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ELIZABETH L. BLOCK

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5

INTERNATIONAL CLIENTELE

The great dressmaking shops of the quarter are superb affairs full of pomp and circumstance. They are furnished in splendid fashion and every detail of their management suggests luxury and extravagance. On their books are the names of all the royal personages of Europe, of favorites in Turkish harems, of Japanese beauties, of Americans whose wealth makes them coveted patrons.¹

Jean Béraud's painting *In Front of Maison Paquin* depicts a bustling shopping day on the rue de la Paix (fig. 5.1). Outside of Paquin at number 3, a pair of women turned out in summer afternoon dresses and hats, parasols in hand, converse, perhaps discussing the next stop on their excursion. Another customer emerges from the store, glancing at the women as a doorman looks on. Meanwhile, a carriage has arrived to let off a woman who has come to shop. We cannot know who the women are—European, U.S., or Russian; socialites or actresses—only that they had the means to patronize Paquin, one of the paramount couture houses (fig. 5.2). Viewers of the painting in its time, about 1900, would not have been able to definitively categorize them either.

The obscuring of social identity in Paris began a generation earlier as a result of open seas and borders that engendered a more international population and a broader distribution of wealth and access to fine clothing. The shift caused great consternation for the likes of author and playwright Alexandre Dumas *fils*, who saw France heading in the direction of general prostitution.² Art critic Charles Blanc

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Jean Béraud (French, 1849–1935). *In Front of Maison Paquin*, ca. 1900. Oil on panel, 36.8×55 cm. Private collection. Image: Courtesy of Doyle Auctioneers & Appraisers.

5.2

Jeanne Paquin for the House of Paquin. Ball gown, 1895. Silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Brooklyn Museum, 2009; Gift of Mrs. Frederick H. Prince, Jr., 1967 (2009.300.2115a,b). Image: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



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wrote with dismay in 1877: "All was reversed under the Second Empire: family ties were relaxed, and a growing luxury so corrupted manners that an honest woman could no longer be recognised by her style of dress."³ By the end of the century, actresses and socialites shared the theater, opera, spectators' seats at the Longchamps Grand Prix, and pages of fashion periodicals.⁴ Members of the demimonde also wore couture. The openness of the couture market, the prerequisite for entry being only the ability to afford the price tags, allowed different nationalities and classes of people to participate.

The porousness fostered a fluidity that admitted U.S. women, who formerly did not have access owing to lack of royal or noble lineage. In the new configuration, international and interclass marriages led to the exchange of wealth, titles, land and home ownership, and social capital. In turn, a number of European performers married wealthy U.S. men, some elite U.S. women became singers and actresses, and all appeared on the client lists of the principal couture houses. As *Good Housekeeping* remarked in 1888: "In the splendid 'trying on rooms' of the most celebrated man milliners meet the elite of the ancient nobility, the ladies of the financial world, the wives of wealthy merchants and manufacturers, even the world of favorite actresses, and these, forgetting all prejudices of caste and class, discuss proposed modifications and give to them their sanction or their veto."⁵ Women from the United States used fashion as one means of becoming significant agents in international society, and couture may be viewed here as a powerful instrument in European-U.S. diplomacy. Remarkably, the women were not discouraged by European denunciations of U.S. taste, mentions of which appear infrequently in U.S. women's writings. Pierre Bourdieu's conceptions of taste as a social construction and the quest for "distinction" as a guiding principal to set the higher classes from the lower classes are useful here.⁶ Hailing from the United States, where an entire family's status could catapult in rank from one generation to another after making a fortune in a certain industry, U.S. women were not deterred by European antiquated class barriers.

EUROPEAN ROYALTY AND ARISTOCRATS

Since the late seventeenth-century court of Louis XIV at Versailles, royalty had been the accepted leaders of fashion, given their authority to select the finest couturiers and fabrics and the power to have court clothing made on demand. In the second

half of the nineteenth century, several visible figures continued the tradition. Elisabeth (“Sisi”), empress of Austria and queen of Hungary, relished her slim physique and is known to have patronized Worth and Félix. She took pride in her long, thick brown hair, reputedly supervising the techniques of her hairdresser, Fanny Feifalik, to the extent that she was rumored to have her present on a silver dish any hairs that separated from her head during brushing.⁷

Alexandra, Princess of Wales, married Edward VII in 1863, and became queen consort when he was coronated in August 1902. She patronized British firms, including Redfern for tailored walking suits, as did Queen Victoria, but looked to Paris as well.⁸ Alexandra commissioned Mrs. James of Hanover Square to design her wedding dress, and she ordered her evening gowns from Morin-Blossier in 15, rue Daunou, Paris, and also patronized Laferrière, Félix, and Rouff.⁹ She employed a mistress of the robes to oversee her wardrobe and a dresser, Marianne Skerrett, to whom she later gave some of her used clothing.¹⁰ For her long-awaited coronation gown, she hired the British firm Ede and Ravenscroft but engaged Morin-Blossier to make the underdress.¹¹ Alexandra’s daughter, Princess Maud of Denmark, later Queen of Norway, followed her mother’s preference for Morin-Blossier and Laferrière but also patronized Félix.¹² Alexandra’s sister, Maria Feodorovna (Dagmar of Denmark), who became the empress of Russia, also ordered gowns from Morin-Blossier and Worth (she was a client for three decades) but contracted local dress-makers in Saint Petersburg for court dresses.¹³

How did royalty throughout Europe and international social leaders learn about the French couture houses’ offerings? Information spread in a number of ways. First, advances in railway and ferry transportation facilitated in-person shopping trips, either for the client or her staff. Railway tracks across France had greatly expanded by 1870, easing travel to the capital for those in the countryside.¹⁴ Intra-European travel improved as well, with trips between London and Paris taking only nine to ten hours (fig. 5.3). Passengers would ride a train from London to a British port city, then a ferry to a French port city, followed by a train to Paris. Popular routes were London to Dover to Calais to Paris and London to Folkestone to Boulogne to Paris.¹⁵ Furthermore, in 1883, the Orient Express began service between Western Europe and Central Europe and the Balkans. Designers and sales staff of local firms in eastern Europe traveled to France to observe the latest styles and convey them to their clients in Vienna, Sofia, Budapest, and other cities.¹⁶ The March train was dubbed the “train des couturières,” a reflection of the constant presence of fashion industry staff.

