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Dressing the Dutch

Dutch dressmakers from the late nineteenth century



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Table of contents

Abstract	3
I. Introduction	4
A. <i>Status Quaestionis</i>	5
B. Methodology	9
II. Dressmaking in Western Europe	13
A. Female reign over the dressmaking trades	13
B. The luxury of one's name	17
C. Signed, sealed and.... labelled	20
III. Dressmaking in the Netherlands	28
A. <i>Modemaaksters, kostuummaaksters</i> or <i>dameskleedingmakers</i> : diversifying the Dutch dressmaking trades	28
B. The women behind their labels	33
IV. Female agency	49
A. Claiming ones Self	49
B. Marketing of the Self	54
V. Final Conclusions	58
Appendices	61
Illustrations	102
Illustration Credits	124
Illustration Credits, Appendices	126
Bibliography	138
Primary sources:	138
Secondary literature:	141
Websites:	147

Abstract

The importance of the labelling of clothes in the late nineteenth century is often associated with couturiers. Their use of labels was aimed at branding both their fashion houses as well as themselves as artist designers. Little attention has been paid to the labelling practices of nineteenth-century dressmakers, although it is known to have been widely applied. Just as few women have been identified while the dressmaking trades were a female dominated industry. For the Netherlands in particular, it is interesting to examine dressmakers and their labelling practices as the lack of Dutch couturiers made Dutch dressmakers the most important figures in the Dutch dressmaking trades of the nineteenth century.

This thesis aims to identify Dutch dressmakers through their labels while questioning to what extent late nineteenth-century Dutch dressmakers used their labels for branding their fashion houses and how this related to the Western European fashion practice. The Dutch labelling and dressmaking practices are contextualised and compared with their Western European counterparts through literature analysis and stylistic object-based analysis of labels found in five Dutch museums and seven museums from across Western Europe. The exceptionality of these labelling practices in a female dominated industry is explored as a notion of female agency through the concepts of feminisation, female individualisation and authorship. In addition, this thesis examines how the commercial significance of a dressmaker's name as a brand name manifested itself in a dressmaker's labels and advertisements. This research results in fourteen biographies of Dutch dressmakers whose labels, together with the Western European labels, can be divided in three stylistic categories. It shows that the strength of the label as a branding tool laid in the continuous use of the same design, just like a signature. This thesis argues that the strongest example of female agency lies in the dressmaker's name on the label which speaks of an awareness of her own originality and individuality, while at the same time publicly claiming her authorship.

Keywords: Dutch dressmakers, labelling practices, dressmaking practices, dressmakers' biographies, branding, female agency, authorship, object-based research, stylistic analysis.

I. Introduction

Linda Nochlin's essay on *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?* (1971) has led to numerous feminist studies into the history of art. During the 2022 Rijksmuseum symposium *Women in the Museum. Best Practices* the balance was drawn.¹ It proved women's stories are still underrepresented in the museum. The *Wiki Women Design* project aims to fill part of this gap by bringing specifically Belgian female architects, graphic designers, product designers and fashion designers out of the shadows of history.² Regarding female fashion designers, it seems there is a particularly large gap in knowledge about female fashion designers from before 1900. Only a few women feature in studies on nineteenth-century fashion, such as Jeanne Paquin (1869–1936), the four sisters who operated under the name Callot Soeurs and Lucile (1863-1935), who are referred to as couturiers.³

According to Véronique Pouillard, the business model of haute couture was shaped by the early nineteenth-century Madame Roger who had her own dressmaking business in Paris. Madame Roger had a stock of fabrics and trimmings for her customers to choose from, which Roger could make into a garment. Furthermore, Madame Roger had more influence in the design process than her predecessors in dressmaking.⁴ Yet, Charles Frederik Worth (1825-1895) is considered to be the first couturier and is praised for his introduction of several new fashion practices, such as the labelling of his designs since the 1860s.⁵ However, according to Lucy Johnston the practice of labelling garments was widespread and was also used by dressmakers, tailors and other manufacturers. They would stamp their name on the waistband on the inside of the bodice.⁶ This shows that Worth has influenced dressmakers just as much as dressmakers have influenced him. And yet

¹ "Women in the Museum. Best Practices Symposium," Rijksmuseum, accessed May 6, 2022, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/lectures-symposiums/women-in-the-museum>.

² "Wiki Women Design," Flanders Architecture Institute, accessed May 6, 2022, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/lectures-symposiums/women-in-the-museum>.

³ Rebecca Devaney, "From an Empress to a Marquise: The Origins of Haute Couture Embroidery," in *Embellishment. Fashion Decoration: A Show-Off*, ed. Eve Demoen and Anaïs Huyghe (Hasselt: Modemuseum Hasselt, 2019), 60.

⁴ Véronique Pouillard, *Paris to New York. The Transatlantic Fashion Industry in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2021), 12, JSTOR Books.

