” 189.

⁸⁰ “Concurrence déloyal,” “Art. 1056,” 189.

⁸¹ “Art. 1056,” 189.

If competition is a natural and fatal economic phenomenon, deriving from the needs of peoples and individuals to live and develop in the direction of progress and well-being; if foreign competition, which everyday tends to increase, is a regrettable fact for us, it must be recognized that this fact is perfectly legitimate and completely lawful, and it honors the nations which compete loyally with sincere weapons. This is not the type of competition, which thanks to one-sided commercial treaties that do not stipulate reciprocal advantages, usurps French factory marks, appropriates names, insignias, labels, or emblems of French producers and, thanks to these frauds and these false designations, penetrates not only the national territory, but invades the surface of the whole world! It is this type of competition with which it is opportune and indispensable to concern ourselves; it is the progress and development of this competition, which is more formidable and bolder every day, that we must oppose. There is no longer an hour, a minute to wait!⁸²

The culprits, in most cases according to Hayem, were the German and Austrian manufacturers who hired commission agents in Paris to buy French made products, that could then be copied, manufactured abroad, and imported into France with labels that read “Fait à Paris,” “Nouveautés de Paris,” “Paris,” etc.⁸³ Hayem’s primary concern in the pamphlet is that the current laws in place in France did not do enough to protect against foreign fraudulent competition. Article 19 of the law of 1857, for example, stipulated that any imported merchandise labeled with “Nouveautés de Paris,” “Modes Parisienne” could be seized at ports of entry. However, successful challenges in the 1860s left the article with very little teeth. German manufacturers argued in court that just because something was packaged with the label “Modes de Paris” did not explicitly indicate that the goods were made in Paris. The argument was about semantics and

⁸² “Que si la concurrence est un phénomène économique naturel, fatal, dérivant du besoin qu’ont les peuples et les individus de vivre et de se développer dans le sens du progrès et du bien-être ; que si la concurrence étrangère, qui chaque jour tend à s’accroître, est un fait regrettable pour nous, il faut reconnaître que ce fait est parfaitement légitime et tout à fait licite et qu’il fait honneur aux nations qui rivalisent avec des armes loyales et sincères. Il n’en est pas de même de cette concurrence qui, grâce à des traités de commerce léonins, ne stipulent pas d’avantages réciproques, usurpe les marques de fabrique françaises, s’approprie les noms, les enseignes, les étiquettes ou emblèmes des producteurs français et, à la faveur de ces fraudes et de ces désignations mensongères, pénètre non seulement sur le territoire national, mais envahit la surface du monde entier ! C’est de cette concurrence qu’il est opportun et indispensable de s’occuper ; c’est au progrès et au développement de cette concurrence, chaque jour plus formidable et plus audacieuse, qu’il convient de s’opposer. Il n’y a plus une heure, une minute à prendre !” Julien Hayem, *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois relatives à la Protection des Marques de Fabrique françaises en France et à l’Étranger* (Paris: Imprimerie Ch. Maréchal et J. Montorier, 1884), 3-4.

⁸³ Hayem, *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois*, 11.

the viability of the name of a city to indicate the proper address of a business. There was also no way of making sure the goods were not made in France, exported abroad, and then resold in France.⁸⁴ When it came to dealing with foreign counterfeiters, French businesses had few recourses. A second law in 1874 introduced the use of stamps with trademarks that indicated the goods had been authenticated by the French state. The new law, however, did not make changes to how claims of counterfeiting were prosecuted.⁸⁵

Julien Hayem went on to propose a new law that he argued would strengthen the provisions made in the 1857 and 1873 laws. His law included the following stipulations: 1) all “French” and “naturalized French” manufacturers could apply to the state for the use of stamp that could be affixed to logos that designated “the authenticity of the trademark;” 2) only French business could apply for the stamp; 3) those found guilty would face punishment and a fine proportional to the value of the goods counterfeited; 4) and the state would be responsible for pursuing claims against foreign counterfeiters.⁸⁶ Hayem’s proposed law would have significant results for two reasons, according to Hayem. First, in allowing French businesses to secure a state sponsored mark of authenticity they would have a second means of establishing their credentials alongside traditional trademarks. Second, the law required French consuls abroad to pursue claims of fraud in local jurisdictions and it required the state to pursue cases brought in French courts against foreign competitors. Hayem was acting, he claimed, on the heels of the French government that had recently hoped to make its own revisions to the law. In 1881, the minister of commerce Maurice Rouvier proposed a new law meant “to favor national industry” along the same lines of Hayem’s but the law failed in the National Assembly.⁸⁷ Hayem’s

⁸⁴ Hayem, *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois*, 14.

⁸⁵ Hayem, *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois*, 13-15.

⁸⁶ Hayem, *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois*, 21 -23.

⁸⁷ Hayem, *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois*, 6.

proposed law would also go nowhere, and the law of 1857 was not successfully reformed until the twentieth century.⁸⁸

Hayem's attempts to reform French laws as well as the confirmation that Loëb fils, Worms et Cie had engaged in "unfair competition" speaks to how it became imperative in France in the nineteenth century to both protect the idea of intellectual property within a free-trade economy. By declaring "unfair competition" Renaidière recognized that competition itself was necessary to French industry but if not managed suppliers, retailers, and customers were all in some way vulnerable to being duped. There were two key issues at hand: one was unfair competition from manufacturers, and the second was the potential for tricking customers. As part of the branding processes, the emphasis placed on securing trademarks would inevitably play a significant role in how individuals thought about the modern economy. Competition would continuously be touted as a central component of capitalism and liberal economies, but those same economies would institute legal regimes that inherently limit competition by defining it as "fair" or "unfair." The Universal Expositions and Great Exhibitions, for example, would put this "fair" competition onto an international stage during the second half of the century.

5.4 The Phoenix on Display

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s *La Maison du Phénix* combined innovative products and manufacturing practices with new marketing techniques to create a brand that consumers recognized. The poster from 1868 with which this chapter opens (Figure 5.1) highlighted all of these elements for potential consumers. The reputation and the quality of their goods, moreover, were reinforced through the obvious connections to the Universal Exposition of 1867, the six

⁸⁸ Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles," 108.

month long event that drew fifteen million visitors to the exhibition halls in Paris. This was *La Maison du Phénix*'s fourth international exposition; after the inaugural Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, they entered the Universal Exposition of 1855 and the Great Exhibition of 1862.⁸⁹ In tracing *La Maison du Phénix*'s participation in these national and international industrial expositions, this section demonstrates how clothing production was increasingly understood as a crucial component of the industrial economy, in which consumer practices and desires factored into larger cultural and economic developments. Clothing had to earn its place at the French *Expositions des produits de l'industrie* in the first half of the nineteenth century before it was fêted on an international scale in the second half. *La Maison du Phénix* success at the Great Exhibitions and the Universal Expositions would underscore how branding at the national and international level operated.

The national and international exhibitions were a moment for national posturing: a means to encourage manufacturers to innovate and compete; moreover, they were also meant to encourage more international trade between competing nations.⁹⁰ The exhibitions, in the minds of the government figures responsible for their conception and organization, were supposed “to breed popular confidence via example.” In other words, “they were no mere trade fairs or festive celebrations, they were outward manifestations of a nation attempting to flex economic, national, military, and cultural muscles.”⁹¹ For French organizers, the goal of these events, in particular, was to instill public confidence in French industrial production, and in so doing to encourage the purchase of French industrial products. By the time of the Universal Exposition of 1867,

⁸⁹ T. Christy, “Report on Articles of Clothing for Immediate Personal or Domestic Use,” *Reports by the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided* (London: Spicer Brother, 1852), 482; Boudin, *Le Palais de l'industrie universelle*, 213; Anonymous, *International Exhibition 1862: Official Catalogue of the Industrial Department* (London: Truscott, Son & Simmons, 1863), 212.

⁹⁰ Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*, 1-15; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 16-21; Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace*.

⁹¹ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 6.

organizers and participants clearly understood that the overarching goal was to stimulate commercial activity.⁹² Both the individual firms that participated and the states they represented, were engaging in branding on an international stage. The international exhibitions were an opportunity for the French government to engage in its own form of branding, one that aimed to project an idea about France as an industrial and manufacturing powerhouse.

The primary concerns of the organizers of the French antecedents to the Great Expositions, the revolutionary era *Expositions des produits de l'industrie française*, were Encouraging trade, consumption, and innovation among manufacturers. The Minister of the Interior François de Neufchâteau introduced the idea to host an exhibition of French industrial products in 1798 to encourage the sale of overstocked merchandise in the state run Sèvres, Les Gobelins and Les Savonneries factories. Sales had stagnated because of the French Revolutionary wars, emigration of French aristocrats and their wealth, and the Reign of Terror, meant that these factories that catered to aristocratic clients were left without any clients. The opportunity to spur economic activity enticed the Directory. The event was hastily planned and only 110 participants from Paris and the neighboring villages were able to submit goods. Held over four days in the Champs de Mars, the exhibition was a major success attracting thousands of Parisians to the hastily built stalls.⁹³

Between 1799 and 1849, successive French governments went on to organize ten *Expositions des produits de l'industrie française* that steadily increased in scope and significance as participation was open to French manufacturers and artisans who competed for public

⁹² Van Troi Tran, "Framing the Market at the Paris Universal Exposition," *Dix-neuf, Journal of the Society of Dix-Neuviémistes*, vol. 24 (2020): 165; Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 39-40; Anne Dymond, "Embodying the Nation: Art, Fashion, and Allegorical Women at the 1900 Exposition Universelle," *RACAR: Revue D'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 36, no. 2 (2011): 1-3.

⁹³ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 4-6.

recognition. In 1801, the event moved to the courtyard of the Louvre and lasted six days instead of four. By 1839, the event had grown to two months in the courtyard of the Louvre, and by 1849 the exhibition lasted six months and included products from over four thousand firms from continental France and the formally colonized Algeria.⁹⁴ On the heels of the French exhibitions, a movement to hold a similar event in England began in earnest in the 1850 and eventually the London Great Exhibition of 1851 was the first truly international exhibition, and it attracted over six million people to the city.⁹⁵ Due to the success of the Great Exhibition, Louis-Napoleon was inspired to host the Exposition Universelle de 1855 to demonstrate the importance, prestige, and technological ingenuity of French manufacturing, industry, and the fine arts.⁹⁶

Encouraging commerce and manufacturing had been the main purpose of these events, which meant that finished clothing was initially not exhibited at *Expositions des produits de l'industrie* until the July Monarchy because manufacturing was defined as the production through machine technology.⁹⁷ For this reason, finished goods were not included as long as they were produced artisanally. In 1827, Louis-Étienne Héricart de Thury, a member of the Académie des sciences explained in his report on the 1827 *Exposition* that finished clothing goods were not exhibited because they are not manufactured in a factory. Clothing was not produced like the industrial products welcomed, by the “art of the manufacturer,” which consists “in supplementing by ingenious machines the strength of men and the agility of his fingers.”⁹⁸ In the

⁹⁴ Mainardi, *Arts and Politics of the Second Empire*, 16.

⁹⁵ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 10.

⁹⁶ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 3.