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Couture and hairstyles were also transmitted through magazines and newspapers that carried French fashion plates or, in some cases, were syndicated versions of French magazines. *The Queen*, *Lady's Realm*, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, and *Woman's World* were some of the most widespread in England. Their significant print runs were part of the larger improvements and efficiencies in printing presses as well as the reduction and eventual repeal of stamp duties in the middle of the century.¹⁷ The expansion in literacy as a result of funded, mandatory education after 1870 increased readership even further throughout Europe.¹⁸ Many English periodicals circulated in Ireland, and the *Irish Times* also reported on French fashion.¹⁹

In Italy, the high-end *Margherita* and *Corriere delle dame* were published in Milan.²⁰ In Madrid, *La moda elegante* ran from 1842 to 1937 (favorites in its fashion plates of the 1880s and 1890s were Worth, couturière Madame de Vertus, and Guerlain perfume). *Wiener chic*, related to the Parisian monthly *Paris chic* (1892–1913), was sold in Vienna, Paris, Berlin, London, and New York. In Russia, readers accessed the translated version of *Der bazar*, *New Russian Bazaar* (*Novyi russkii bazar*), as well as *Fashionable Society* (*Modnyi svet*) and *Fashion Herald* (*Vestnik mody*).²¹

In Japan, after trade opened with Western countries in the mid-1850s, women and men began to adopt Western fashions, which they could observe through the circulation of fashion prints brought in by foreigners.²² Newspapers and other periodicals in Japan reported on the interest in French fashion at least as early as the 1880s.²³ In Turkey, the *Oriental Advertiser* ran a weekly column titled “*Courrier de la mode*,” and French fashion magazines carried by tourists also communicated styles.²⁴ In Germany, *Der bazar* ran from 1855 to about 1936 or 1937, despite political strains that lingered between Germany and France since the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) ended France's Second Empire and ushered in the Third Republic. Belgium, too, put out editions of French magazines, including the longstanding *Journal des dames et des modes*.

In the United States, *Harper's Bazar* and *Vogue* reported to the upper classes, while *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature, Art, and Fashion*, *Godey's*

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Jules David (French, 1808–1892).
Toilettes de la Mon. Degon-Pointud, Le
Journal des dames et des demoiselles,
 1880. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-
 2009-3681). Image: Rijksmuseum.

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Lady's Book, and *Frank Leslie's Ladies Gazette* catered to the middle classes. A remarkable number of newspapers, from the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* to the *Los Angeles Herald*, ran Paris fashion features, and especially in the late 1890s, several included detailed drawings and eventually photogravures. With so many of the same fashion plates being reproduced throughout Western countries—with permission from their originators either granted or ignored—French fashion became an international visual language.

PERFORMERS

In addition to fashion plates showing generic female figures wearing the latest styles, international magazines and newspapers covered the fashion choices of actresses and opera singers, who along with royals and aristocrats carried the torch of what would be deemed *au courant*. As foreign correspondent Katharine de Forest wrote in *Harper's Bazar*: “in writing of fashions in Paris one must always remember that the styles are principally launched by the theatre.”²⁵ In her diaries of 1893, Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman of Waltham, Massachusetts, who would become a dance teacher, often recorded new styles that caught her eye at theater performances in New York.²⁶ Titled by her as “‘The Log’: An Account of Travel, Adventure and Fashion,” the five small notebooks include sketches and fabric swatches. “I have lots of fashion notes. I know someone will be glad to hear them,” she wrote in one.²⁷ In her June “Fashion Supplement,” she sketched a shirtwaist (white muslin with black dots) and skirt with a wide hem as “an odd combination that I saw at the theatre yet effective in the extreme.”²⁸ Phrases resonate with those of fashion reporters: “fashion notes,” “editorial notice,” “a very choice shop of Fifth Avenue,” “swell gowns.” She addresses “readers of the feminine sex” and signed off one day: “Goodbye. I now go to trip the light fantastic.” She frequented department stores B. Altman, Arnold, Constable & Co., Lord and Taylor, and Macy’s, where she browsed and obtained pricing for various fabrics.²⁹ She admired Japanese calico and crepes at a store that stocked Japanese goods.³⁰

With audience members like Viles-Wyman tracking their appearances, performers also lent their names and images to (or unknowingly had them co-opted by) product advertisements that proliferated when printing methods became more efficient and less expensive. Sketches of actresses Ellen Terry, Jane Hading, and Madge Robertson Kendal and opera singer Adelina Patti were enlisted for Wakelee’s Camelline facial foundation.³¹ There was also a large production of trade cards with actresses touting soap, cosmetics, and tobacco. One of the most eccentric series of cigarette cards was put out by W. Duke, Sons, and Co. in 1889, with actresses in

fancy dress. Shown at bust-length, headgear is a focal point—Josie Hall as “Light and Shade” wears a lampshade on her head, and Madge Bannister as “The Fisher Maiden” balances a goldfish bowl.³²

Except for those with top billing, most actresses were responsible for the costs of their costumes, which could run in the thousands of francs or dollars.³³ The *San Francisco Call* remarked, “The prima donna has two duties. The one is to sing, the other is to dress. The cost of the latter is a sum that the public wots (*sic*) not of.”³⁴ Stage costumes could be especially expensive due to the extra fabric and sewing required to make the gowns durable enough to last the theater season, after which they would become unsalvageable.³⁵ But actresses’ income might change from year to year, depending on the success of their performances, a fluctuation that affected their value as customers to the couturiers. As the New York *Sun* explained, “Their fortunes and their credit vary often and violently, and a woman who is a most valuable patron one year may not be the next season.”³⁶ When they were in the limelight, however, they wielded a fair amount of power and were involved in the design of their dresses, exerting opinions and suggesting alterations to the season’s offerings.³⁷

The English actress Marie Tempest was particularly vocal about the input she believed actresses should have with their costumes: “I always think that a woman ought to have a large share in the designing and arranging of stage-dresses.”³⁸ Other prominent figures were Lillie Langtry, Sarah Bernhardt, and Jane Hading. In the late 1870s, Langtry, hailing from England, became known as a “professional beauty.”³⁹ She wore dresses by Doucet, Félix, Laferrière, Morin-Blossier, and Worth, and her style was copied widely. There was a “Langtry corset,” “Langtry bustle,” and a “Langtry hat.”⁴⁰ There was a “Langtry knot” hairstyle, and it was possible to buy “Langtry bangs” (“a little fluffy bunch of waves”) so that one did not have to cut one’s own hair.⁴¹ As Katherine Armstrong in *Godey’s* put it, Langtry was “public property.”⁴²