⁵ Edwina Ehrman, "1800-1900," in *Fashioned from Nature*, ed. Edwina Ehrman (London: V&A Publishing, 2018), 67. And: Lucy Johnston, ed., *19th-Century. Fashion in Detail* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2016), 36.

⁶ Johnston, *19th-Century. Fashion in Detail*, 13, 36.

Worth's name is widely known while Madame Roger is just short of oblivion. As a male Worth was one of the exceptions working in a female dominated industry and yet we know hardly anything about the women who dominated the dressmaking industry.⁷

Laura Casal-Valls has attributed the disinterest in the dressmaker to the lack of "big names", which she has claimed is the reason that this topic is largely missing from the major fashion historiographies.⁸ This disinterest is regrettable as dressmakers were an incredibly important and indispensable link within the nineteenth-century fashion industry. Especially for the Netherlands, where the first couturier after French example, Joan Praetorius (1899-1984), would not appear until the 1920s.⁹ As will become clear from the *status quaestionis*, little research has been done on nineteenth-century Dutch dressmakers and their labelling practices. The fact that labelling was a widely used fashion practice in the late nineteenth century, provides opportunities to identify more Dutch women that held jobs in fashion during this period. Gaining a better understanding of who these women were and the fashion practices they applied, will provide more knowledge of the late nineteenth-century Dutch fashion industry as a whole. This will also enable the late nineteenth-century Dutch fashion industry to be put in a Western European context. The leading research question of this thesis is as follows: to what extent did late nineteenth-century Dutch dressmakers use their labels for branding their fashion houses and how did this relate to the Western European fashion practice?

A. *Status Quaestionis*

Literature on the Dutch fashion industry in general and on Dutch dressmakers specifically isn't numerous. K.P.C. de Leeuw's publication from 1991 is one of the most comprehensive studies on the Dutch fashion industry. It has outlined the evolution towards what she calls "a modern way of dressing". She has paid particular

⁷ Wendy Gamber, "A Precarious Independence: Milliners and Dressmakers in Boston, 1860-1890," *Journal of Women's History* 4, no. 1 (1992): 61, ProQuest.

⁸ Laura Casal-Valls, "Aproximació a la figura de la modista a final del segle XIX: de la producció anònima a l'etiqueta," *EMBLECAT* no. 1 (2012): 85, <https://raco.cat/index.php/EMBLECAT/article/view/304904>.

⁹ José Teunissen, "Inleiding," in *Mode in Nederland*, ed. José Teunissen (Arnhem: Uitgeverij Terra Lannoo BV, 2006), 6.

attention to the development of the role of the seamstress. The role of the dressmaker or *modemaakster*, which is the term De Leeuw has used, has only been mentioned a handful of times. Specific names of both seamstresses and dressmakers are missing.¹⁰ *Mode in Nederland* edited by José Teunissen has charted which stores and designers have been important for the rise of Dutch fashion from around 1900 to the present. The earliest designer covered in the book is Joan Praetorius who ran his couture house from 1929 until 1933 in The Hague.¹¹ Late nineteenth-century dressmakers have not been discussed in Teunissen's book. *Kleren voor de elite: Nederlandse couturiers en hun klanten 1882-2000* has dedicated a biography to Catharina Kruysveldt-de Mare who had her dressmaking business in Amsterdam.¹²

In the exhibition catalogue *Koninklijk gekleed: Wilhelmina 1880-1962* one late nineteenth-century dressmaker is mentioned.¹³ A short biography of the Dutch dressmaker Madame Heymans from Utrecht has been included in the exhibition catalogue *Mode & Kostuum* of the Rijksmuseum.¹⁴ This is the only nineteenth-century Dutch dressmaker mentioned in the Rijksmuseum's catalogue. It is surprising that the national museum of the Netherlands has given limited attention to Dutch dressmakers. It will not be because of the lack of names as in the Rijksmuseum annual reports from for example 1973 and 1974 a total of six names have been mentioned. However, these women do not seem to have been subject to any further study.¹⁵ In the collection catalogue *Haute Couture & Prêt-À-Porter. Mode 1750-2000* from the Kunstmuseum in The Hague, two late nineteenth-century Dutch fashion houses are discussed: Van Dalsum Soeurs and Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn.¹⁶

The costume collection of collector Jacoba de Jonge is housed at the MoMu in Antwerp. Her collection contains probably one of the earliest examples of a Dutch

¹⁰ K.P.C. de Leeuw, "Kleding in Nederland, 1813-1920. Van een traditioneel bepaald kleedpatroon naar een begin van modern kleedgedrag" (PhD diss., Tilburg, 1991), 2.

¹¹ Teunissen, "Inleiding," 5-6.

¹² Diewke Grijpma, *Kleren voor de elite. Nederlandse couturiers en hun klanten 1882-2000* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 1999), 55-58.

¹³ W.E. van Braam and E. Elzenga, *Koninklijk gekleed: Wilhelmina 1880-1962* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 62-63.