⁹⁷ The historian Henriette Vanier remarked that the drive to include clothing goods was in full force by 1834 when corsets were finally admitted. Henriette Vanier, *La Mode et ses métiers: Frivolités et luttes des classes, 1830-1870* (Paris: Kiosque, Armand Collin, 1960), 133.

⁹⁸ “le art du fabricant consiste à suppléer par des machines ingénieuses à la force des hommes et à l'agilité des doigts.,” Louis-Étienne François Héricart-Ferrand, vicomte de Thury, ed. *Rapport sur les produits de l'industrie française, présenté, au nom du jury central, à S. E. M. le Comte de Saint-Cricq, ministre secrétaire d'état du commerce et des manufactures* (Paris : L'Imprimerie Royale, 1828), 489.

final years of the Restoration, artisans in small workshops that doubled as retail business still made clothing to order by hand.⁹⁹ These were small-scale businesses that were not considered industrial manufacturers.

While a tailored frock coat or a sewn gown were not permitted as examples of a tailor's or a seamstress's ingenuity before 1851, French made fabrics, including silks, wools, linens, and cottons were exhibited at all of the national exhibitions. Finished goods were displayed only to represent the superior quality of the fabrics used to make them. For example, in 1823 manufacturers exhibited wool shawls, beaver fur and wool hats, leather boots and slippers: felt hats, leather shoes, and silk shawls were exhibited and judged for their material qualities and as evidence of the superior machines and techniques used to transform raw materials.¹⁰⁰ Exceptions were made to the rule in two cases in 1827 when "Charitable Establishments" and "Prisons" were invited to submit goods made by incarcerated men and women. L'Hospice de Pontorson in the Manche department received a gold medal for its embroideries and the Atelier de Charité de Valognes won a bronze medal for its laces that were known in Paris as "*dentelles de Bayeux*;" La Maison de Saint-Lazare, a large Parisian prison, received an honorable mention for its "*linge de corps*, artificial flowers, carpets, and embroideries." According to the editors of the *Rapport de 1827*, the organizers of the exhibition decided to include charitable organizations and prisons because their missions aligned with the overarching logic of the event, which was to demonstrate France industrial capabilities as well as the moral and cultural benefits of industrious work and commerce. Prison made goods therefore were not included based on the merit of the goods themselves but rather because of the "care of people who devote themselves to the useful but

⁹⁹ By the end of the Restoration *confectionneurs* "mass-produced" clothing, but they still relied on women and men to hand sew garments. Vanier, *La Mode et ses métiers*, 125-130.

¹⁰⁰ *Catalogue des produits de l'industrie française, admis à l'Exposition publique dans le palais du Louvre* (Paris: l'Imprimerie Anthelme Boucher, 1823), 11-15; 36-43, 51.

very painful function of submitting to sustained occupations, individuals who perhaps owe only to idleness the pain they endure and condemnations which wither them away.” The artificial flowers and laces were physical manifestations of the power of work to improve lives which aligned with the view of early advocates of economic transformation.¹⁰¹

The July Monarchy was a clear turning point for clothing goods at the *Expositions des produits de l'industrie française* as clothing goods were allotted their own categories in the competition and explicitly solicited as submissions. In 1834, the July Monarchy organized its first, and the country's eighth, *Exposition des produits de l'industrie française*. The event was moved from the Louvre to four specially constructed buildings erected in the place de la Concorde, the third building was reserved for fabrics and the newest category of submissions “Arts Vestimentaires,” which included all manners of woven fabrics, embroideries, tulle, as well as hats and shoes. While tailors and seamstresses were still excluded from competition, the importance of the clothing industry was not lost on the organizing committee which had recognized the need to elevate fabrics and embroideries, for example, alongside farming equipment and scientific instruments. In his *Rapport du jury central sur les produits de l'industrie française exposés en 1834*, the statistician Charles Dupin remarked that the progress made in the French clothing industry since the last exhibition in 1827 was one of the reasons France had been able to weather the economic crisis at the end of the Bourbon Restoration.¹⁰² Dupin acknowledged that while France had been a powerhouse in luxury textile production since the Old Regime, French woolen and cotton fabric manufacturing did not start competing on the international market with British goods in any real way until after the fall of Napoleon. After

¹⁰¹ Héricart-Ferrand, *Rapport sur les produits de l'industrie française*, 480-494.

¹⁰² Charles Dupin, *Rapport du jury central sur les produits de l'industrie française exposés en 1834*, vol 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1836), 153; Pamela Pilbeam, "The Economic Crisis of 1827-32 and the 1830 Revolution in Provincial France," *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 2 (1989): 319-38.

observing the goods submitted to the event in 1834, including the variety of woolen and linen fabrics, Dupin was convinced of France's ability to compete with Britain and hopefully overtake them in the next decade because of the quality of the raw materials and finished goods submitted to the exhibition. While in 1834, Britain remained number one, according to Dupin, in terms of wealth of manufacturers in the clothing industry, France was catching up to them in second place. He credited French manufacturer's ability to continue to "discover" and "apply" new methods and technologies despite Revolutionary upheaval and economic crisis.¹⁰³

As we have seen, the reputation of the French clothing industry had grown exponentially since the 1830s. It was also a huge part of the French economy, especially the Parisian economy. At the end of the 1840s, the authors of the *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris de 1847-1848*, found that just the Parisian clothing industry reported over two hundred and forty million francs in transactions from thirty-thousand entrepreneurs who employed almost one hundred thousand workers in 1847: these figures far outpaced those reported by the remaining sectors of Parisian industry.¹⁰⁴

While the numbers can speak to why clothing was included, it is important to note that how French men and women thought about clothing also played a role in this period. In the previous chapters I have argued that in this period purchasing, wearing, and maintaining clothing were some of the principal ways in which French men and women negotiated and defined their identities. Menswear, moreover, was also increasingly associated in advertisements with liberal values that aligned with those of the Expositions. French tailors and shirt makers aligned menswear with an economically productive form of manliness.

¹⁰³ Dupin, *Rapport du jury central*, 155-56.

¹⁰⁴ Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique de l'Industrie à Paris résultant de l'enquête faite par la Chambre de commerce pour les années 1847-1848* (Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 1851), 38-39.

Between 1839 and 1849, the number of separate categories for clothing goods and related industries began to increase and multiply reflecting how clothing goods were increasingly associated with French industry and its productive and aesthetic capabilities. In 1844 in the newly erected Palais de l'Industrie on the Avenue de Neuilly there were six distinct categories for clothing and accessories: (1) hats; (2) gloves; (3) shoes; (4) artificial flowers; (5) canes and umbrellas; and (6) "divers articles," which included clothing items such as redingotes, overcoats, and pants.¹⁰⁵ Shirts, neckties, shawls, handkerchiefs and aprons were also submitted as examples of finished products in the "Fabrics" category. Menswear, womenswear, and clothing for children were all exhibited.¹⁰⁶ In the commentary that surrounded the exhibition, clothing goods were elevated to a position of importance alongside other major industries and the Fine Arts (which were included for the first time in 1844).¹⁰⁷ According to one reporter, it was his "duty to examine carefully" the shirts submitted to the *Exposition de 1844*, because despite the modest place that the shirt had attained "with great difficulty" amongst the machines and inventions displayed in the Palais de l'Industrie, "the rank it holds in Parisian industry" made it a necessary case study.¹⁰⁸

By the second half of the century, clothing was not only welcome at the exhibitions but was overwhelmingly expected; critics were surprised that the industry was not more represented in 1855 and 1867. The mechanical engineer and editor of the 1855 *Visite à l'Exposition* Henri Tresca was dismayed in 1855 by the lack of showing from Parisian manufacturers and their English counterparts because, as he noted, the clothing industries were such a huge part of both

¹⁰⁵ Henry Trianon and Charles Rouget, eds. *L'Industrie. Exposition des produits de l'industrie française en 1844* (Paris : L. Cumer, 1844), 212-225.

¹⁰⁶ Trianon and Rouget, *L'Industrie*, 194.

¹⁰⁷ Trianon and Rouget, *L'Industrie*, 201-210.

¹⁰⁸ Trianon and Rouget, *L'Industrie*, 92.

France's and England's economies. Tresca found that England exported twenty-two million francs worth of clothing goods in 1850 while France came relatively close with twenty million francs worth of production. The Parisian clothing industry was a force to be reckoned with and visitors therefore were expecting to see it represented amongst the other giants of industry and the arts in 1855 as they had seen them in 1851 in London.¹⁰⁹

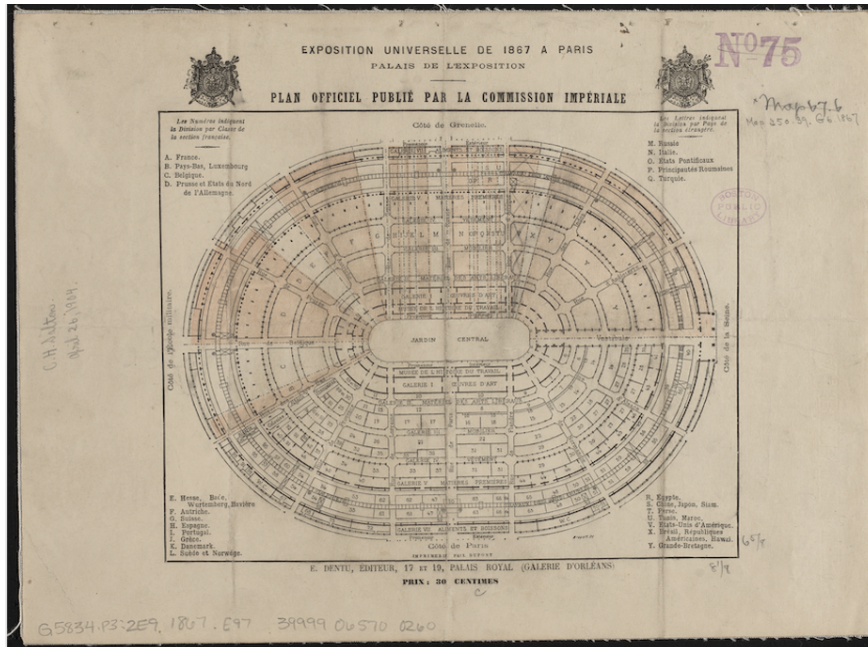


Figure 5.13 Paul Dupont (printer), *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris, palais de l'exposition: plan officiel publié par la Commission Impériale*, 1867. Paper, hand-colored, 17 cm x 21 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Commentators in 1867 had a similar reaction. In 1867 there were four main entrances to the Palais de l'Industrie on either side of the Champs de Mars and visitors interested in going directly to "Group IV – The Clothing Gallery" could enter from the

entrance off the Avenue de Suffren on the western side of the Champs de Mars. This entrance opened onto the "rue de Paris," one of the main arteries that visitors could follow to the open garden at the center of the *palais*, that bisected the clothing section (Figures 5.13 and 5.14).

While this section received pride of place within the exhibition hall, P. Poitevin, a reporter for *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée* lamented that there was in fact a dearth of participants, especially from the Parisian fashion industry that had expanded "from one end of

¹⁰⁹ Henri Tresca, *Visite à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1855* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1855), 724.