Most of the esteemed French houses appear to have dressed Sarah Bernhardt at one point or another, although she was a notoriously difficult client. Jean-Philippe Worth recalled her ordering three dresses from a competitor after causing trouble at Worth during a fitting.⁴³ She is known to have worn designs by Félix and Laferrière, with the costs covered by her manager, a benefit afforded to her, given her popularity and ticket sales.⁴⁴ Her celebrity permeated international popular culture, and her name and image were ubiquitous in papers, magazines, advertisements and testimonials, including Pear’s soap, La Diaphane rice powder, and a hair curler. Her “Titian-red” hair was widely emulated, especially after Théobald Chartran depicted her in the role of Gismonda for a Salon painting of 1896.⁴⁵ As a sculptor and painter who trained with portraitist Alfred Stevens, Bernhardt was covered in the arts press as well.

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DEMIMONDE

The often unauthorized use of performers' names and images to promote cosmetics and other face, hair, and body enhancers draws attention to an adjacent set of customers of couture—courtesans (high-end mistresses) and prostitutes. Art historian Marni Kessler has effectively connected contemporary French writers' concerns about class mixing with that of the superfluity of prostitution in Paris, citing cultural critic Octave Uzanne and others.⁴⁶ She argues that the wearing of a fashionable and hygienic veil helped differentiate respectable women from the demimonde, especially in the period directly after the Haussmannization of Paris, with the newly broadened boulevards that made all women more visible.⁴⁷ Elsewhere, Kessler notes that the proud patronage of courtesans like Cora Pearl to the upstanding House of Worth was counterbalanced by the heavy application of cosmetics, a telltale visual marker of the demimonde.⁴⁸

In a similar analysis of a fashion accessory, literary historian Susan Hiner elucidates the shift in meaning that the symbol of the cashmere shawl underwent in novels by Balzac, Flaubert, and others.⁴⁹ Beginning as a garment of distinction, the shawl lost its prestige when it was adopted by the demimondaine and when reproductions of lesser quality became widely available. The anxieties surrounding the ability of fashion to obscure the wearer's class seeped into the perception of certain workplaces, including that of the lowpaying millinery shops.⁵⁰ Workers might be mistaken for prostitutes and indeed were portrayed as liminal figures in paintings by Edgar Degas, for instance. Notably, there is no overt indication in period sources that courtesans or prostitutes played a large role in the France-U.S. trade in fashion, although it is possible that some actresses were also mistresses of high-profile men. The relevant point here is that the wearing of couture by multiple classes of women in Europe does not appear to have lessened wealthy U.S. women's desire for it or the couture houses' eagerness to provide it.

SOCIAL LEADERS FROM THE UNITED STATES

In his 1895 book *Some Memories of Paris*, F. Adolphus recalled interviewing Charles Frederick Worth at the latter's country home in Suresnes.⁵¹ When asked whether there was an average expenditure by clients on his gowns, Worth replied that there was no average and that spending relied on individual circumstances. He continued

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with some generalizations, however, saying that English and German women often did not overspend but that “some of the Americans are great spenders . . . ‘they have faith, figures, and francs’—faith to believe in me, figures that I can put into shape, francs to pay my bills. Yes, I like to dress Americans” (figs. 5.4 and 5.5).⁵² The stream of wealthy people traveling between the United States and Europe was steady. Steamships like the Cunard Line’s *Campania* (built in 1892), which carried Caroline Astor home from Liverpool in July 1896, transported first-class passengers in style. It could hold fourteen hundred passengers in first-, second-, and steerage classes, and four hundred crewmembers (fig. 5.6).⁵³ After debarking in Liverpool, passengers might spend time in London and then make their way to Paris.⁵⁴

Several U.S. families owned or rented homes in Europe, as in the case of the Bradley-Martins, who leased homes in London and near Inverness.⁵⁵ In Paris, Caroline Astor leased an apartment at 146, avenue des Champs-Élysées, a newly constructed building that opened in 1889.⁵⁶ The company Urbaine-Vie commissioned architect Jules Février to design it in 1887, and it was conceived as an investment property, capitalizing on wealthy foreigners.⁵⁷ An advertisement in *Le Figaro* described it as “lavishly decorated,” with “American installation,” electricity, telephones, and “hot and cold water day and night for every floor.”⁵⁸ The Neoclassical exterior betrayed a Rococo-decorated interior (the building was destroyed in the 1930s).⁵⁹

This rental building is another example of the outgrowth of businesses that benefited from foreign interest in Parisian fashion. Equally fascinating is the apparent lack of a stigma attached to leasing, rather than owning, a second, third, or fourth home. As economist Thorstein Veblen wrote in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* in 1899, owning property was essential to acquiring and maintaining status.⁶⁰ For these families that spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on designing, erecting, and decorating their stateside mansions, their standards were more tempered when it came to the homes where they stayed while traveling. The same was true for their yachts, often leased from agencies or from other owners in their social circle. (Lillie Langtry famously received the yacht *White Ladye* as a gift from an Englishman and then swiftly leased it to Ogden Goelet, who used it until his death.)⁶¹

But renting or hoteling did not signify temporariness, as evidenced by an unusually robust set of extant invoices from the Goelet family, stored and forgotten in a piece of furniture, later to be found and acquired by Salve Regina University in Newport. The invoices record purchases and services rendered in France and England mostly in the early 1890s. In Paris, Ogden and Mary Rita Wilson Goelet

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shopped at Félix for women's and men's couture and accessories, Franck for lingerie and night clothes, Léoty for corsets (figs. 5.7 and 5.8), Morin-Blossier for couture (totaling 3,433 francs), Virot for hats, and others.⁶² The length of their stays necessitated trips to the cleaners—at “Jolly Fils” and a generically named “Blanchisserie.” They also patronized a tailor who worked on adult and children's clothes and brought their traveling trunks to Bigot for repairs. They must have entertained guests at the Hôtel Bristol where they stayed in fall 1892, as they placed large orders for flowers from Dezilles on the rue de Castiglione. Finally, they bought a French bull dog named “Rabot” for 1,700 francs.⁶³