¹⁴ B. du Mortier, *Mode & Kostuum* (Rotterdam: nai010 publishers, 2016), 236.

¹⁵ Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk, *Nederlandse Rijksmusea in 1973* (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1975), 64-65. And: Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk, *Nederlandse Rijksmusea in 1974* (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1976), 44.

¹⁶ Ietse Meij, *Haute Couture & Prêt-À-Porter. Mode 1750-2000* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1998), 64, 68. Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn was subject to a more in-depth research project: Tirza Westland, "Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn: confectie en couture in de negentiende eeuw," *Kostuum* (2019): 80-89.

dressmaker's label. It is dated around 1870 and belongs to A.H.M. Zey, a dressmaker from The Hague. Other early labels in the collection are by the aforementioned Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn, who was located in Amsterdam.¹⁷ Scherpenzeel-Kahn was, just as Jenny Haefeli from The Hague, a purveyor to the Dutch royal house. Both dressmakers supplied Queen Emma, wife to King Willem III. Queen Emma was also a customer of Mrs F.K. Trippelwitz in The Hague and of Mrs M. Stuttman-Senault, who owned a *gesloten huis* in Scheveningen and in Amsterdam. Other Dutch dressmakers who have been mentioned in the Kunstmuseum's catalogue are Au Camélia, Maison Säcker in Amsterdam and Madame A.E. van Driehuys de Bock in The Hague.¹⁸ Miss Hendrika Köhlenberg (1877-1949) served the fashionable ladies of Dordrecht.¹⁹

It is clear from the above overview that mainly museums have paid attention to Dutch dressmakers so far. It is notable that the biographies about these dressmakers are limited in scope and seemed to have been highlighted primarily for their prominent clients. From this, too, the search for "big names" as mentioned by Laura Casal-Valls in the introduction of this thesis seems to have been decisive. The literature discussed above does not address how these dressmakers have been identified. Given that the biographies are given in conjunction with an object description of a garment, it is likely that the labelled waistbands were used in the identification. As mentioned by Madelief Hohé, the earliest example of a Dutch dressmaker's label dates from the 1870s.²⁰ This thesis will therefore focus on the identification of Dutch dressmakers beginning in 1870 and ending around 1900, before the rise of the first Dutch couturier.

As described by Casal-Valls and Penny Sparke this "hidden from history" approach has been applied since the 1970s to recover the names of women who have been excluded from the written accounts about the arts, architecture and design. Both authors have argued that it is a necessary first step and the need for

¹⁷ Madelief Hohé, "Moderniteit & Mode in de 19de eeuw," in *Een leven in mode. Vrouwenkleding 1750-1950. Uit de collectie Jacoba de Jonge*, ed. Christelle Bogaert and Karen Van Godtsenhoven (Tiel: Uitgeverij Lannoo, 2012), 141-142.

¹⁸ Madelief Hohé, "Haute Couture in Nederland," in *Voici Paris!*, ed. Madelief Hohé and Georgette Koning (Zwolle: Waanders, 2010), 65.

¹⁹ Anne-Marie Segeren and Wyke Sybesma, *Dordrecht in de mode 1700-1950* (Dordrecht: Huis Van Gijn/Dordrechts Museum, 2019), 74.

²⁰ Hohé, "Moderniteit & Mode in de 19de eeuw," 141-142.

this approach remains as the *Wiki Women Design* project also shows.²¹ Also Marjan Groot has stated that research into the biographies of women remains important as it allows for more nuanced conclusions and comparisons.²² However, Groot is aware that the writing of women's biographies relies on the availability of the work of women and written sources.²³ This is a challenge that also complicates the identification of Dutch dressmakers. According to Casal-Valls the preserved dresses, and in the case of this thesis specifically the labelled waistbands, are the key into the identification and study of nineteenth-century dressmakers.²⁴

Most research on nineteenth-century labels, such as by Jess Berry and Nancy J. Troy, seemed to be focused on the type of labels and the way they have been applied in French haute couture, specifically by Charles Frederick Worth.²⁵ The literature on the use of labels by dressmakers is even more limited. Laura Casal-Valls has focused on dressmakers from Catalonia in Spain.²⁶ And dressmakers from Cincinnati in the United States have been the focus of Cynthia Amnéus' research.²⁷ Casal-Valls' and Amnéus' statements on the use of labels by dressmakers have been made in relation to Worth's utilisation of his labels, focusing on the type of labels and the information applied to the labels.²⁸ Apart from the studies on the dressmakers from the two respective cities, no comparative research has yet been done on the type of labels used by dressmakers. This also applies to

²¹ Casal-Valls, "Aproximació a la figura de la modista a final del segle XIX," 85. And: Penny Sparke, "Introduction," in *Women's Places: Architecture and Design 1860-1960*, ed. Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke (London, New York: Routledge, 2003), ix-x, EBSCOhost.