Figure 5.14 M. Fellmann (Illustrator), “France. – Galerie des vêtements. – Dessin de M. Fellmann,” *Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, vol. 1 (Paris: Commission Imperial, 1867), 322.

the rue de la Paix to the other end of the Boulevard Voltaire,”¹¹⁰ or in other word’s Paris commercial and entertainment hub.¹¹¹ Despite the relative lack of enthusiasm on the part of the clothing industry in general, the leading figures of the menswear industry did in fact participate. Visitors who wished to visit the clothing section were instructed to begin with section 35 which featured the “principal industries” concerning “men’s dress:” visitors started with outerwear, followed by hats, and then shoes. Visitors could then continue to section 34 “Bonneterie et Lingerie” and marvel at the collars, neckties, and shirts also on display.¹¹² After almost thirty years in the industry Monsieur Longueville was awarded a gold medal and Pierret’s successor Darnet received a bronze medal for men’s shirts.¹¹³ *La Maison du Phénix* proudly displayed its stock of shirts, collars, and neckties but was excluded from the competition because Simon Hayem was a member of the jury.¹¹⁴

the rue de la Paix to the other end of the Boulevard Voltaire,”¹¹⁰ or in other word’s Paris commercial and entertainment hub.¹¹¹ Despite the relative lack of enthusiasm on the part of the clothing industry in general, the leading figures of the menswear industry did in fact participate. Visitors who wished to visit the clothing section were instructed to begin with section 35 which featured the “principal industries” concerning “men’s dress:” visitors started with outerwear, followed by hats, and then shoes. Visitors could then continue to section 34 “Bonneterie et Lingerie” and

¹¹⁰ “D’un côté à la rue de la Paix et de l’autre aux Boulevards de Italiens,” P. Poitevin, “II. France – Galerie IV- Vêtements,” *L’Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*, vol 1 (Paris : 1867), 322.

¹¹¹ For more on the development of the right bank of the Seine as the commercial and entertainment hub of the city see Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*.

¹¹² *Guide Général ou Catalogue indicateur de Paris, Indispensable aux visiteurs et aux exposants* (Paris: Administration Exposition internationale, 1867) , 10-18, 170-178; P. Poitevin, “II. France – Galerie IV- Vêtements,” 322.

¹¹³ P. Poitevin, “II. France – Galerie IV- Vêtements,” 323-24.

¹¹⁴ P. Poitevin, “II. France – Galerie IV- Vêtements,” 324.

According to the author of a visitor's guide to the Universal Exposition of 1867, with every new iteration of the exposition more and more French businesses submitted goods because they recognized how significant participation could be for their business as a form of advertising. The author wrote: "with each new exhibition... the number of exhibitors, and consequently that of the products, increases by impossible proportions; everyone prides themselves on appearing at these great foundations of modern industry, and it seems that the honor of appearing at these solemnities increases the legacy that each industrial house must leave to its children. A medal is like a new coat of arms added to its factory's weapons."¹¹⁵ Participation was a badge of honor, a different sort of trademark, that distinguished a firm as a champion of modern industry and the arts.

In practice participation was in fact used by French manufacturers to advertise their firms. During the 1840s, for example, shirt makers, including Thorel, Durousseau, and Longueville, proudly advertised participating in the *Expositions des produits de l'industrie*.¹¹⁶ Later they also advertised their participation in the exhibitions from the second half of the century.¹¹⁷ As early as 1851, *La Maison du Phénix* began to advertise their success at the Great Exhibition of 1851: the first time they participated in either the national or international exhibitions. Simon Hayem entered the family business in the Great Exhibition and sent several shirts, collars, and silk neckties for consideration. The submissions were included among a range of clothing goods that comprised Class XX, "Articles of Clothing for Personal or Domestic Use," which included the following subcategories: hosiery, boots and shoes, gloves, hats, articles for

¹¹⁵ *Guide Général*, 5.

¹¹⁶ Thorel announced his participation in *Le Panorama*, January 31, 1840, and in the *Annuaire general du commerce*, 1841-1850, vol. 4, 365; vol. 5, 421; vol. 6., 431; vol. 7, 428; vol. 8, 451; vol. 9, 456; vol. 10, 363; vol. 11, 395; vol. 12, 383; vol. 13, 491.

¹¹⁷ Longueville and his successors continued to participate and advertise their participation until the company went bankrupt in 1891. "Faillite Longueville et Cie," 18 December 1891, AP D11U3 1434.

general and personal use including upper clothing, shirts, corsets, and finally nightcaps. For the most part, the articles that were awarded medals or honorable mentions in this category were overwhelmingly menswear pieces. For example, of the seven medalists in the “Upper clothing” category, only one merchant, the French manufacturer Opigez and Chazelle, won an award for “excellent embroidered silk, wrought up into dresses of elegant style,” while the rest were celebrated for items such as a “very handsome blue frock coat,” “extremely elegant waistcoat pieces;” *La Maison du Phénix* received an honorable mention for “exceedingly beautiful cravats.”¹¹⁸ *La Maison du Phénix* was in fact the only firm recognized for the superior quality of their neckties.

After 1851, *La Maison du Phénix* went on to participate in every Great Exhibition, Universal Exposition, and World’s Fair through the end of the nineteenth century. 1873 in Vienna was the last time *La Maison du Phénix* actually competed for a prize because in 1878 and 1889 in Paris they were excluded because Simon was the President of the Jury and again in 1893 in Chicago because Julien Hayem was a member for the organizing committee from France.¹¹⁹

As early as the mid-1850s, *La Maison du Phénix*, began using the exhibitions as a form of advertising. When they were awarded an honorable mention in 1851, the title was quickly factored into their print advertisements. On September 28, 1855, for example, *Le Charivari* ran an advertisement for the *Maison du Phénix* that drew on the experience of the Great Exhibition to underline the superior qualities of their goods:

Collars only won a single medal at the [Great Exhibition] in London, and it was given to manufacturer S. Hayem, 58 rue du Sentier, [their] products are known and loved in both the old and the new world. [La Maison du Phénix] supplies collars to England, the United States, Spain, Mexico, Peru and Italy. The phoenix label shines like a badge of nobility... the superiority of its products are the result of twenty-one years of experience and twenty

¹¹⁸ T. Christy, “Report on Articles of Clothing for Immediate Personal or Domestic Use,” *Reports by the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided* (London: Spicer Brother, 1852), 482.

¹¹⁹ “Maison du Phénix fondée en 1830,” *Paris-Chicago Exhibition 1893* (Paris: Imp. H. Laas, 1893), 20.

legal patents which form the nobility of an industrialist. That is our opinion as well as that of the immense clientele that surrounds the Maison du Phénix.¹²⁰

While the advertisement was slightly misleading because it confused collars for neckties, the overarching theme is implicitly that the quality and ingenuity of their products are well known to both their clientele in Europe and North and South America and the members of the jury. By linking *La Maison du Phénix* with the exhibition the advertisement expected readers to draw a connection between their products and the promise that the exhibition had recognized only the best firms.

Over the next fifty years *La Maison du Phénix* continuously referred to the exhibitions in their advertisements in an attempt to cultivate a reputation for ingeniously well-made products. They ran an advertisement in *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition universelle de 1867* that states: “La Maison du Phénix is the only one of its kind to have received the grand prize at all the *Expositions universelles*.”¹²¹ The expositions are always prominently displayed in their advertisements from the last three decades of the nineteenth century (see, e.g., figures 5.1 and 5.11).

The Hayem family used these recognitions to facilitate their branding by referring to them in their advertisements and they were eventually used to pursue in court a competitor who claimed *La Maison du Phénix*'s “honorable mention” for himself. Between 1853 and 1854, *La Maison du Phénix* filed legal charges against Lessie and Compagnie, a Prussian collar

¹²⁰ “Les cols n’obtinrent qu’une seule médaille à l’exposition universelle de Londres, elle fut donnée à la maison S. Hayem, 58, rue du Sentier, les produits sont connus et appréciés de l’ancien et du nouveau monde. La maison Hayem fourni des cols à l’Angleterre, à l’Amérique, à l’Espagne, au Mexique, au Pérou, à l’Italie. L’étiquette du Phénix brille comme un écusson de noblesse... la supériorité des produits, résultants de vingt-une année d’expériences et vingt brevets de perfectionnement forment la noblesse d’un industriel. C’est la nôtre avis, aussi celui de l’immense clientèle qui se groupe autour de la maison du Phénix. ,” *Le Charivari*, 28 September 1855, 3.

¹²¹ “La Maison du Phénix est la seule du genre ayant obtenu la grande Médaille à toutes les Expositions universelles. ,” “Maison du Phénix,” *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition universelle de 1867: International, industriel, commercial, financier et littéraire*, no. 7, 19 November 1865, 8.

manufacturer, for making and selling counterfeited collars and neckties. Lessie and Compagnie had been selling neckties and collars with a printed phoenix and the phrase “ the only honorable mention at the [Great Exhibition] in London for the further development of these articles.”¹²² Lessie and Company had, according to an intimate source, used the counterfeited label to “sell goods more easily.”¹²³ The commercial court in Elberfeld, where Lessie was based, found that Lessie and Compagnie were in fact breaking the law, but, according to the local penal code only a buyer could file a lawsuit for damages because they as consumers were the ones being duped and not the French manufacturer. Unsatisfied with this result, *La Maison du Phénix* filed an appeal in Cologne in November 1854. Again, the court found that Lessie and Compagnie was committing fraud in so far as using a counterfeit trademark was illegal and the court recognized the phoenix and the phrasing as part of *La Maison du Phénix*'s trademark. However, the courts could not go any further because there was no treaty between Prussia and France that ensured trademark reciprocity.

For the legal scholar Jean-Louis-Henri Bertin, who discussed the case in 1856, the court's decision was an outrage because it was clear that when a country chose to participate in an exhibition, they volunteered to support the overarching concern of the event which was to encourage free-trade, peace, and the elusive idea of “progress.” But all of these values were under threat if participating nations did not commit to respecting intellectual property. Furthermore, when a country participated, they also sent men who joined the juries that awarded metals and honorable mentions. Having received a mandate to judge the merits of the various

¹²² “La seule mention honorable à l'Exposition universelle de Londres, pour le perfectionnement de ces articles. ,” Jean-Louis-Henri Bertin, “Les médailles et mentions honorables décernées par le jury de l'Exposition universelle donnent-elles à ceux qui les ont obtenues le droit d'actionner en dommages-intérêts les négociants qui, en pays étrangers, ont usurpé ces distinctions?” *Annales de la propriété industrielle, artistique et littéraire de 1855*, vol. 1 (Paris: Publisher, 1856), 6.

¹²³ “d'écouler plus facilement ses marchandise ,” Bertin, “Les médailles et mentions honorables,” 6.

products submitted, they also had a mandate to protect the interests of the participants. Therefore, it was only fitting that participants could pursue those who usurped titles and awards. In other words, according to Bertin participation and contributing to the expositions was an informal treaty or should at the least be treated as such.¹²⁴

Bertin's interest in *La Maison du Phénix*'s case speaks to how the idea of "fair" competition was part of contemporary discourses about how firms, and states, were supposed to engage in the economy. Firms were meant to be competing and the exhibitions were a moment to put that competition on display and by doing so encourage other firms to innovate. But that competition, as in the case of trademarks, needed to respect the individual character of brands. By claiming as its own *La Maison du Phénix*'s honorable mention the German firm was not only violating its competitor's rights but were taking for themselves a distinction reserved for a French manufacturer, one that reflected the French fascination with clothing and the retail industry. The fact that clothing retailers were increasingly invited to exhibit, moreover, reflects how that industry continuously modeled and shaped what it meant to participate in a modern economy.