Caroline Astor entertained at various homes throughout the year, including at her rented Paris apartment where she hosted salons. Her annual schedule was public knowledge. In the winter, she was in New York, where she attended the opera and gave teas, dinners, and receptions (fig. 5.9). Debutante coming-out parties were in December, and her annual ball was given on a Monday night in early January. In March, she set off from New York to England and then traveled to Paris.⁶⁴ In the last week of June, she returned to London and headed back to the United States, where she spent the summer in Newport. Her husband's wanderings were also notorious: William Backhouse Astor spent much of his time on his boats, first the *Ambassadors* and then *Nourmahal*. As a result, Caroline Astor's travels and parties were associated with her as the primary host, especially after William died in 1892 (the funeral, held at the interdenominational American Church in Paris, was attended by more than twenty U.S. couples).⁶⁵ At events, she was surrounded by her children (four daughters and one son) and extended family and friends, of which Ward McAllister (the two devised the infamous list of the Four Hundred worthy members of New York society) was one of the most famous. After McAllister died in 1895, Harry Lehr assumed the position of social leader alongside Astor.

The weddings in New York of the four Astor daughters brought significant attention, of which the gowns and gifts (and in several cases, the eventual demise of the union) were of paramount concern. The eldest daughter, Emily Astor, became engaged to James Van Alen in 1876, against her father's wishes, and split time between Newport and England before her death from heart disease in 1881. The details of their marriage ceremony, often referred to as an elopement, were not heavily publicized, counter to the usual Astor affairs.⁶⁶ Her sister Helen Schermerhorn Astor, however, is known to have worn a white satin dress with orange blossoms and old Belgian lace by Worth for her marriage to James R. Roosevelt in 1878 at Grace Church.⁶⁷ The bridesmaids' gowns of white satin moiré were also imported, possibly also by Worth.⁶⁸

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Maison Léoty (French, active 1868—at least 1917). Corset, 1891. Silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Miss Marion Hague, 1945 (C.I.45.27a,b). Image: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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Léoty, Tout-Paris: Annuaire de la société parisienne (1899).

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The next sister, Charlotte Augusta Astor, and her husband, James Coleman Drayton, garnered a reported half-million dollars' worth of gifts at their wedding in 1879; they divorced in 1894.⁶⁹ For her second wedding, to the Englishman George Ogilvy Haig in London in 1896, she wore a plum-colored morning gown, an acceptable choice for divorcées and new brides alike, as white or ivory were not requisite in this period.⁷⁰ The youngest daughter, Caroline Schermerhorn "Carrie" Astor, who would live the longest and become the best known, married Marshall Orme Wilson in November 1884 in the art gallery at the Astor house at 350 5th Avenue at 34th Street. She wore a Worth satin and lace dress embroidered with silver, the front and sides trimmed with orange blossoms, and a veil of old lace given by her mother.⁷¹

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*Mrs. Caroline Astor and Mr. Elisha Dyer, Jr.
at the 1902 Assembly Ball in New York City,
Harper's Weekly, December 20, 1902.*

The gown was “said to be one of the handsomest that ever left his establishment.”⁷² The heavy white satin and lace bridesmaids’ gowns were also from Paris.⁷³ Caroline Astor, the mother of the bride, wore a pale green velvet gown with heavy white satin and point lace by Worth and her diamond tiara.⁷⁴ William Backhouse Astor, father of the bride, gave them a house, and the groom’s father presented them with “all those one thousand and one things necessary to make it habitable,” wrote one newspaper.⁷⁵ As for the only son of Caroline and William, John Jacob Astor IV, he married Ava Lowle Willing in Philadelphia in 1891 to much fanfare. She wore a “rich, heavy, creamy duchesse satin with an immense train” by Worth, the bridesmaids donned “Marie Antoinette gowns of pink chiffon,” and Caroline Astor wore an embroidered, deep violet satin gown and matching capote with violet-tinted ostrich feathers.⁷⁶ Here again the legacy of the wedding outlasted the marriage, as the Jacob Astors divorced in 1910.

In addition to all the Astors’ comings and goings, there were many other prominent U.S. families frequenting the Paris couturiers during residential stays in Paris. The King family of Newport and Washington, DC, also kept an apartment in Paris for their annual trips to Europe. In the 1880s and 1890s, Ella Louisa Rives King patronized Doucet, Rouff, and Worth, details that are known from her accounts and the diary of her husband, David King Jr.⁷⁷ Their daughter, Gwendolen, favored Raudnitz and Co.–Huet et Chéruit.⁷⁸ If families did not own or lease a home in Paris, they stayed at hotels like the steadfast Bristol at 3–5, place Vendôme (the Goelets’ preference), the Continental (opened in 1878), or the Ritz (opened in 1898), all a short distance to the maisons on the rue de la Paix.⁷⁹

Hotels served multiple purposes as a home base, as did the centrally located business office of the *International Herald Tribune* (begun in 1887) at 49, avenue de l’Opéra. Travelers held meetings, received mail, and read the latest newspapers there. On registration, the paper printed news of their arrival as well and sent a cable to their respective local newspapers.⁸⁰ Other devoted service providers were the locations of the U.S. consulate and from 1895, American Express at 6, rue Halévy.⁸¹ U.S. travelers happened upon one another in the city. As Huybertie Pruyn Hamlin of Albany, New York, wrote in her diary, she and her mother “returned to Paris and found it full of friends.”⁸² While there, her shopping practices ring familiar. For her 1898 wedding to Charles Sumner Hamlin of Boston, she ordered a gown from Madame Lodaux, who, she noted, packed her boxes beautifully.⁸³ In a “buying local” selection that we now recognize as *de rigueur* for women at various levels of society, though, she hired a New York dressmaker for her going-away dress.