²² Marjan Groot, *Vrouwen in de vormgeving in Nederland 1880-1940* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2007), 22.

²³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁴ Casal-Valls, "Aproximació a la figura de la modista a final del segle XIX," 85.

²⁵ Jess Berry, *House of Fashion: Haute Couture and the Modern Interior* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2018), 30, EBSCOhost. And: Nancy J. Troy, *Couture Culture. A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2003), 25-28, 343.

²⁶ Laura Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity: Elite Dressmaking in Barcelona c. 1870-1919," *Costume* 50, no. 2 (2016): 220-243, <https://www-eupublishing-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/doi/10.1080/05908876.2016.1175211>.

²⁷ Cynthia Amnéus, "Cincinnati's Dressmakers," in *A Separate Sphere: Dressmakers in Cincinnati's Golden Age, 1877-1922*, ed. Cynthia Amnéus (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum; Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2003), 78-136, EBSCOhost.

²⁸ Casal-Valls, "Aproximació a la figura de la modista a final del segle XIX," 87-88. And: Laura Casal-Valls, "The evolution of fashion production as part of social history: the impact on the nineteenth-century women in Catalonia," in *Fashion through History: Costumes, Symbols, Communication (Volume II)*, ed. Giovanna Motta (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 453, EBSCOhost. And: Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 230. And: Cynthia Amnéus, "Appendix: Dressmakers' Labels," in *A Separate Sphere: Dressmakers in Cincinnati's Golden Age, 1877-1922*, ed. Cynthia Amnéus (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum; Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2003), 189-194, EBSCOhost.

Dutch dressmakers, which has deemed it necessary to research and outline in this thesis the labelling practices applied across Western Europe.

Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim have stated that they provide the first “singular framework that offers a clear and systematic approach to the study of dress artefacts”.²⁹ In the appendices Mida and Kim have provided a list of questions which serve to help researchers conducting object-based research into labelling. However, their approach is focused on objects dating from the twentieth century.³⁰ According to Mida and Kim, early twentieth-century designers used labels “as a means of branding their garments and protecting their designs”.³¹ With this, the authors present a rather limited picture of the Western European fashion practice, as they imply that late nineteenth-century designers had different reasons for labelling their garments. Of course, the practice of labelling applied in the fashion industry grew to unprecedented heights in the twentieth century. However, it was also already widely used not only in haute couture but also in the Dutch dressmaking trades in the late nineteenth century as will be discussed in this thesis.

B. Methodology

In order to answer the leading research question of this thesis, three sub-questions have been formulated. The first chapter will provide an answer to the question: what were the Western European dressmaking practices in the late nineteenth century? As outlined in the *status quaestionis* studies on Dutch dressmakers are limited to short biographies on single dressmakers, in which their way of labelling is not addressed. In order to gain insight in the dressmaking and labelling practices of Dutch dressmakers, it is necessary to contextualise their practices and compare it to their Western European counterparts. Paris has been taken as the starting point. Dressmakers not only followed the examples set in Paris regarding the latest fashion

²⁹ Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim, *The Dress Detective. A practical guide to object-based research in fashion* (London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 22.

³⁰ Questions from Appendix 1 include: “Is there a maker label? If so, is the label consistent with the designer’s oeuvre and does it offer clues as to dating such as a number or season?”. Questions from Appendix 2 include: “If the maker of the garment is a known designer, what information is available about them? How does this garment fit into their oeuvre? Have there been exhibitions of the designer’s work? Has the designer written an autobiography or been profiled in magazines or journals?”. Quoted from: Mida and Kim, *The Dress Detective*, 218, 221.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

trends, but they also looked to Paris for dressmaking practices which included the use of the label. Furthermore, as will become clear in the final part of this chapter, references to the capital of fashion are made on the dressmakers' labels, which gives a clear indication to start the story of the dressmaker in France.

In answering the first sub-question the first part of this chapter provides an analysis of the literature on dressmaking and labelling practices in Western Europe. The first part of this chapter will specifically focus on the story of the *couturière*, *mantua maker* and the *marchande de mode* of the 17th and 18th centuries. These professions are important to gain a better understanding of how women came to reign over the dressmaking industry in the 19th century. Also, elements of these professions would come to shape the 19th-century dressmaker and her practices.

As the history of labelling garments is linked to the labelling of luxury goods, the changing notions of luxury prevailing in the eighteenth century are outlined in the second part of this chapter. The validation of the identifiable dressmaker was part of a shift happening in the luxury trades in the 18th century. Instead of value being attributed to the material, it became strongly linked to the maker of the actual product. This was made visible with labels being attached to the product carrying the maker's name.³²

This is then translated in the final part of this chapter to the labelling practices applied by dressmakers accross Western Europe. An object-based analysis of 41 dressmakers' labels from five different countries has been conducted in order to provide a comparative analysis. In the final part of this chapter two stylistic categories are identified and analysed into which the 41 labels can be divided. A comparative analysis is provided building on the characteristics given by Cynthia Amnéus, which focus on the use of French names, the development of the design of a label specific to a dressmaker and the individual style applied by each dressmaker.³³ Furthermore, the final part of this chapter will focus on the type of information included on the label, the method used to apply the given information and the design and colour scheme used.