5.5 Conclusions

The history of *La Maison du Phénix* and subsequently the history of menswear at international exhibitions speak to how entrepreneurs used factories, patents, and branding practices to reorganize how clothing was both manufactured and how customers were taught to think about mass produced products as distinct items that both suited male bodies and helped anchor them socially. The "cite ouvrier" transformed the productive capabilities of collar

¹²⁴ Bertin, "Les médailles et mentions honorables," 10-11.

manufacturers allowing them to make and sell large quantities of mass produced goods. In advertisements, the productive capabilities of the modern factory were epitomized by the variety of options that were supposedly made available to men. There were options to suit different occasions and tastes, but these same advertisements also limited options to those being manufactured. The posters that advertised this type of variety were inherently contradictory. They presented men with options that they could use to express their individual choices, but those individual choices were also limited to the items being mass produced.

Patents, trademarks, and branding gave retailers and manufacturers a means of advertising their products as distinct. While they might be mass produced collars, the advertisements and patents aimed at defining their collars as made with the needs of individual customers in mind. By focusing on subjective qualities, such as comfort and elegance, manufacturers and advertisers promoted an idea that their products would allow men to feel at home in the image they project to the world and that there will in fact be no disjuncture between one's bodily experience and the clothed self-presentation. Consumption of mass produced collars is desirable in these advertisements because how they were produced and in what numbers they were produced did not change how they were supposed to make men feel. With inventions such as the "cravate-magique," for example, the brothers used French fashion culture to present the utility and ingenuity of their products, while being produced in a large factory for mass consumption. Trademarks and protecting a company's brand were ways for entrepreneurs like the Hayem's to cement the claims they made in advertisements. The trademark, moreover, can be thought of as a new interlocutor for customers, one that directed customers to reputable firms.

By putting French retailers and manufacturers like *La Maison du Phénix* on an international platform the Universal Expositions and the Great Exhibition were continuing to

elaborate an understanding about the economy and how it was supposed to be organized that would continue to shape modern economies well into the twentieth century. The expositions were an opportunity for manufacturers to engage in branding, and they were an opportunity for the French government to project a tailored vision of the country's productive and industrial capabilities. Following menswear's place at these exhibitions, moreover, shows how French industries were changing, especially how contemporaries thought of certain industries. Clothing had been an artisanal industry and excluded from the exhibitions meant to display the strength and innovative quality of France's manufacturing sector. By the Third Republic, however, highlighting clothing manufacturing was paramount to capturing France's real economic potential.

Conclusion – Making Modern Menswear

At the core of this dissertation is the emergence of a modern menswear industry in France. The industry contributed to the articulation of a new discourses about fashion and dress that went hand in hand with the elaboration of a new politics of male dress and the emergence of new gendered discourses that focused on individual bodies. The industry encouraged men to think about the style, cut, and fit of their garments in order to fashion a legible political and social identity. The modern menswear industry used the rise of advertising, branding, and marketing as powerful tools for motivating consumption. Furthermore, the development of new production, retail, and consumer practices including the industrialization of clothing production and the introduction of ‘ready-to-wear’ demonstrate how the menswear industry contributed to the modernization of the French consumer economy.

This dissertation shows that the overwhelming presence of dark suits in elite and middle-class wardrobes does not indicate that men somehow “gave up” their right to fashion, but rather that dark suits were just one part of large and varied wardrobes that the fashion industry encouraged men to cultivate.¹ In doing so, the French fashion press encouraged sales of menswear by linking fashionable menswear with a particular type of elite masculinity based on adorning the male body. Gavarni’s illustrations of menswear in fashion journals such as *La Mode* and illustrated dailies like *Le Charivari* show how male fashion was infinitely and significantly varied. Men needed to understand the different aesthetic values as well as the appropriateness of

¹ Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, 136.

garments because fashion and dress was how elite men navigated the social and political world of the mid-nineteenth century. Hunting outfits, formal wear, and dressing gowns, all were central elements to a varied and complete elite wardrobe.

Owning different types of clothing, however, was not enough to qualify as a member of the elite. That clothing had to be measured, cut, and fitted to an individual male body. Fashion advertisements, such as those in *La Vie Parisienne*, presented tailors like Humann as like artists or sculptors when they designed elegant clothing according to an idealized set of proportions.² Advertisements presented tailors with the ability to transform imperfect bodies into an idealized masculine silhouette that translated their elite masculinity for the public. With the advent of ready-to-wear during the Second Empire, elite tailors and segments of the fashion press doubled-down on the discourses that encouraged men to think of luxury clothing as the keys to differentiating between members of the elite and the bourgeoisie. Ready-to-wear retailers expanded the availability of fashionable clothing to growing segments of the French population in particular the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie. The tension between ready-to-wear and tailors, moreover, speaks to the political tensions that were a product of the Revolution of 1848. With the expansion of male suffrage, it seems that the elite fashion industry was invested in cementing fashion as a natural boundary that separated elite men from the middle and working classes.

The political significance of tailor-made garments in the era of ready-to-wear comes on the heels of the July Monarchy, when another cohort of artisans attempted to define their products as essential to performing modern citizenship, defined by wealth and gender. The first shirt makers cultivated a market for their new types of garments by linking the purchase and use

² “Modes du jour- Les Costumes d’Humann,” *La Vie Parisienne*, 17 April 1869, 319.

of a material object with how men identified themselves as part of an elite group of wealthy individuals with political access. Through tailoring, access to new legal institutions like patents, and modern fashion advertising, shirt makers transformed the ordinary and generic shirt into the necessary foundation of the modern citizen defined by wealth, bodily individuality, and gender. Access to money and wealth was a requirement for participation in political life of the July Monarchy. While the Charter of 1830 lowered the tax amount that was required for voting to 200 francs for men over twenty-five, voting was nevertheless the privilege of elite men.³ This dissertation suggests that men turned to material objects such as tailor-made shirts to present their identity as a member of the French elite which access to political rights. The advertisements for Lami-Housset's and his contemporaries' shirts emphasized how the modern shirt was cut to fit individuals who were invested in elevating their personal appearance. The advertisements presented doing so as a quintessential part of displaying one's elite masculinity. The people who wore the new tailor made shirts were presented in advertisements as the embodiment of the modern citizen who recognized both their bodily individuality and their position within the elite. Shirt makers were able to create a new industry by focusing on the ways in which French consumers were believed to use material objects to anchor themselves within a gender and class based hierarchy.

The political significance of menswear also reveals itself when considering how the politics of dress extended to male rulers such as Louis-Philippe. While the political malleability and usefulness of fashion was itself not new, Louis-Philippe's personal spending and his iconography show how the constitutional monarchy mobilized clothing and dress as a means of

³ Collingham, *The July Monarchy*, 26-28.

establishing the reputation and legitimacy of the new monarchy.⁴ Founded in the wake of the Revolution of 1830, the July Monarchy was trapped between the dual pressures to establish itself as a credible monarchy while also embodying the values of limited representative government enshrined in the Charter of 1830. The regime used fashionable civilian clothing and subdued uniforms to promote a particular image of the monarch. Louis-Philippe was meant to be both a protective and rational father figure while also the embodiment of national might and prestige. In embracing the type of elite masculinity cultivated in the fashion press, Louis-Philippe attempted to fashion the legitimacy of the monarchy. While no doubt a unique figure, Louis-Philippe's personal spending and reforms to court life demonstrate how he understood the technical and practical elements involved in creating a wardrobe. Louis-Philippe had no Grand Chamberlain who was responsible for his wardrobe, instead he relied on a personal servant and a team of artisans and merchants to kit him out as a constitutional monarch.⁵ In this limited way, Louis-Philippe was member in the Orléans family's community of dress. While the Orléans family was by no means representative of every French family, Louis-Philippe's archives suggest that even the most elite family could not escape the politics and practices of managing wardrobes in the mid-nineteenth century.

As members of communities of dress, elite and middle-class men contributed to the purchase, maintenance, and use of their own wardrobes as well as those of their family members, friends, and servants. Clothing was an organizational force that helped build, sustain, and negotiate social bonds between individuals in the mid-nineteenth century. While there is no doubt that most of the responsibility fell on Maupas's wife Irène, Charlemagne de Maupas's

⁴ Siegfried, "The Cultural Politics of Fashion and the French Revolution of 1830," 197-202; Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances*; Martin-Fugier, *La Vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris*, 25-48.

⁵ Franconie, *Le Lys et la cocarde*, 73-76; Trétout, "Louis-Philippe et la cour," 128.

practices show how elite men cultivated their wardrobes as well as those of this family members and his servants. Presumably, Charlemagne de Maupas understood that the entire family was bound to the same social demands that required individuals to think about their clothing and to understand the significance of garments and how they were made, procured, and maintained.

The advertisements for ready-to-wear manufacturers and retailers reveal how the menswear industry contributed to the articulation of a modern consumer culture that included new products, retail practices, marketing techniques, and financial programs that embedded individuals within the economy in new ways. The ready-to-wear menswear industry enlarged the population of people who could engage in the purchase and use of new finished garments. Posters and printed advertisements were instrumental for retailers who needed to educate consumers about their new products and the potentially disturbing social relationships they implied. Fixed prices, for example, represented a rupture with older practices of settling on the final price of a garment. Before ready-to-wear the final cost of new jacket was determined by the quality of materials used, the labor required, and an understanding between an artisan and a customer about how much a person could spend and how likely they were to pay back any debts. These older pricing and credit practices relied on the customer and seller to have a certain type of relationship built on trust. Fixed pricing disrupted this process by isolating the customer and seller from one another. Furthermore, new credit schemes like installment plans gave the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie a means of engaging in new commercial practices while also embedding them in new credit relations that were isolating and potentially disturbing. The traditional credit markets that had typified French commercial culture continued to exist, as was the case with the Maupas family. However, the advent of ready-to-wear and installment plans expanded the potentials of consumer culture to a broader population of French men.

Advertisements gave retailers an opportunity to both educate their public about their new products and practices, while also assuaging potential anxieties by drawing connections to known and potentially comforting social relations. For example, ready-to-wear menswear retailers mobilized the idea that fashion was in some ways a unifying phenomenon because it gave men a way of anchoring themselves within a community of like-minded individuals. *La Redingote Grise* and *A Voltaire* for example encouraged middle-class men to think about ready-to-wear as a way to cultivate their personal relationships with their contemporaries as well as a means of engaging in the social dynamics of their class. Posters that mobilized the legacy of the Napoleonic empire, France's military campaigns, and its illustrious political and intellectual past also allowed retailers to create an imagined community of French consumers. The French nation was mobilized in ways that could potentially assuage concerns about the potentially unsettling relations that ready-to-wear entailed.