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Travel, socializing, and shopping were facilitated by the ability to speak French, as did Caroline Astor, Frances Cleveland, Anna Gould, and Alva Vanderbilt.⁸⁴ The most privileged women studied in France, an advantage that in Bourdieuan terms increased their cultural capital. But foreign languages were also taught in the newly established public high schools in the United States beginning early in the century, albeit often as an elective class.⁸⁵ Visitors from the United States joined in the Paris social season, hosting and attending salons, frequenting the theater and opera, and attending fancy dress balls and weddings that would inspire ones back at home (see chapter 7, *Gowns and Mansions: French Fashion in U.S. Homes*). The extent to which the events were commingled between U.S. citizens and the French is not completely clear and seems to have varied by social circle. The term “American Colony” was used to describe the U.S. citizens residing in Paris at this time, although it was not a cohesive group. As Richard Harding Davis put it in his 1895 book, *About Paris*, there were “Americans who go to Paris for the spring and summer only, who live in hotels, and see little of the city beyond the Rue de la Paix and the Avenue of the Champs Elysées and their bankers.” And there were those that lived there permanently, essentially relinquishing their citizenship of the United States, according to Davis’s view.⁸⁶ Immigration historian Nancy L. Green explains that within the contingent, there were the “idle rich” as well as artists and enterprising businessmen. As a whole, she refers to their “elite migration,” more commonly termed “expatriation.” The classification includes people who owned residences abroad but returned to the States on a regular basis.⁸⁷ They established community associations, churches, and newspapers and were a significant precursor to the larger and better studied company of U.S. citizens in Paris, famous artists and writers like Ernest Hemingway among them, between World Wars I and II.⁸⁸

By the mid-1850s, North and South Americans residing in Paris numbered between one thousand and three thousand (the census data combines the United States, Mexico, and South America).⁸⁹ In 1876, the amount rose to about six thousand. In 1891 and 1896, the census separated out citizens of the United States, citing about four thousand for each of those years, which was about one third of the British citizens, who held the largest representation.⁹⁰ By 1901, the figure decreased to 2,628, about a tenth of the British citizens living in Paris.⁹¹ But the count of U.S. tourists in Paris was significantly higher than the residents, possibly as many as one hundred thousand by 1906, although official records were not kept at the time.⁹² Together, residents and visitors from the United States made up the wealthiest foreigners in the city, a credit that must have eased their entry into elite social events.⁹³

Accounts such as Albert Sutcliffe's *The Americans in Paris* (1887) document citizens from the United States at French-hosted balls at the Tuileries.⁹⁴ In her memoir, Princess Pauline von Metternich recalled the grandness of the balls at that palace and at various embassies and ministries. She once dressed as a black demon in a costume by Worth, embroidered in silver and dotted with diamonds, and with two diamond horns.⁹⁵ Likewise, Dr. William Edward Johnston, the Paris correspondent for the *New York Times* in the 1850s and 1860s, described an imperial fancy dress ball in 1863 and the U.S. guests in attendance. The women hailed from Philadelphia, New Orleans, Georgia, New York, Cambridge (Massachusetts), and Washington, DC, and came as Red Riding Hood, Ophelia, Undine, and *en marquise*.⁹⁶ He wrote, "Worth and Bobergh, although they are the fashionable house of the season, did not furnish all the dresses."⁹⁷ He remarked that the empress invited people from the United States "not only on account of their standing in French society, but also for their beauty and well-known taste in dress."⁹⁸

The U.S. visitors who mixed socially with the Parisians also sat for portraits by the same desirable painters, like Alexandre Cabanel. A French critic wrote about the mutual benefit to the artists and sitters, noting Cabanel's eagerness to accommodate U.S. sitters and the status gained by the patrons: "The effect produced among the American colony in Paris may be readily imagined, and at the present time every American of any pretensions rushes to Cabanel's studio" (see fig. 7.16).⁹⁹ The price of a Cabanel portrait could reach 20,000 francs (about \$4,000 in 1885), an investment that easily multiplied in social value if the painting was displayed at the hallowed Paris Salon, as was Mary Leiter's portrait by Cabanel in 1888.¹⁰⁰ Leiter married British aristocrat George Nathaniel Curzon in 1895 in a gown by Worth and reputedly received her guests at the wedding reception standing beneath her Cabanel. The marriage would later grant her the title of vicereine of India.¹⁰¹

In Paris, the salons hosted by the likes of Caroline Astor and Marie Louise Hungerford Mackay were attended by U.S., French, and other European guests. Mackay's husband made a fortune in the Nevada silver mines, but the couple encountered difficulty when attempting to enter New York society and so moved to Paris in 1876 and to London in 1886.¹⁰² Their U.S. guests at their home at 9, rue de Tilsitt would have comprised those living in Paris and those visiting, many of whom would have been passing through while on shopping trips. A known guest of the Mackays was the soprano Emma Wixom "Nevada" of California, who married Raymond Palmer in Paris in 1886 and set up a residence at 121, avenue de Wagram. While there, they may have dined on the famous Mackay silver-gilt and enamel dinner service that

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the couple commissioned Tiffany and Co. to make out of silver that came directly from the mines and that was displayed at the 1878 Exposition universelle in Paris.¹⁰³ Mackay was also a prominent patron of the jeweler Boucheron, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on ensembles crafted with sapphires, pearls, diamonds, and turquoise.¹⁰⁴ The elegant dresses that Mackay wore to Parisian social events were eagerly reported on.¹⁰⁵

By the time their daughter Eva Julia Mackay was married in France in 1885 to an Italian prince, the *New York Times* claimed that “the reception was attended by the fine flower of European and American society.”¹⁰⁶ But perhaps the pinnacle of the Mackays’ notoriety took place the year before when Marie Louise destroyed a portrait that Ernest Meissonier had painted of her, finding the likeness disagreeable.¹⁰⁷ Shown at three-quarter length, she wore a black satin dress embroidered with beads, a black Gainsborough-style hat, and a brown fur-trimmed mantle.¹⁰⁸ She objected to the appearance of her hands (the left one pulling on a yellow glove), neck, and makeup. At a value of \$14,000, the painting’s demise constituted big news in Paris and the States, a testament to how ensconced the family was in both arenas.

The stream of patrons making their way to Paris for couture came from cities throughout the United States, most notably New York, Chicago, Albany, and Washington, DC. For her marriage to Potter Palmer, a real-estate businessman and hotel owner in 1870, Bertha Honoré commissioned her wedding dress from Paris.¹⁰⁹ Prominent in Chicago society, in 1891 she was elected to the Presidential Board of Lady Managers for the World’s Columbian Exposition to be held in 1893 (fig. 5.10). In 1891 and 1892, she traveled to Paris, where she bought Impressionist paintings by Mary Cassatt, Camille Pissarro, and Claude Monet, building an extraordinary collection, and where she shopped at Callot Soeurs, Paquin, Worth, and more.¹¹⁰ She was accompanied by her niece, Julia Dent Grant (granddaughter of Ulysses S. Grant), who would marry a Russian prince in 1899 in Newport. Palmer oversaw the procurement of all the gowns in Paris for the event.¹¹¹ In 1900, President McKinley

5.10

Anders Leonard Zorn (Swedish, 1860–1920).
Mrs. Potter Palmer, 1893. Oil on canvas,
 258×141.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago,
 Potter Palmer Collection (1922.450).
 Image: Art Institute of Chicago.