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the sub-question: to what extent can the women behind the late nineteenth-century Dutch fashion houses be

³² Peter McNeil, "The Art of Embellishment," in *Embellishment. Fashion Decoration: A Show-Off*, ed. Eve Demoen and Anaïs Huyghe (Hasselt: Modemuseum Hasselt, 2019), 16.

³³ Amnéus, "Appendix: Dressmakers' Labels," 189-194.

identified and what roles did they have? Firstly, a literature analysis on the dressmaking industry in the Netherlands is conducted in order to outline the extent to which the Dutch dressmaking industry was affected and influenced by developments in the trades across Western Europe, and specifically in Paris. The growing number of dressmakers across Western Europe resulted in a diversification of the dressmaking profession.³⁴ This was also the case in the Netherlands, as is outlined in the first part of this chapter. The diversification led to the use of a great amount of different occupation titles. With the lack of definitions for each title it complicates the making of a reliable overview of the type and amount of professions and the amount of women working in the Dutch dressmaking trades.³⁵ The first part of this chapter seeks to examine the extent to which the different types of dressmaking businesses identified by Laura Casal-Valls and Henry Mayhew existed in the Netherlands. Casal-Valls' and Mayhew's findings are also discussed in the first chapter in relation to the nineteenth-century dressmaking businesses from Barcelona and London.³⁶

The second part of the second chapter will first provide a stylistic analysis of the Dutch labels. A total of 20 labels belonging to 15 different Dutch dressmakers have been found in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden, the Kunstmuseum in The Hague and the MoMu in Antwerp. The Dutch labels will be divided into the first and second stylistic categories as outlined in Chapter 1. This allows for a comparative analysis with the findings about the Western European labelling practices from the first chapter.

In the final part of the second chapter the labels by Dutch dressmakers from the period 1870-1899 serve as a starting point in order to create biographies of their makers. The information on the waistbands has been used to identify Dutch female dressmakers who seemed to have remained anonymous and overlooked till thus far. This data has been used to conduct further research in city archives and historic newspapers, which has resulted in fourteen short biographies of the identified

³⁴ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 228-229.

³⁵ Irene Maldini, "On paradigm shifts and industrial revolutions: tracing prevalent dressmaking practices and apparel production systems in the Netherlands and northwest Europe (1850-2016)." (paper presented at the International Foundation of Fashion Technology Institutes Conference. Amsterdam, 29th March 2017), 104, https://pure.hva.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/33524278/IFFTI_2017_IMaldini.pdf.

³⁶ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 228-229. And: Stana Nenadic, "The social shaping of business behaviour in the nineteenth-century women's garment trades," *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 629, <https://academic.oup.com/jsh/article/31/3/625/935839?login=true>.

dressmakers. The dressmaker Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn is not included in the given biographies below, since a very extensive study has already been devoted to her by Tirza Westland, as mentioned in the *status quaestionis*. The labels and advertisements by Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn are however taken into account for the stylistic analysis in this chapter and the study on advertisements of Chapter 3.

The third chapter aims to answer the question: to what extent can the practice of labelling applied by Dutch dressmakers in the late nineteenth century be considered as an expression of female agency? This chapter aims to underline the exceptionality of the dressmaking trades being a female dominated space, which seemed to provide the necessary freedom for women to develop and be in charge of their own professionalism, of their own individuality and of their own artistry.³⁷ In the dressmaking trades there seemed to be an overall acceptance of dressmakers labelling their garments using their own names. This was striking at a time when there were heated debates even within the Dutch women's movement about a woman working under her own name.³⁸ This discussion did not seem to apply to the dressmakers. How can this be explained? In order to explain the appeal of the dressmaking trades and the exceptionality of a dressmaker's label, the notion of female agency will be explored through the concepts of feminisation, female individualisation and authorship. In the last part of the chapter, the concept of authorship will be linked to the commercial importance of the dressmaker's name and how it is used in advertisements. In order to make this analysis, the advertisements linked to the businesses of the Dutch dressmakers discussed in the previous chapter will be analysed according to the following criteria: 1) the type of information provided in the advertisement; 2) the terminology used in the advertisement and 3) the layout of the advertisements.

³⁷ Christine Delhayé, "Modernisering, consumptiecultuur en vrouwelijke individualisering. Een analyse van modevertoegen in Nederland, 1880-1920," *AST* 29, no.3 (2002): 379, 381-383, 386, <https://ugp.rug.nl/ast/article/view/24155>.

³⁸ Groot, *Vrouwen in de vormgeving in Nederland 1880-1940*, 43.