The example of the Hayem family and their business *La Maison du Phénix* shows how the menswear industry contributed to the industrialization and modernization of the French economy and consumer culture. *La Maison du Phénix* was invested in making use of legal institutions that helped secure their intellectual property, including patents and trademarked logos, while at the same time creating a legible brand for consumers. The success of the Hayem business also in part due to the ways in which old and new were blended to create something legible for consumers that was firmly attuned to the demands of French fashion culture. In the factory of *La Maison du Phénix*, for example, the managers combined new forms of industrialized factory labor with gendered and paternalistic labor structures that mimicked the practices of the French guild system.

The history of menswear at the French and international industrial exhibitions highlights how the menswear industry contributed to the industrialization and modernization of the French economy. While at the beginning of the nineteenth-century the organizers of the French exhibitions considered clothing making as an artisan craft that needed to be excluded from the exhibitions. By the end of the nineteenth-century, the French public and commentators expected to see menswear and womenswear at the exhibitions.⁶ This new recognition by the organizers of the exhibition was in part due to the material and cultural transformation that's industries like the collar manufacturing business introduced. The Hayem family used patents, factory labor, and trademarks to define collars and neckties as not only essential parts of the masculine wardrobe, but also as an example of France's industrial capabilities.

The evolution of the menswear industry between 1830 and 1870 highlights three overarching phenomena that came to characterize French consumer culture in the nineteenth-century. First, men participated actively in the design, procurement, and maintenance of their wardrobes throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Although women played the most important and often overlooked roles when it came to dressing themselves and their families, the history of menswear between 1830 and 1870 reveals how dress and fashion, were essential to how men from across the socioeconomic spectrum navigated the social and political dimensions of the world in which they lived. Frock coats, tailored shirts, and cellulose collars were some of the many items that the fashion industry imbued with political and social meaning Second, the fashion industry, which included manufactures, designers, artisans, laborers, as well as the

⁶ P. Poitevin, "II. France – Galerie IV- Vêtements," *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*, vol 1 (Paris : 1867), 322. At the end of the nineteenth century, the organizers of the 1900s Exposition Universelle gave French fashion a central role in the exhibition when the Parisian designer Jeanne Paquin was asked to design the gown worn by the statue of *La Parisienne* that stood at the top of archway at the entrance of the exhibition. Anne Dymond "Embodying the Nation: Art, Fashion, and Allegorical Women at the 1900 Exposition Universelle," *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 36, no. 2 (2011): 1–14.

publishers, editors, journalists, and illustrators of the Fashion press, mobilized gendered and classed discourses to encourage particular forms of sartorial consumption while also delineating the limits of appropriate behaviors. The fashion industry was invested in driving profits, and they used both print and visual advertisements to educate consumers about how and what they should consume. Finally, the menswear industry contributed to the articulation of modern legal practices as well as production techniques that have come to define industrial capitalism, including the supremacy of advertising, modern intellectual property rights, mass-production, and a devaluation of “feminine” forms of labor.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Archival Collections

Archives nationales de France (AN)

Base de données Léonore (LH)

LH/1799/32: Dossier concerning Charlemagne Emile de Maupas.

LH/1274/25: Dossier concerning Simon Hayem.

Series F/12 – Expositions publiques des produits de l’industrie française avant 1850

F/12/5005/A: Frais de transport d’objets adressés à la famille royale, Exposition de 1844.

F/12/5005/A: Uniformes des gardiens.

Series O/3 - Archives de la Maison du Roi: règnes de Louis XVIII et de Charles X (1814-1830)

O/3/874: Brevets de fournisseurs (1814-1830).

Series O/4 - Archives de la Maison du Ri: règne de Louis-Philippe (1830-1848)

O/4/1336: Dépenses personnelles du roi, Dépenses personnelles de la reine (1831).

O/4/1388: Dépenses personnelles du roi. Dépenses de garde-robe (1832).

O/4/1445: Dépenses du roi. Dépenses d'habillement (1833).

O/4/1492: Dépenses du roi. Habillement (1834).

O/4/1545: Dépenses du roi, dépenses de la reine, Cabinet du roi, dépenses des princes et princesses : mandats de paiement (1835).

O/4/1609: Bordereaux de dépenses. Dépenses du roi: mandats de paiement (1836).

O/4/1664: Dépenses du roi, de la reine et du Cabinet du Roi: mandats de paiement(1837).

O/4/1728: Dépenses du roi et de la reine: bordereaux des dépenses et mandats de paiement (1838).

O/4/1796: Dépenses personnelles du roi, de la reine, du cabinet du Roi. Habillement et étrennes: mandats de paiement (1839).

O/4/1858: Dépenses personnelles du roi, de la reine, du cabinet du Roi: mandats de paiement (1840).

O/4/1921: Dépenses personnelles du roi, de la reine, des aides de camp et officiers d'ordonnance, du cabinet du Roi, de la Chapelle, de la faculté (1841).

O/4/1978: Dépenses du roi et de la reine : mandats de paiement (habillements, étrennes...), bordereaux des dépenses (1842).

O/4/2045: Bordereaux récapitulatifs des dépenses et mandats de paiement des dépenses personnelles du roi (1843).

O/4/2200: Dépenses du roi et de la reine, des aides de camp et officiers d'ordonnance, du cabinet du roi: mandats de paiement, bordereaux récapitulatifs des dépenses (1844).

O/4/2201: Dépenses personnelles du roi, aides de camp, cabinet du roi, faculté et maison de santé, chapelle : mandats de paiement (1845).

O/4/2258: Dépenses personnelles du roi, des princes et des princesses: mandats de paiement (1846).

Series P – Archives des musées nationaux, Département des peintures du musée du Louvre

P22 20144790/60: Proposition de faire réaliser par le Baron Gérard une répétition du « Portrait en pied du Roi » qu'il a exécuté pour la Préfecture du Département de la Seine, afin qu'elle serve de type pour les commandes de copies," 31 March 1834.

P22 20144790/61: "Commande à M. Winterhalter François des « portraits en pied du roi » et de « Mme la Duchesse d'Orléans avec le Comte de Paris »,” 12 March 1839.

Series 607AP/1 – 111 - Papiers Charlemagne de Maupas (1452-1930).

607AP/12: Factures et notes élaborées à Uzès, à Beaune, à Moulins et à Toulouse (1840-1850).

607AP/13: Factures élaborées à la préfecture de Paris et au ministère de la Police générale (1851-1854).

607AP/14: Registres de dépenses et factures classées par destinataire (1839-1855).

607AP/15: Factures, période du sénateur 1855-1861).

607AP/16: Factures, période du préfet des Bouches-du-Rhône (1862-1867).

607AP/17: Factures, période du sénateur (1868-1879).

Archives de Paris (AP)

Series D11U3 - Dossiers de Faillites (1792-1899)

D11U3 313: Faillite du Sr. Renaud. 27 February 1860.

D11U3 709: Faillite de la Société en nom collectif Worms et Loëb. 3 December 1872.

D11U3 1434: Faillite Longueville et Cie. 18 December, 1891.

Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle (INPI)

Brevets français 19e siècle

1BA2063: John Walker, "une façon de chemises portant cols à coupes et à coutures transversales, et faux cols de chemises dans le même système," 1824.

1BA10938: Ulysse Villars, "un système de chemises," 1843.

1BA11755: Jean-Baptiste Lehr, "une chemise perfectionnée pour homme dite chemise Lehr," 1844.

1BA12622: Catherine Pierret and Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset, "la fabrication des chemises par une coupe perfectionnée," 1836.

1BA6837: Gustave Longueville, "une nouvelle coupe de chemise," 1838.

1BA9020 : Simon Hayem and Isidore Hayem, "genre de col," 1841.

1BB2816: Jacques Jardin, "Application pour un Brevet d'invention de 15 ans pour une chemise d'homme dite monogène," 1846.

1BB3511: Simon Hayem, "Col-cravate ayant sa fermeture sur le devant du col dit promptcol," 1846.

1BB3932: Simon Hayem, "cols dit cols-cravates," 1846.

- 1BB4487: Simon Hayem, “col de chemise d'un nouveau genre,” 1846.
- 1BB4906: Samson Hadamar, “Application pour un Brevet d'invention de 15 ans pour un genre de chemise,” 1847.
- 1BB5357: Simon Hayem, “cols de chemise à cordons élastiques et à doubles agrafes,” 1847.
- 1BB6730: Simon Hayem, “col-cravate dit multicol,” 1847.
- 1BB11773: Simon Hayem, “boucle à pression applicable principalement aux cols cravates,” 1851.
- 1BB13037: Michel Hayem, “col à ressort perfectionné dit frigidinomécanique,” 1852.
- 1BB13533: Simon Hayem, “perfectionnements aux cols de chemises dits faux cols, également applicables aux cols ordinaires,” 1852.
- 1BB13562: Simon Hayem, “devants de chemises à cache boutons,” 1852.
- 1BB16626: Simon Hayem, “bouton mobile et fixe, à volonté, applicable aux colliers et boutons ou cols à nœud,” 1853.
- 1BB16890: Simon Hayem, “perfectionnements apportés aux cols-cravates,” 1853.
- 1BB23371: Simon Hayem, “système de fermeture du nœud de col-cravate mobile dit col impératrice,” 1855.
- 1BB40230: Isidore Hayem, “genre de cravate-col de chemise,” 1859.
- 1BB43687: Isidore Hayem, “perfectionnements dans la fabrication des cols-cravates ou cravates dites cravates magiques,” 1860.
- 1BB49592: Simon Hayem, “genre de broche et agrafe pour châles et ajustements de vêtements d'hommes, femmes et enfants,” 1861.
- 1BB50288: Michel Hayem, “cravate ou col-cravate-chemise dite plastron merveilleux,” 1861.
- 1BB52096: Simon Hayem, “genre de bouton-agrafe,” 1861.
- 1BB52310: Simon Hayem, “genre de bijou propre à enserrer et maintenir les cravates sans nœud,” 1861.
- 1BB62588: Simon Hayem, “genre de boutons de linge solides,” 1864.

1BB64957: Simon Hayem, "genre de faux cols," 1864.

1BB71997: Simon Hayem, "système de construction de boutons de chemises permettant de réunir la chemise, le faux col et la cravate ou le nœud de cravate, la collerette, le fichu, etc., dits boutons fixateurs," 1866.

1BB77952: Simon Hayem, "emploi d'une disposition mécanique à pression perpétuelle," 1867.

1BB80977: Michel Hayem, "genre de fermeture excentrique pour cravates," 1868.

1BB87078: Simon Hayem, "système de fourchette-agrafe pour cols-cravates," 1869.

1BB90618: Simon Hayem, "machine à détisser, à effiloche, à franger les étoffes et à détordre simultanément ou séparément les fils isolés," 1870.

1BB90654: Simon Hayem, "perfectionnements apportés aux fermetures des cols cravates," 1870.

1BB93389: Simon Hayem, "genre d'attache pour bijoux, vêtements, etc," 187.1

Minutier central des notaires de Paris (MC)

ET/VIII/1526: 3 November 1834. Charlotte Oulman. Inventaire d'après décès.

ET/VIII/1836: 11 December 1880. Simon Hayem. Inventaire d'après décès. Liquidation Hayem.