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appointed her to the United States National Commission at the Exposition universelle in Paris. During her time there, she placed orders at Callot Soeurs, Doeuillet, Paquin, and Worth, and several of the garments survive (fig. 5.11).¹¹²

Palmer's fellow Chicagoan Abbie Louise Spencer Eddy kept a travel log in 1878 of her shopping trips to Paris, where Pingat at 30, rue Louis-le-Grand was a particular favorite.¹¹³ She purchased a Pingat gown and wore it for her portrait by the U.S. painter George Peter Alexander Healy that year.¹¹⁴ Her fine taste led her sister, her mother, and a friend, Nannie Douglas Scott Field, to have her proxy shop for them while in Paris. Field was married to Marshall Field, owner of the successful department store and previous business partner of Potter Palmer and Levi Leiter, whose eldest daughter was Mary Leiter. Marshall Field's, like most major department stores, would have carried authentic, imported French couture as well as licensed versions, with which Nannie Field would have been familiar.

The importance with which Chicago society women approached French fashion is further borne out by the record keeping of philanthropist Frances Macbeth Glessner, who traveled to Europe only once, with her husband, her daughter, and a governess in 1890. For the excursion, she recorded the addresses of couturiers and purveyors of myriad goods from bonnets to waterproof boots in a leather-bound book and kept a journal while abroad.¹¹⁵ The recommendations came from her friends, the frequent travelers Bertha Honoré Potter Palmer and Abbie Louise Spencer Eddy, all of whom would have followed the French fashions in Chicago's society magazine, *Elite*. Eddy suggested a visit to Doucet (in business since 1816 and renowned when Jacques Doucet took over in 1875) for tea gowns. At Pingat, she suggested asking for saleswoman Madame Blanche, who she deemed "perfectly reliable" and "very bright."¹¹⁶ At Worth, Eddy favored Madame Deve (Eddy's aunt, Delia Spencer, preferred the assistance of Madame Bond).¹¹⁷ Glessner's journal is incomplete, but she documented visits to Worth, Madame Béer for children's clothes,

5.11

House of Worth. Evening gown worn by Bertha Honoré Potter Palmer. Silk satin with cut velvet, ribbon, rhinestone trim. Chicago History Museum, Gift of the Art Institute of Chicago (1969.1116).

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and the department store Le Bon Marché. Finally, her friends endorsed Rouff (13, boulevard Haussmann), Labaudt et Robina (22, rue de Quatre-Septembre), and milliner Kate Weber (6, rue de la Paix next to Worth).¹¹⁸

In Washington, DC, too, society women, many of whom hailed from different states but moved to the city when their husbands were elected or appointed to federal offices, were heavily invested in procuring the correct French fashions. Their budgets were lower than the bottomless ones of the millionaire families, but they still sought the highest quality. Harriet Blaine of Augusta, Maine, relocated to Washington, DC, in the winters when her husband was elected Speaker of the House in 1869. When attending an event at which she was escorted through the room by President Chester A. Arthur, she was especially conscious of her appearance in a new dress and expected to see coverage in the newspapers.¹¹⁹ And when her son was in France, she could not resist asking him, “apropos of nothing,” to buy her a black lace parasol cover: “Get it rather large and have some lady like Mrs. Washburne to advise you.”¹²⁰

At age twenty-one, Frances Folsom of Buffalo, New York, married sitting President Grover Cleveland on June 2, 1886, wearing a Worth gown. The year before, she traveled to Europe with her mother and purchased part of her trousseau in Paris, choices that the French newspapers reported on.¹²¹ During her second term as First Lady (1893–1897), she patronized couturière Madame Lodaux and most likely the House of Doucet.¹²² Her taste in clothing and her hairstyles, like the Grecian coils she wore for her wedding and her signature simple but neat chignon at the middle back of the head, with curled bangs in front, that became known as “à la Cleveland” were widely copied (fig. 5.12).¹²³ Images of the young First Lady abounded, as did their illegal use on products from perfume bottles to cigar boxes. The result, per reporter Frank (“Carp”) Carpenter, was “Seven out of every ten women in Washington have copied her and the style has been adopted throughout the country. . . . A small fortune is spent in hairdressing here every season.”¹²⁴ Her hairdresser, Joannes (John) Rochon, was a Frenchman located in the capital, who advertised in the papers as having won three patents and five medals at expositions in Paris, Lyon, and Vienna.¹²⁵ This type of claim was common, as the expositions doled out hundreds of medals, a credential that was quickly emblazoned on ads and company letterhead.

Among the women traveling from Washington, DC, to Paris for couture was Marguerite Cassini, daughter of the first Russian ambassador to the United States, who became a citizen of the United States and young hostess in the capital. She recalled in her autobiography shopping trips with other U.S. women in Paris.



5.12

Fernand Paillet (French, 1850–1918), *Frances Folsom Cleveland*, 1891. Watercolor on ivory; silver gilt; mother-of pearl, 6.5×5.4 cm. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Estate of Peter Marié (1905.44). Photograph © New-York Historical Society.

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She estimated, for instance, that Mrs. Corey spent \$100,000 per year on clothes and had a *vendeuse* assigned to her at the House of Worth.¹²⁶ Cassini was acutely aware, especially during visits to Newport, of women who wore the latest French fashions, citing Janet Fish “in her Doucet creations with rows and rows of lace” as well as Alva Vanderbilt Belmont and Ava Lowle Willing Astor.¹²⁷ She wrote, “Sometimes the lace alone on their gowns cost two thousand dollars or more, and it took many women working night and day for months to make it.”¹²⁸ She remembered also seeing Anna Gould in the Worth salon being fitted for an evening gown (that would require a tight corset for her stocky figure).¹²⁹ Gould represented another category of society women who heavily patronized the couture houses: U.S. heiresses who married European titled men. Between 1874 and 1911, there were about 115 such marriages.¹³⁰ The brides hailed from New York, Boston, Washington, DC, Chicago, Nashville, New Orleans, Portland, Oregon, and Santa Barbara and Stockton, California.¹³¹ The unions were motivated by love interest, mutual gain, or both and elicited a remarkable number of responses throughout the U.S. and French newspapers, which in turn provide one of the clearest entry points into how central and often polarizing fashion was to the business of keeping up international appearances.