II. Dressmaking in Western Europe

A. Female reign over the dressmaking trades

Until the late 17th century, throughout Europe tailoring was considered a male profession and the production of women's clothing was mostly done by men. In 1675 French tailors had to partly give up their monopoly of the production of women's garments, as a guild for seamstresses was founded called "Maîtresses Couturières".³⁹ Women could call themselves *couturières* or seamstresses after having completed a three years' apprenticeship. Four different types of *couturières* started to occur: the *couturière en habit* was responsible for women's garments, children's clothes were made by the *couturière en corps d'enfant*, the *couturière en ligne* specialised in linenwear and trimmings were made by the *couturière en garniture*.⁴⁰ This new female labour force was however still limited in the type of women's garments it was permitted to make. Only tailors were allowed to perform cutting and tailoring skills, which were necessary for the production of most women's garments. One of the exceptions was the mantua (Fig. 2.). This new type of women's dress was originally a type of nightgown but evolved into a high fashion dress. Cutting and tailoring skills were not necessary for the construction of the mantua. The draping skills required for the making of the mantua could be applied by the *couturières*.⁴¹ The mantua would therefore become one of the most important items of clothing for which the *couturières* were completely responsible for its production. The *couturières'* monopoly over the mantua was especially explicit in England, where a *couturière* or seamstress was called "mantua maker".⁴² The term continued to be used in the 18th and 19th centuries, even after the mantua was no longer in

³⁹ Pernilla Rasmussen, "Creating Fashion: Tailors' and seamstresses' work with cutting and construction techniques in women's dress, c. 1750-1830," in *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, ed. Tove Mathiassen Engelhardt, Marie-Louise Nosch, Maj Ringgaard, Kirsten Toftegaard, Mikkel Venborg Pedersen (Oxford, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014), 49, EBSCOhost.

⁴⁰ Diana de Marly, *The History of Haute Couture 1850-1950* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1980), 11.

⁴¹ Rasmussen, "Creating Fashion," 50.

⁴² Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women. The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 41, <https://read-dukeupress-edu.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/books/book/665/Fabricating-WomenThe-Seamstresses-of-Old-Regime>.

fashion.⁴³ The mantua could therefore be considered a symbol for the rise of this new female labour force.⁴⁴ A seamstresses' guild was never founded in England, still elements such as apprenticeships were slowly established as more and more women took over the making of women's garments from men.⁴⁵ However, most of the Western European countries continued to have a guild system after German example, which meant that the production of men's and women's clothing remained reserved for the male tailor.⁴⁶

In 1782 the rights of the French *couturières*, or mantua makers as they were known in England, were further extended with them being given production rights over corsets and certain kinds of wooden hoops and skirts. This resulted in an unprecedented exposure for the *couturière*. According to Didier Grumbach this even led to fame for some *couturières*, especially those working at the French court such as Rose Bertin (1747-1813) employed by the court of Louis XVI (1638–1715), Madame Palmyre employed by the court of Charles X (1757-1836) and Mademoiselle Beudrant employed by the court of Louis Philippe (1773-1850).⁴⁷ Rose Bertin is often described as a minister of fashion for the mark she made on French fashion working for Marie Antoinette (1755-1793). She was, according to Diana de Marly, actually not so much a *couturière* but a *marchande de modes*.⁴⁸ The late 18th century saw the rise of more and more *marchande de modes* boutiques in what had become the centre of fashion in Paris: the rue Saint-Honoré, the Place des Victoires, and in the galleries of the Palais Royal.⁴⁹ The *marchande de mode* performed an incredibly versatile job. In essence, she was “a stylist avant la lettre” in creating a fashion silhouette.⁵⁰ She embellished women's gowns matching it to the design and fabrics of the already made garment following existing styles and creating new ones.⁵¹ Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset defines the job of the *marchandes*

⁴³ Carolyn Dowdell, “No Small of Ingenuity’: An Object-Oriented Analysis of Eighteenth-Century English Dressmaking,” *Costume* 55, no. 2 (2021): 198, <https://www-eupublishing-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/doi/10.3366/cost.2021.0199>.

⁴⁴ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 41,

⁴⁵ Dowdell, “No Small of Ingenuity,” 198.

⁴⁶ Rasmussen, “Creating Fashion,” 50-51.

⁴⁷ Didier Grumbach, *History of International Fashion* (Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 2014), 30. Of Madame Palmyre and Mademoiselle Beudrant dates of birth and death are not known.

⁴⁸ De Marly, *The History of Haute Couture 1850-1950*, 11.

⁴⁹ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 68.