ET/XVI/1149: 11 April 1843. Pierre-Antoine Lami-Housset (né Housset). Dépôt d'acte de notoriété concernant les héritiers et légataires.

ET/XLI/933: 21 March 1842. Catherine Pierret. Inventaire après décès.

ET/CXII/1351: 19 May 1874. Pierre Ferdinand Humann. Inventaire d'après décès.

Service historique de la Défense (SHD)

Series GR - Organisation générale de l'armée et de l'administration centrale

GR XS 533: Commission des modèles. Notes remises par S. A. R. Monsieur le Duc de Nemours. 15 September 1844.

Newspapers/ Weeklies:

Archives Commerciales de la France : Journal hebdomadaire
Archives Israélites, Recueil politique et religieux

L'Artiste
Le Charivari
Le Constitutionnel
Le Dandy: Journal non politique
L'Éclipse: Journal hebdomadaire
Le Figaro
Le Follet
La France
Gazette des tribunaux
Gil Bas
L'Intransigeant
Le Journal Amusant, journal illustré
Le Journal des Chasseurs
Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires
L'Homme du monde, Magasin complet du gentleman français
Le Lion
La Mode
*Le Moniteur de l'Exposition universelle de 1867: International, industriel, commercial, financier
et littéraire*
Le Nouvelliste: Quotidien politique, littéraire, industriel et commercial
The Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office
Le Panorama
Le Pays: Journal de l'Empire
La Presse
Le Rappel
La Sylphide: journal de modes, de littérature, de théâtres et de musique
La Vie Parisienn

Published Materials:

Annales de la propriété industrielle, artistique et littéraire. Vol. 1. Paris: Publisher, 1856.

Annales de la propriété industrielle, artistique et littéraire. Vol. 10. Paris: 1864.

Balzac, Honoré de. *L'Art de mettre sa cravate de toutes les manières connues et usitées, enseigné et démontré en seize leçons*. Paris : Librairie universelle, 1827.

Barbey d'Aurevilly, Jules. *Correspondance général IX (1882-1888), et lettres retrouvées*. Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 1989.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Œuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire, II Curiosités esthétiques*. Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1864.

Bouchot, Henri. *Épopée du costume militaire française*. Paris: L.H. May, 1898.

Boudin, Henri. *Le palais de l'industrie universelle: ouvrage descriptif ou analytique des produits les plus remarquables de l'exposition de 1855*. Paris: Henri Boudin, 1855.

Catalogue des produits de l'industrie française, admis à l'Exposition publique dans le palais du Louvre. Paris: l'Imprimerie Anthelme Boucher, 1823.

Chambre de Commerce de Paris. *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris résultant de l'enquête faite par la Chambre de Commerce pour les années 1847-1848*. Paris: La Chambre de Commerce, 1851.

Chambre de Commerce de Paris. *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris résultant de l'enquête faite par la Chambre de Commerce pour l'année 1859*. Paris: La Chambre de Commerce, 1864.

Chevalier, Michel, ed. *Rapports du Jury International, Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris*. Vol. 4. Paris: Imprimerie administrative de Paul Dupont, 1868.

Code de la Cravate: Traité complet des formes, de la mise, des couleurs de la cravate ; ouvrage indispensable à tout homme de bon ton. Paris: Audin, 1828.

Diderot, Denis. *Regrets on Parting with My Old Dressing Gown*. Translated by Kate Tunstall and Katie Scott, *Oxford Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (August 2016): 175-184.

Dupin, Charles. *Rapport du jury central sur les produits de l'industrie française exposés en 1834*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1836.

Duvergier, J. B. *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements, et avis du Conseil d'État*. Vol. 57. Paris: Guyot et Scribe, 1857.

Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivans [sic], exposés au musées royal le 1^{er} mai 1831. Paris: Vinchon, fils, 1831.

L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée. Vol. 1. Paris: 1867.

Fontenelle, Julia de. *Manuel complet des fabricants de chapeaux*. Paris: Libraire encyclopédique de Roret, 1830.

Fonvizin, Denis. "The Literature of Travel." In *The Literature of Eighteenth-Century Russia: An Anthology of Russian Literary Materials of the Age of Classicism and the Enlightenment from the Reign of Peter the Great, 1689 – 1725, to the Reign of Alexander I, 1801-1825*. Edited and translated by Harold B. Segel, 301-351. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1967.

Foudras, Théodore. *Misères dorées (Gabriel de Bonnecourt)*. Paris: Alexandre Cadot, 1864.

Guide Général ou Catalogue indicateur de Paris, Indispensable aux visiteurs et aux exposants. Paris: Administration Exposition internationale, 1867.

Hayem, Julien. "Contrat d'apprentissage." *Les Révolutions du XIXe siècle, 1852-1872*. Vol. 2, 320-326. Paris: 1872.

---- "Notice sur les différents moyens employés pour fixer la cravate autour du cou jusqu'au moment où M. S. Hayem Aîné a inventé la nouvelle fermeture pour cols-cravates dite fermeture à pression perpétuelle et brevetée le 28 septembre 1867." *Poursuites en contrefaçon*. Paris: Imprimerie centrale des chemins de fer, 1869.

---- *Rapport sur les réformes à apporter aux lois relatives à la Protection des Marques de Fabrique françaises en France et à l'Étranger*. Paris: Imprimerie Ch. Maréchal et J. Montorier, 1884.

Hegel, Wilhelm Fredrich. "On Drapery." In *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, edited by Daniel Purdy. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 2004 (1835).

Héricart-Ferrand, Louis-Étienne François. *Rapport sur les produits de l'industrie française, présenté, au nom du jury central, à S. E. M. le Comte de Saint-Cricq, ministre secrétaire d'état du commerce et des manufactures*. Paris : L'Imprimerie Royale, 1828.

Huart, Louis (Author) and Paul Gavarni (Illustrator). *Physiologie du tailleur*. Paris: Aubert et Cie, 1841.

L'Industrie. Exposition des produits de l'industrie française en 1844. Paris : L. Cumer.

International Exhibition 1862: Official Catalogue of the Industrial Department. London: Truscott, Son & Simmons, 1863.

- Landon, Charles Paul. *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts, ou Recueil des principaux Tableaux, Statues et Bas-Reliefs exposés au Louvre depuis 1808 jusqu'à ce jour par les Artistes vivants, et autres productions nouvelles et inédits de l'École française, avec des Notices descriptive, critiques et historiques*. Paris: Pillet aîné, 1831.
- Longueville, Gustave. *Les Mystères de la Chemise*. Paris, St. Petersburg: Longueville and Leprêtre, 1844.
- Morin, J. *Manuel du bottier et du cordonnier*. Paris: Libraire Encyclopédique de Robert, 1831.
- Ordonnance relative au nouvel uniforme, suivi des principales dispositions des lois des 21 mars 1831 et 14 juillet 1837*. Paris: Bureaux du Siècle, 1846.
- Orléans, François Ferdinand Philippe, Prince de Joinville. *Memoirs (Vieux Souvenirs) of the Prince de Joinville*. Translated by Lady Mary Loyd. London: William Heinemann, 1895.
- Pacte fondamental de l'Association fraternelle des ouvriers et ouvrières de la chemiserie, discuté et adopté, en assemble générale, les 24, 27 et 29 décembre 1848*. Paris: Imprimerie Poussielgue, 1849.
- Paris-Chicago Exhibition 1893*. Paris: Imprimerie H. Laas, 1893.
- Préfecture de la Seine. *Recueil des actes administratifs*, Vol. 2. Paris: Préfecture de la Seine, 1849.
- Raisson, Horace. *Code de la Toilette, Manuel Complet d'Élégance et d'Hygiène. Contenant les Lois, Règles, Applications et Exemples de l'Art de Soigner sa Personne, et de s'Habiller avec Gout et Méthode*. Paris: J.P. Roret: 1829.
- Recueil officiel des marques de fabrique et de commerce déposées en conformité de la loi du 18 mars 1883*. Luxembourg: 1891.
- Reports by the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided*. London: Spicer Brother, 1852.
- Rouget de Lisle, *Le Livre de la lingère*. Paris: C. Ploch, 1852.
- Tresca, Henri. *Visite à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1855*. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1855.
- Trianon, Henri and Charles Rouget, eds. *L'Industrie. Exposition des produits de l'industrie française en 1844*. Paris : L. Cumer, 1844.
- Woodcroft, Bennet. *Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted, For the Year 1861*. London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1862.

---- *Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted, For the Year 1864*.
London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1865.

---- *Subject-Matter Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted, For the Year 1866*.
London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1867.

Zola, Emile. *The Ladies' Paradise*, translated by Brian Nelson. New York: Oxford World's Classics, 2013.

Visual Material:

A Charlemagne rue St-Denis 370, manufacture de vêtements [sic] pour hommes, 1855. Paper, lithograph, 128 cm x 93 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Gavarni, Paul. *Madame Constance Aubert, née d'Abrantès*. 1839. Paper, lithograph, 175 mm. X 143 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France.

Au Grand St Louis 76 rue St-Louis, 1855. Paper, lithograph, 128 cm x 94 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Krüger, Franz. *Portrait of Frederick William III of Prussia*, 1837. Oil on canvas, 280 cm x 174 cm. Private Collection.

A Mazarin rue de Buci I... vêtements [sic], 1854. Paper, lithograph, 140 cm x 110 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Reference Works:

Almanach général de la France et de l'étranger pour l'année 1839. Paris: d'Urtubie et Worms, 1839.

Almanach impérial pour 1856. Paris: Chez A. Guyot et Scribe, 1856.

Bottin, Sébastien. *Almanach du commerce de Paris, des départements de la France et principales villes du monde*. Paris: Bureau de l'almanach du commerce, 1837.

Carpentier, Adrien. *Codes et Lois pour la France, l'Algérie et les colonies : Ouvrage contenant sous chaque article des codes de nombreuses références aux articles correspondants et aux lois d'intérêt général, les arrêts de principe les plus récents, la législation algérienne et coloniale et donnant en outre la concordance des lois et des décrets entre eux et les principaux traités internationaux relatifs au droit privé*. Paris: Librairie générale de jurisprudence, 1912.

Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française. 1st ed. Paris, 1694. <https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>.

Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française. 4th ed. Paris: 1762. <https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>.

Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française. 5th ed. Paris: 1798. <https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>.

Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française. 6th ed. Paris: 1835. <https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>.

Le Dictionnaire de la langue française. Vol. 2. Paris: Hachette, 1873.

Diderot, Denise, and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, eds. *Encyclopédie*. Vol. 3. Paris: 1751-1772.

Didot-Bottin. *Annuaire-almanach du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature et de l'administration: ou almanach des 500.000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Paris: Firmin-Didot 1863.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 1. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1838.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 4. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1841.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 5. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1842.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 6. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1843.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 7. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1845.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 8. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1846.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 9. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1847.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 10. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1848.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 11. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1849.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 12. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1850.

---- *Annuaire général du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature, de l'administration ou Almanach des 500000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers*. Vol. 13. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1841.

Höfer, Ferdinand. *Nouvelle biographie générale: depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*. Vol. 27. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1858.

Lester, Katherine and Bess Viola Oerke. *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. New York: Dover Publications, 2004.