The sarcastic comment by the gossip columnist for New York’s *Town Topics* that “nothing below an Earl is looked at with favor” was typical of the U.S. response to the marriages.¹³² “A union of blood and boodle” is how another paper termed it.¹³³ The *Saint Paul Globe* ran a sensationalized piece, also characteristic of the press’s reaction, about twenty young women in Newport worth \$200 million who would return from Europe, “their trunks laden with the latest Parisian frocks and hats.”¹³⁴ The brides’ parents acquired stature while the European men, whose family money was often mostly a memory by late in the century, gained financial stability. One report out of Washington, DC, likened the whole business to a sport played by the brides’ mothers and called the real value of the married titles as “bogus.”¹³⁵ In his novels, William Dean Howells wrote several derogatory comments about the unions, as in *A Fearful Responsibility* (1881), a book that would have circulated this well-respected author’s opinion widely.¹³⁶ Conservative Parisian papers like *Le Gaulois*, however, listed the millions of francs that each marriage brought to the city and drew attention to the extravagance of the weddings.¹³⁷ The wedding festivities were opportunities to observe one another: when Mary Stevens Paget, a U.S. hotel heiress, married Englishman Arthur Paget, “They had come there to see and to be seen, to gossip about the Horse Show, to criticise one another’s gowns and to compare Miss Whitney and Miss Vanderbilt as a bride.”¹³⁸

Anna Gould, daughter of the late railroad financier Jay Gould, married Count Boniface do Castellane (“Boni”) of Touraine, France, in 1895 at her uncle’s house on 67th Street and 5th Avenue in New York.¹³⁹ The marriage comprised big news in Paris, garnering a page-long announcement in the *Journal du dimanche*.¹⁴⁰ In the States, a full-length drawing of Gould in her bridal gown (the maker is unnamed) appeared in the *World*, referring to her as the “count’s prize” and citing the value of the new union as \$15 million.¹⁴¹ *Frank Leslie’s Weekly* devoted three illustrated pages to the event.¹⁴² Her steamer gown and hat and much of her trousseau lingerie was imported from France.¹⁴³ In addition to procuring items from Paris, however, in a now-familiar practice, she had some evening gowns for her trousseau made at Gosta Kraemer’s store on West 23rd Street and matching hats by Madame Louise.¹⁴⁴ After the wedding, the couple lived in the Palais Rose in Paris, a mansion that the count had built in the style of Louis XIV. Their life in France was facilitated by Anna Gould’s fluent French. In his memoir, Castellane recalled his wife’s interest in fashion: “Anna became superelegant, and the hearts of Paquin and Doucet rejoiced greatly,” although counter to Cassini’s recollection mentioned above, he boasted, “My wife never went to a *couturière*—the *couturières* came to her.”¹⁴⁵ In 1897, the count threw an enormous party, reputedly for four thousand guests, in the bois de Boulogne for his wife’s twenty-first birthday. The count’s extravagant spending and wayward relationships, however, led to the couple’s divorce in 1906.

On the whole, the unions were perceived as constituting acts of soft diplomacy, or peacekeeping arrangements. On the marriage of Mary Endicott, a descendant of settlers in Massachusetts, to British politician Joseph Chamberlain in 1888 (see figs. 3.9 and 3.10), the *Boston Weekly Globe* remarked: “This is one of the pleasant features of our international relations, and goes far to offset disagreeable incidents, like the Sackville affair.”¹⁴⁶ One of the most publicized international marriages was between Consuelo Vanderbilt, daughter of Alva and William Kissam Vanderbilt, and Charles Richard John Spencer-Churchill, 9th Duke of Marlborough, in November 1895. By all accounts, including the *Town Topics* columnist who referred to the “elaborate machinery” she devised, Alva Vanderbilt had orchestrated the union in order to secure her daughter’s place in international society.¹⁴⁷ Doucet was chosen to design the bridal gown, and the New York dressmaker Catharine Donovan executed it.¹⁴⁸ *Vogue* printed a full-page drawing of the gown on a generic fashion-plate model, perhaps a measure of expedience to rush the dress and several gowns from the trousseau into that month’s volume.¹⁴⁹ Consuelo Vanderbilt later recalled how eager the press was for details of her new clothing; she found them greatly exaggerated.¹⁵⁰ Reporters

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5.13

Studio of Nadar (French, 1820–1910). *Cora Brown-Potter*. Albumen print. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (FT 4-NA-238 [25]). Image: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

referred to her as an item of acquisition, using terms like “merchandise,” “prize,” and “important commercial transaction.”¹⁵¹ Vanderbilt and the duke separated in 1906 and divorced in 1921, and that year she married French pilot Jacques Balsan. Alva, too, remarried, after William Kissam Vanderbilt was found to be unfaithful, to Oliver Hazard Perry Belmont, member of a wealthy banking family.¹⁵²

“Why must Mrs. James Brown Potter act?” asked journalist Katherine Armstrong, writing from Surrey, England, in a piece for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in October 1887. London was facing this conundrum, she says, wondering why a woman of high social standing, a confidante of the Princess of Wales, would take to the stage. She names two other U.S. women following the trend: Eleanor C. Calhoun and a singer known in London as “Miss Decca” but plainly known as Miss Johnstone in Philadelphia.¹⁵³ Cora Urquhart of New Orleans had married financier James Brown-Potter of New York in 1877 and enjoyed performing at charity events.¹⁵⁴ In the next decade, her interests turned to the professional stage (fig. 5.13), and in 1886 she left for London while her husband and daughter (later Nancy Fowler McCormick, a leader of Chicago society and fashion) remained in New York.¹⁵⁵ Four years afterward, author Alan Dale puzzled over her choice: “Mrs. James Brown-Potter emerged from the lovely insipidity of society in the full belief that she was to be a Charlotte Cushman or a Sarah Bernhardt, with drawing-room amendments.”¹⁵⁶ Despite the skepticism, she became a household name and like Lillie Langtry and other well-known performers, patronized the couture houses, including Félix and Worth.¹⁵⁷ In 1895, she persuaded producer Augustin Daly to approve a large budget for her to order gowns for *Le Collier de la reine* from Jean-Philippe Worth.¹⁵⁸ She wrote, “I urge you to let me order the other three. You will never get a chance again to get more exquisite things . . . they are to be trimmed with gold and lace and made splendidly.”¹⁵⁹ Worth would make costumes for several more of her performances in the late 1890s.¹⁶⁰

Brown-Potter’s path from society woman to employed actress was so disconcerting because it flowed in the opposite direction from the Veblenian upward stream toward leisure status and away from work.¹⁶¹ But in terms of the never-ending cycle of conspicuous consumption, the couture industry did not distinguish between socialite, actress, singer, lately titled bride, old or new money. Maison Félix, subject of the next chapter, served them all.