⁵⁰ Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, “Fashion ‘Embellishments’ in Paris during the Eighteenth Century: The Role of the *Marchandes de Modes*,” in *Embellishment. Fashion Decoration: A Show-Off*, ed. Eve Demoen and Anaïs Huyghe (Hasselt: Modemuseum Hasselt, 2019), 40.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

de modes as “a pursuit of relevance”.⁵² Clare Haru Crowston cites François Alexandre de Garsault (1691-1778) who states that the *marchandes de modes* labelled their own profession as a talent.⁵³ And Thépaut-Cabasset defines their work as a “full-fledged art that included the art of drawing and proportion”.⁵⁴ The term *marchande de mode* first occurred in 1636 meaning “person who likes to follow fashion” and was given its modern meaning in 1777 referring to the sale of women’s garments.⁵⁵ Besides the embellishing of women’s garments, the *marchandes* also fabricated and sold ready-made items such as shawls and capes. Apart from the occasional exception, the *marchandes de modes* didn’t produce new dresses commissioned by clients. The making of made-to-measure women’s garments was the work of the *couturière*.⁵⁶

The abolition of the French guilds in 1791 would bring an end to any restriction the *couturières* were facing.⁵⁷ The monopoly on the production of women's clothing that had been established by the women's guilds persisted and was even further strengthened in the nineteenth century by a changing notion of feminisation, as described by Laura Casal-Valls.⁵⁸ This will be further discussed in Chapter 3. The skillsets of the *couturière*, the mantua maker and the *marchande de modes* would eventually accumulate in the dressmaker, a term used from the early 19th century onwards. The dressmaker focused solely on the production of women’s clothes.⁵⁹ The cutting, tailoring, draping and sewing of a woman’s garment were combined with the embellishment of the final design resulting in a fashionable silhouette. Much as the *marchande de modes* from the 18th century, the dressmaker was expected to be able to match colour, trimmings and embellishments to the desired design, while also taking into account the customer’s wishes.⁶⁰ Renowned dressmakers would, just as the *marchande de modes*, locate their business in the most fashionable streets of Paris. Dressmakers located outside of Paris or France would often also turn to the French capital for the latest fashion trends and ideas. In case a dressmaker could

⁵² Ibid., 54.

⁵³ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 68.

⁵⁴ Thépaut-Cabasset, “Fashion ‘Embellishments’ in Paris during the Eighteenth Century,” 40-41.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁵⁶ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 68.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 67.

⁵⁸ Casal-Valls, “Fashioning Modernity,” 226-228.

⁵⁹ Valerie Cumming, C.W. Cunnington and P.E. Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2010), 71.

⁶⁰ Jean Louise Parsons, “Dressmakers: Transitions in the urban production of custom-made clothing, 1880-1920” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1998), 107, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

afford it, she would travel to Paris herself to purchase samples and patterns. Her clientele was informed of her return with the latest items through advertisements, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3.⁶¹ The styles attained from Paris were then turned into specific designs for individual customers.⁶²

Slowly the whole dressmaking industry became a female monopoly, expanding from France into neighbouring countries and turning dressmakers into significant players in the fashion world.⁶³ During the nineteenth century there was a huge growth in the number of dressmakers. Janice Helland dived into the city directories of London in the United Kingdom and Dublin in Ireland, as Wendy Gamber did for Boston in the United States discovering that the city counted thousands of female entrepreneurs in the dressmaking trades.⁶⁴ In Barcelona the number of female dressmakers grew from 31 in 1848 to 353 dressmakers registered in 1896. This growing number also meant a diversification of the dressmaking profession. Laura Casal-Valls has identified three dressmaking groups in late nineteenth-century Barcelona: dressmakers with their own workshop, hired dressmakers, and needleworkers.⁶⁵ The journalist Henry Mayhew did the same for 1850s London identifying different types of dressmaking businesses. His findings have been described by Stana Nenadic. First rate houses could count the rich to their clientele who were welcomed by showroom women in luxurious showrooms. The expensive costumes commissioned by their clientele were made in big workshops which could employ up to 28 women. The middle classes were served by second-rate houses, however the garments produced were still of a high quality and the houses aspired to present a fashionable image. The third and fourth rate dressmaking houses Mayhew identified differed mainly in the type of textiles used; silk by the first and cotton by the latter. And finally, the self-employed dressmaker who worked on her own and visited her clientele at their homes. However, Mayhew doesn't seem to categorise this self-employed dressmaker.⁶⁶ According to Wendy

⁶¹ Ibid., 105.

⁶² Ibid., 107.

⁶³ De Marly, *The History of Haute Couture*, 11.

⁶⁴ Janice Helland, "Ishbel Aberdeen's 'Irish' Dresses: Embroidery, Display and Meaning, 1886-1909," *Journal of Design History* 26, no. 2 (2012): 155, <https://academic.oup.com/jdh/article/26/2/152/377928?login=true>. And: Gamber, "A Precarious Independence," 64.

⁶⁵ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 228-229.

⁶⁶ Nenadic, "The social shaping of business behaviour in the nineteenth-century women's garment trades," 629.