Lichtenberg, Ludwig Christian. *Almanach de Gotha: contenant diverses connaissances curieuses et utiles pour l'année*. Gotha: J. Perthes, 1881.

Secondary Sources:

Aboulker, Marie. "Le Comité de Bienfaisance israélite de Paris: Ses membres dans l'espace philanthropique parisien (1887 – 1905)," *Histoire urbaine*, 52 (2018): 37-53.

Agulhon, Maurice. "Les transformations du monde paysan." In *Histoire de la France rurale, Apogée et crise de la civilisation paysanne*, volume 3, edited by George Duby, 450-468. Paris: Seuil, 1992.

Ahearn, Edward J. "Monceau, Camondo, *La Curée*, *L'Argent*: History, Art, Evil," *The French Review*, 73, no. 6 (May 2000): 1100-1115.

Albert, Anaïs, *La Vie à crédit, La Consommation des classes populaires à Paris (années 1880 1920)*. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2021.

Amann, Elizabeth. *Dandyism in the Age of Revolution: The Art of the Cut*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Armehault, J. and E. Bocher. *L'Œuvre de Gavarni: Lithographes originales et essais d'eau forte et de procédés nouveaux, Catalogue Raisonné*. Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1873.

Ashelford, Jane. *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914*. London: National Trust, 1996.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina Maria. "Horace Vernet's *Academic Study of an Adolescent Boy* and the Artist's Student Years." *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 45, no. 2 (1986): 16-24.

Auslander, Leora. *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France*. Los Angeles: California University Press, 1998.

Barnicoat, John. *A Concise History of Posters*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.

Barthes, Roland. *The Fashion System*. Translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990 (1967).

Baughman, John J. "Financial Resources of Louis Philippe." *French Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1965): 63-83.

Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Vintage, 2014.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcade Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bertucci, Paola. *Artisanal Enlightenment: Science and the Mechanical Arts in Old Regime France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Best, Kate Nelson. *The History of Fashion Journalism*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.

Boime, Albert. *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Phaidon, 1971.

Bossenga, Gail. "Protecting Merchants: Guilds and Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth Century France." *French Historical Studies*, 15, no. 4 (1988): 693-703.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2010 (1984).

Bouyer, Raymond. "Le Don Hayem au Musée du Luxembourg." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 24 (1900): 593-598.

Brevik-Zender, Heidi, ed. *Fashion, Modernity, and Materiality in France: From Rousseau to Art Deco*. New York: SUNY Press, 2018.

Breward, Christopher. *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

---- "Masculine Pleasures: Metropolitan Identities and the Commercial Sites of Dandyism, 1790-1840." *London Journal* 28, no. 1 (2003): 60-72.

- *The Suit: Form, Function, and Style*. London: Reaktion, 2016.
- Carter, Karen K. "The Spectatorship of the 'Affiche Illustrée' and the Modern City, 1880-1900." *Journal of Design History* 25, no. 1 (2012): 11-31.
- Chabanne, Laurine. "Eugénie, impératrice de la mode?" In *Sous l'Empire des Crinoline*, 38-52. Paris: Musée Galliera, 2009.
- Chassagne, Serge. *Le Coton et ses patrons: France, 1760-1840*. Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1991.
- *Veuve Guérin et fils: Banque et soie, une affaire de famille, Saint-Chamond-Lyon (1716 1932)*. Paris: Éditions BGA Permezel, 2012.
- Chessel, Marie-Emmanuelle. "Où va l'histoire de la consommation?" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 59 (2012): 150-157.
- Chenoune, Farid. *A History of Men's Fashion*. Translated by Deke Dusinberre. Paris: Flammarion, 1993.
- Chollet, Roland. *Balzac journaliste: Le tournant de 1830*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1983.
- Coffin, Judith G. "Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women's Desires: Selling the Sewing Machine in Late Nineteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 3 (1994): 749-83.
- *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trades 1750-1915*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Collingham, H. A. C., *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830 – 1848*. London: Longman Publishing Group, 1988.
- Coornaert, Emile. *Les Corporations en France avant 1789*. Paris: Gallimard, 1968.
- Cosnier, Colette. *Le silence des filles. De l'aiguille à la plume*. Paris: Fayard, 2001.
- Cordier, Camille. "Le temps d'une vie bourgeoise: la construction des rôles genres dans les livres de comptes de la famille Guérin-Borel au XIXe siècle." *Genre et Histoire*, no. 18 (Fall 2016): 1-13.
- Cropper, Corry. *Playing at Monarchy: Sport as Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century France*. Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- Crowe, Yolande. "Le Manteau arménien de Jean-Jacques Rousseau." *Between Paris and Fresno: Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian*. Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 2008.

- Crowston, Clare Haru. *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Crowston, Clare Haru, and Claire Lemerrier. “Surviving the End of the Guilds: Apprenticeship in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France.” In *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis, 282–308. Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Cuno, James. “Charles Philippon, La Maison Aubert, and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829–1841.” *Art Journal* 43, no. 4 (1983): 347–354.
- Da Silva Lopes, Terasa and Paulo Guimaraes. “Trademarks and British Dominance in Consumer Goods, 1876–1914.” *The Economic History Review*, 67, no. 3 (August 2014): 793–817.
- David, Alison Matthew. “Decorated Men: Fashioning the French Soldier, 1852–1914.” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture*, 7, 1 (2003): 3–38.
- *Fashion Victims: The Dangers of Dress Past and Present*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.
- Davidson, Denise Z. “Making Society ‘Legible’: People-Watching in Paris after the Revolution.” *French Historical Studies* 28, no. 2 (2005): 265–296.
- Davidson, Hilary. *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2019.
- Defontaine, Henri. *Du Costume civil officiel et de l’uniforme militaires des officiers à la Cour ou auprès des Chefs d’État française depuis 1804 à nos jours*. Paris: A Geoffroy, 1908.
- Demeulenaere-Douyère, Christiane. “Inventeurs en Révolution: la Société des inventions et découvertes.” *Documents pour l’histoire des techniques* 17 (Fall 2009): 19–45.
- Desert, Gabriel. *La Vie quotidienne sur les plages normandes du Second Empire aux Années folles*. Paris: Hachette, 1983.
- Dymond, Anne. “Embodying the Nation: Art, Fashion, and Allegorical Women at the 1900 Exposition Universelle.” *RACAR: Revue d’art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 36, no. 2 (2011): 1–14.
- Emptoiz, Gérard and Valérie Marchal, *Aux sources de la propriété industrielle: guide des archives de l’INPI*. Paris: l’Institut national de la propriété industrielle, 2002.

- Esguerra, Clarissa M. "Tailoring Makes the Man." In *Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear, 1715-2015*, edited by Sharon Sadako Takeda, 173-180. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, Delmonico Books, 2015.
- Estève, Christian. "Le Droit de Chasse en France de 1789 à 1914. Conflits d'Usage et Impasses Juridiques." *Histoire & Sociétés Rurales* 21 (2004): 73-114.
- Faraut, François. *Histoire de la Belle Jardinière*. Paris: Belin, 1987.
- Faure, Alain. "La blouse ouvrière au XIXe siècle ou les normes de la dignité." *Modes Pratiques: Revue d'histoire du vêtement et de la mode*, no. 1 (Nov. 2005): 149-173.
- Feyel, Gilles. "Presse et publicité en France (XVIII et XIXe siècles)." *Revue Historique* (October 2003): 837-868.
- Finkelberg, John. "English Dandies and French Lions: Policing the Male Body in Popular Print and Visual Culture between 1815 and 1848." In *Representations of the Male Body*, edited by Silvia Gerlsbeck and Carmen Dexl, 123-146. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- Flügel, J.C. *The Psychology of Clothes*. London: Howgarth Press, 1950 (1933).
- Fogel, Michèle. *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 1989.
- Franconie, Grégoire. *Le Lys et la cocarde: Royauté et Nation à l'âge romantique (1830-1848)*. Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 2021.
- Gaillard, Jeanne. *Paris, La Ville, (1852-1870)*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1998.
- Greenhalgh, Paul. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.
- Greimas, Algirdas Julien. *La mode en 1830*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000.
- Hahn, Hazel H. *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Hamon, Philippe. *Imageries, littérature et image au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Éditions José Corti, 2015.
- Harrison, Carol E. *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation*. London: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Harvey, John. *Men in Black*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

- Hazareesingh, Sudhir. "‘A Common Sentiment of National Glory’: Civic Festivities and French Collective Sentiment under the Second Empire." *The Journal of Modern History* 76, No. 2 (June 2004): 280-311.
- Herlaut. *La Garde nationale. Son histoire, ses uniformes (1789-1871)*. Paris: musée de l’Enseignement public de Paris, 1913.
- Hiner, Susan. *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Hoffman, Philip T., Gilles Postel-Vinay and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal. *Dark Matter Credit: The Development of Peer-to-Peer Lending and Banking in France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.
- Hollander, Anne. *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Horn, Jeffery. *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1830*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006.
- Horowitz, Sarah. *Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.
- Howarth, T. E. B. *Citizen-King, The Life of Louis-Philippe, King of the French*. New York: Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd, 1962.
- Iuso, Anna. "‘Ma vie est un ouvrage à l’aiguille.’ Écrire, coudre et broder au XIX siècle," *Clio. Histoire, femmes, et sociétés*, 35, 1 (2012): 89-106.
- Jensen, Heather Belnap. "Parures, Pashminas, and Portraiture, or, How Joséphine Bonaparte Fashioned the Napoleonic Empire." In *Fashion in European Art: Dress and Identity, Politics, and the Body, 1775-1925*, edited by Justine de Young, 36-59. London: I.B. Tauris, 2017.
- Johnson, Christopher H. *Becoming Bourgeois: Love, Kinship, and Power in Provincial France, 1670-1880*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- "Economic Changer and Artisan Discontent: The Tailors’ History, 1800 - 1848." In *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic*, edited by Roger Price, 87-114. London: C. Helm, 1975.
- *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700-1920, The Politics of Deindustrialization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- "Patters of Proletarianization: Parisian Tailors and Lodève Woolen Workers." In *Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by John M. Merriman, 650-84. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, inc., 1979.

- Jones, Colin. *Paris: The Biography of a City*. New York: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Jones, Jennifer Michelle. *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion, and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France*. Oxford: Berg, 2004.
- Jordan, David P. *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann*. New York: The Free Press, 1995.
- Kaplan, Steven Laurence and Cynthia J. Koepp, eds. *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Kaufmann, Suzanne K. *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
- Kleinert, Annemarie. *Le "Journal des Dames et des Modes": Ou la conquête de l'Europe féminine*. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001.
- Kosofsky Sedgwick, Eve. "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading; or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction is About You." In *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*, edited Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, 1-37. (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1997).
- Kuchta, David. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Kwass, Michael. *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Lambertston, John P. "Delacroix's Sardanapalus, Champmartin's Janissaries, and Liberalism in the Late Restoration." *Oxford Art Journal* 25, No. 2 (2002): 65-85.
- Landes, David S. "French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the Nineteenth Century." *The Journal of Economic History*, 9 (May 1949): 45-61
- *Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003 (1969).
- Lauster, Martina. *Sketches of the Nineteenth-Century. European Journalism and its Physiologies, 1830-1850*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- Le Bilan, Jean. *Au Service de l'état. Les fonctionnaires intermédiaires au XIXe siècle*. Rennes: Presse universitaires de Rennes, 2008.
- Lerner, Jilian. *Graphic Culture: Illustration and Artistic Enterprise in Paris: 1830-1848*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.