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88. Merceron, *Lanvin*, 18.
89. For Lanvin's men's department at 15, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, see Merceron, *Lanvin*, 32, 366.
90. Pouillard, "A Woman in International Entrepreneurship," 193–198, 205.
91. Font, "International Couture," 30–47; Pouillard, "A Woman in International Entrepreneurship," 205–206.
92. "A Magnificent Exhibit," *World's Fair Bulletin* 5, no. 10 (August 1904), 57; Paul Dreyfus-Bing and G.-Roger Sandoz, *Exposition internationale de Milan, 1906: Rapport général de la section française* (Paris: Comité français des expositions à l'étranger, 1913), 452.
93. Troy, *Couture Culture*, 147–149.
94. De la Haye and Mendes, *The House of Worth*, 327.

CHAPTER 5

1. "Dressmakers in Paris," *The Sun*, June 30, 1901, 5.
2. Lenard R. Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve: A Cultural History of French Theater Women from the Old Regime to the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 233–236; Troy, *Couture Culture*, 13. See also Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*, 63–66.
3. Charles Blanc, *Art in Ornament and Dress* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 273.
4. Maureen E. Montgomery, *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 135; Penny Sparke, "Interior Decoration and Haute Couture: Links between the Developments of the Two Professions in France and the USA in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: A Historiographical Analysis," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 105.
5. "Originating Fashions," *Good Housekeeping*, September 1, 1888, 214.
6. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 6–7.
7. "Walks with Empress Elizabeth," *New York Tribune*, January 22, 1899, 3.
8. Redfern eagerly began putting out advertisements of the royal patronage in the mid-1870s. Strasdin, *Inside the Royal Wardrobe*, 103–108.
9. Strasdin, *Inside the Royal Wardrobe*, 8; "Social and Personal," *Washington Times*, June 30, 1901, 5.
10. Strasdin, *Inside the Royal Wardrobe*, 12–14, 143.
11. Strasdin, *Inside the Royal Wardrobe*, 129.
12. Strasdin, *Inside the Royal Wardrobe*, 85; Kjellberg and North, *Style and Splendor*, 10, 77; "A Félix Creation," *San Francisco Call*, July 26, 1896, 29.
13. Coryne Hall, *Little Mother of Russia: A Biography of the Empress Marie Feodorovna (1847–1928)* (Teaneck, NJ: Holmes & Meier, 2006), 121.
14. Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 37.

15. I thank Julie Stoner for this information. *Bradshaw's Illustrated Guide through Paris and Its Environs* (London: W. J. Adams, 1882), xiii–xiv; *Le Journal des transports*, December 27, 1889, 447.
16. Cole and Diehl, *History of Modern Fashion*, 89.
17. Rebecca N. Mitchell, ed., *Fashioning the Victorians: A Critical Sourcebook* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 15.
18. Mitchell, *Fashioning the Victorians*, 15. See also de Young, “Not Just a Pretty Picture,” 114.
19. For example, “Dress and Fashion,” *Weekly Irish Times*, May 21, 1887, 2.
20. Elisabetta Merlo and Francesca Polese, “Accessorizing, Italian Style: Creating a Market for Milan’s Fashion Merchandise,” in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*, ed. Regina Lee Blaszczyk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 53.
21. Christine Ruane, “Spreading the Word: The Development of the Russian Fashion Press,” in Blaszczyk, *Producing Fashion*, 34–35.
22. Yuniya Kawamura, “Japanese Fashion,” in Steele, *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, 435–440.
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25. Katharine de Forest, “Our Paris Letter,” *Harper's Bazar*, November 3, 1894, 875.
26. Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman, Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman Journals, 1893, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. I thank Hayley Mercer for drawing my attention to the journals.
27. Viles-Wyman, Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman Journals, 1893, entry prior to May 29, 1893.
28. Viles-Wyman, Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman Journals, 1893, entry prior to June 20, 1893.
29. For example, Viles-Wyman, Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman Journals, 1893, June 20, 1893.
30. Viles-Wyman, Lilla Belle Viles-Wyman Journals, 1893, June 3, 1893.
31. For example, advertisement for Wakelee’s Camelline facial foundation, *Black and White*, April 27, 1895, 584.
32. Josie Hall as “Light and Shade,” from the series Fancy Dress Ball Costumes (N73) for Duke brand cigarettes. Issued by W. Duke, Sons & Co. (New York and Durham, NC), 1889. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jefferson R. Burdick Collection, Gift of Jefferson R. Burdick, 63.350.204.73.23. Madge Bannister as “The Fisher Maiden,” from the series Fancy Dress Ball Costumes (N73) for Duke brand cigarettes. Issued by W. Duke, Sons & Co. (New York and Durham, NC), 1889. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jefferson R. Burdick Collection, Gift of Jefferson R. Burdick, 63.350.204.73.21.
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35. “The Cost of Clothes,” 2.
36. “Dressmakers in Paris,” *The Sun*, June 30, 1901, 5.

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43. Worth, *A Century of Fashion*, 161.
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53. See S/S *Campania*, Cunard Line, ship record, Norway-Heritage: Hands across the Sea, http://www.norwayheritage.com/p_ship.asp?sh=campa.
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CHAPTER 6

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6. Throughout this book, “Félix” is used interchangeably with “maison Félix.” The owner of the maison is referred to as Émile Martin Poussineau. Émile Martin Poussineau married Marie-Rose Berthé Renault (1848–1924) in 1875, and they had four children together.
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