- Lloyd, Christopher. "Portraits of Sovereigns and Heads of State." In *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution 1760-1830*, edited by Sébastien Allard, Robert Rosenblum, Guilhem Scherf, and MaryAnne Stevens, 58-79. New York: Henry N. Abrams, 2007.
- Long, Véronique. "Les collections juives parisiens sous la Troisième République (1870-1940)." *Archives Juives*, 42 (2009): 84-104.
- Loyer, François. *Paris Nineteenth Century: Architecture and Urbanism*. Translation by Charles Lynn Clark. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.
- Lucas, Colin. "Nobles, Bourgeois, and the Origins of the French Revolution," *Past and Present*, 60 (Aug 1973): 84-126.
- Lyon-Caen, Judith. *La Lecture et la Vie. Les Usages du roman au temps de Balzac*. Paris: Tallandier, 2005.
- Mainardi, Patricia. *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Mansel, Philip. *The Court of France, 1789-1830*. Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 200.
- "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac, 1760-1830." *Past and Present* 96 (1982): 103-132.
- "The Survival of the Royal Hunt in France: From Louis XVI to Napoleon III." In *La Cacce reali nell'Europa dei principi*, edited by Andrea Merlotti, 149-160. Florence: Olschki, 2019.
- Marchal, Valérie. "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles. Évolution des protections de propriété industrielle au XIXe siècle en France." *Documents pour l'histoire des techniques*, 17 (Fall 2009): 106-116.
- Margadant, Jo Burr. "Representing Queen Marie-Amélie in a 'Bourgeois' Monarchy." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 32, no. 2 (2006): 421-451.
- Martin, Brian Joseph. *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France*. University of New Hampshire Press, 2011.
- Martin, Marc. *Trois siècles de publicité en France*. Paris: Éditions Odil Jacob, 1992.
- Martin, Morag. *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

- Martin-Fugier, Anne. *La Vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris, 1815-1848*. Paris: Fayard, 1990.
- Maza, Sara. *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- “Politics, Culture, and the Origins of the French Revolution.” *The Journal of Modern History*, 61, 4 (Dec. 1989): 704-723.
- McMahon, Darrin M. “The Birthplace of the Revolution: Public Space and Political Community in the Palais-Royal of Louis-Philippe-Joseph d’Orléans, 1781-1789.” *French History* 10, 1 (March 1996): 1-29.
- Mikosch, Elisabeth. “The Manufacture and Trade of Luxury Textiles in the Age of Mercantilism.” *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, (1990): 53-64.
- Miller, Michael B. *The Bon Marche: Bourgeois Culture and Department Stores, 1869-1920*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Mussat, Marie-Claire. “Kiosques à musique et urbanisme. Les enjeux d’une autre scène.” In *Le Concert et son public: Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)*, edited by Dominique Herbet, 317-332. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2002.
- Nesly, Laurent. *Les Jetons-réclame d’expression française (1750-1950)*, Volume 1. Paris: Association des collectionneurs de jetons-monnaie, 2020.
- Niess, Alexandre. “Capital familial et réseaux politiques de Charlemagne Émile de Maupas.” *Histoire, économie & société*, 34 (2015): 29-41.
- Noet, Laurent. “Le grand œuvre architectural de Maupas: la Préfecture des Bouches-du Rhône.” *Histoire, économie & société* 34 (2015): 88-101
- Nye, Robert A. *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.
- Osaki, Amy Boyce. “A ‘Truly Feminine Employment’: Sewing and the Early Nineteenth Century Woman.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 23 (1988): 225–241.
- Paris Romantique, 1815-1848*. Paris: Paris-musées, 2019.
- Pellegrin, Nicole. “Femmes et machine à coudre : remarques sur un objet technique et ses usages.” *Pénélope, Pour l’histoire des femmes (Fall 1983)*: 65-71.
- Perrot, Michelle. “Femmes et machines au XIXème siècle.” *Romantisme*, 41 (1983): 5-18.

- Pilbeam, Pamela. "The Economic Crisis of 1827-32 and the 1830 Revolution in Provincial France." *The Historical Journal*, 32, no. 2 (1989): 319-338.
- Pointon, Marcia. *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*. London: Reaktion Books, 2012.
- Perrot, Philippe. *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: Une histoire du vêtement au XIXe siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 1981.
- Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Poplimont, Charles. *La France Héraldique*. Paris: E.D.W. Gailliard et Cie., 1870.
- Porterfield, Todd and Susan L. Siegfried. *Staging Empire: Napoléon, Ingres and David*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.
- Potts, Alex. *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Preiss, Nathalie and Valérie Stiénon. "'Sketched by themselves,' The Panorama tested by the 'Panormic,'" *Intérférences littéraires/ Littéraire interférentiers* (May 2012): 17-24.
- Price, Roger. *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2001.
- Ratcliffe, Barrie M. and Christine Piette. *Vivre la ville. Les classes populaires à Paris (1^{ère} moitié du XIXe siècle)*. Paris: La Bibliothèque de l'histoire, 2007.
- Ratcliffe, Barrie M. "Some Jewish Problems in the Early Careers of Emile and Isaac Péreire," *Jewish Social Studies* 34, no. 3 (1972): 34, no. 3 (1972): 189–206.
- Reddy, William M. *The Rise of Market Culture: The Textile Trade and French Society, 1750-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Ribeiro, Aileen. *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Riello, Giorgio. *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers, and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth-Century*. Oxford: Pasold Research Fund/ Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Roche, Daniel. "Equestrian Culture in France from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," *Past & Present* no. 199 (May 2008): 113-145.
- *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*. Translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

---- *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the 18th Century*. Translated by Marie Evans and Gwynne Lewis. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Rouchon: un pionnier de l'affiche illustrée. Paris: U.C.A.D., Musée de l'affiche et de la publicité, H. Veyrier, 1983.

Rougerie, Jacques. "Remarques sur l'histoire des salaires à Paris au XIXe siècle." *Le Mouvement social* 63, Production industrielle, salaires réactions et représentations ouvrières (Apr. Jun., 1968): 71-108.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse*. Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1843 (1761).

Sacriste, Valérie. "Communication publicitaire et consommation d'objet dans la société moderne." *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, no. 112 (2002): 123-150.

Sadoun-Édouard, Clara. "La Vie parisienne ou la mise en scène de la mondanité." *Presse et scène au XIXe siècle*, edited by Olivier Bara and Marie-Ève Thérénty, *Médias19: Littérature et Culture médiatique*, <https://www.medias19.org/publications/presse-etscene-au-xixe-siecle/la-vie-parisienne-ou-la-mise-en-scene-de-la-mondanite>.

Samuels, Maurice. *Inventing the Israelite: Jewish Fiction in Nineteenth-Century France*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Siegfried, Susan L. "The Cultural Politics of Fashion and the French Revolution of 1830." In *Time, Media, and Visuality in Post-Revolutionary France*, edited by Iris Moon and Richard Taws, 195-219. London: Bloomsbury, 2021.

---- "Fashion and the Reinvention of Court Costume in Portrayals of Josephine de Beauharnais (1794-1809)." *Apparence(s)*, 6 (2015): 1-21.

---- "Portraits of Fantasy, Portraits of Fashion." *Nonsite* (December 2014). <https://nonsite.org/portraits-of-fantasy-portraits-of-fashion/>

Siegfried, Susan L. and John Finkelberg. "Fashion in the Life of George Sand." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* (Fall 2020): 1-35.

Silveria, Piedade de. "Les magasins de nouveautés." In *Au Paradis des dames: Nouveautés, modes et confections 1810-1870*, edited by Françoise Tétart-Vittu. Paris: Musées de Paris, 1994.

Sheilagh, Ogilvie. "The Economics of Guilds." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 28, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 169-192.

Smith, Bonnie G. *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

- Sonenscher, Michael. *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Steele, Valerie. *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1998.
- Stiénon, Valérie. *La Littérature des Physiologies: Sociopoétique d'un genre panoramique (1830-1845)*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012.
- Styles, John and Amanda Vickery. *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*. New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2006.
- Surkis, Judith. "Carnival Balls and Penal Codes: Body Politics in July Monarchy France." *History of the Present* 1, no. 1 (2011): 59–83.
- . *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870-1920*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2006.
- Takats, Sean. *The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Teyssier, Armand. *Louis-Philippe, Le Dernier roi des Français*. Paris: Perrin, 2010.
- Thompson, Victoria. *The Virtuous Marketplace: Women and Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830-1870*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Tiersten, Lisa. *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Trétout, Thibaut. "Louis-Philippe et la cour" In *La dignité de roi: Regards sur la royauté au premier XIXe siècle*, edited by Hélène Becquet and Bettina Frederking, 117-135. Rennes: Presse universitaires de Rennes, 2009.
- Troi Tran, Van. "Framing the Market at the Paris Universal Exposition." *Dix-neuf, Journal of the Society of Dix-Neuviémistes*, 24 (2020): 164-178.
- Truesdell, Mathew. *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Turner, Terence. "The Social Skin." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2, 2, (2012): 486-504.
- Walton, Whitney. *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

- Wansart, Noémie. "Les appartements des princesses Marie et Clémentine, filles de Louis Philippe, au Grand Trianon." *La Revue des musées de France, Revue du Louvre* (2019): 104-111.
- Wilder, Courtney. "Crossing Sensory Borders: The Fabric of British Periodicals." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 51, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 434-463. [doi:10.1353/vpr.2018.0031](https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2018.0031).
- Wrigley, Richard. *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002.
- Valvo, Nick. "Costuming the Historical Figure: Hegel, Realism, and Fancy Dress." *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 18, no. 4 (2016): 545-564. doi.org/10.5325/intelitestud.18.4.0545.
- Vanier, Henriette. *La Mode et ses métiers: Frivolités et luttes des classes, 1830-1870*, Paris: Armand Colin, Kiosque, 1960.
- Vause, Erika. "A Subject of interest: Usurers on trial in early nineteenth-century France." *Financial History Review*, 24 (2017): 103-119.
- Vickery, Amanda. *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Vigarello, George. *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*. Translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- *Le Corps redressé: histoire du pouvoir pédagogique*. Paris: Édition du Félin, 2018 (1978).
- *Historie de la Beauté: Le Corps et l'art d'embellir de la renaissance à nos jours*. Paris: Seuil, 2004.
- Vigié, Muriel. *Le Portrait officiel en France du Ve au XXe siècle*. Paris: Éditions FVW: 2000.
- Vigoureux, Claude. *Maupas et le coup d'état de Louis-Napoléon*. Paris: Éditions S.P.M., 2002.
- Vizetelly, Ernest Alfred. *The Court of the Tuileries, 1852-1870: Its Organization, Chief Personages, Splendor, Frivolity, and Downfall*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1912.
- Vries, Jan de. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Yon, Jean-Claude. "Maupas et la surveillance des théâtres." *Histoire, économie société* 34, no. 2 (June 26, 2015): 102-110.