Gamber most dressmaking businesses were managed by individual female entrepreneurs with a small team of employees. However, women also organised themselves and joined forces with their sisters or unrelated women. Some businesses were run by both husband and wife.⁶⁷ Three labels, which are part of the 41 labels which will be further discussed in the final part of this chapter for their stylistic characteristics, are known to be made by dressmaking firms run by two sisters. Such is the case for Maison Lipman from Paris, Couvreur Soeur from Brussels and Rosa y Joaquina Vilamala from Barcelona. Of the latter two firms it is made clear on their labels that these firms are run by female relatives.

B. The luxury of one's name

The 41 dressmakers' labels which were referred to in the previous part of this thesis and which will be further discussed in the final part of this chapter, show that dressmakers were breaking out of their anonymity and claiming their presence of authorship.⁶⁸ Apart from this desire for recognition, according to Laura Casal-Valls, dressmakers also added labels "to establish a new idea of luxury".⁶⁹ The connection between dressmaker and garment became even more emphasized in the nineteenth century when the value attributed to the design of a garment and an appreciation for its maker, both added value to the final product.⁷⁰ Carolyn Dowdell describes how, already in the 17th and 18th century, the uniqueness of each mantua showed the individuality of its maker. Dowdell goes even as far as to suggest that it could function as a maker's mark or a signature. According to Dowdell: "however unconsciously, needlewomen spread something of their individual selves through commercial circulation".⁷¹ Laura Casal-Valls states that the professional evolution of the dressmaker is linked to the international evolution of fashion. In short, one of the keystones of haute couture is the recognition of the designer.⁷² Casal-Valls defines this as the beginnings of haute couture, or the *pre-haute couture*. According to

⁶⁷ Gamber, "A Precarious Independence," 65.

⁶⁸ Casal-Valls, "Aproximació a la figura de la modista a final del segle XIX," 87-88.

⁶⁹ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 230.

⁷⁰ Judith G. Coffin, *The politics of women's work: the Paris garment trades, 1750-1915* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 53, EBSCOhost.

⁷¹ Dowdell, "No Small of Ingenuity," 198-199.

⁷² Casal-Valls, "Aproximació a la figura de la modista a final del segle XIX," 87-88.

Casal-Valls, the recognition of the designer is telling of a time when traditional methods used for the production of clothing were more and more taken over by mass production.⁷³ The rise of mass production might have been a reason for the changing notions of luxury, which had started to appear during the late 18th century. According to Peter McNeil, one of the most noteworthy changes was that the material a luxury good was made of became less important. Instead, whether or not a product was considered a luxury item depended on the reputation of the maker, which was made visible by a name or label. For example, the famed Parisian *marchands-merciers* promoted their own brand via labels attached to their luxury goods, such as clocks and furniture. McNeil has described how, from the mid-18th century, labels were also attached on the inside of fashion accessories such as shoes and hats. And although labels haven't been found inside 18th-century dresses, high quality fabrics did contain wax seals or colours woven into the selvedge as a guarantee of excellence.⁷⁴

Until the nineteenth century the high costs in purchasing a new dress laid in the high quality textile not in the actual making of the garment.⁷⁵ The selling of fabrics was even separated from the selling of clothing, a practice strictly regulated by the guilds. Seamstresses and tailors were not allowed to stock fabrics in their workshops. Their customers had to buy textiles and trimmings from a draper or mercer, bringing it to their tailor or seamstress, where they had their garments made.⁷⁶ These restrictions, which were lifted during the French Revolution in 1789, were part of the mercantilist policy introduced by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), the minister of Finance and Economic Affairs during the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715). The policy was mainly focused on banning all foreign textiles, thus giving free reign for the French textile industry to flourish.⁷⁷ In the late 17th century the French state acknowledged and was committed to the development of a strong textile and fashion industry in order to create France's cultural superiority around the world.⁷⁸ The development of French fashion was possible due to the long tradition

⁷³ Casal-Valls, "The evolution of fashion production as part of social history," 453.

⁷⁴ McNeil, "The Art of Embellishment," 16.

⁷⁵ Alexandra Palmer, "Haute Couture," in *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, ed. Valerie Steele (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2010), 393.

⁷⁶ Coffin, *The Politics of Women's Work*, 53.

⁷⁷ Devaney, "From an Empress to a Marquise," 59-60.

⁷⁸ Sophie Kurkdjian, "Paris as the Capital of Fashion, 1858-1939: An Inquiry," *Fashion Theory* 24, no. 3 (2020): 374, EBSCOhost.

and great amount of expertise regarding the production of textiles and dress that already existed. Sophie Kurkjian states that this contributed to the creation of the capital of fashion, Paris.⁷⁹ Besides the spread of know-how, also the migration of couturiers and *couturières* gave rise to the fashion industry; just as it did for the arts in France. According to Kurkjian, we therefore have to re-think the notion of Parisian couture. As the city wasn't just a symbol for international fashion, it actually was a melting pot with an international character.⁸⁰

An example of this melting pot was Charles Frederick Worth, an Englishman working in Paris who is considered to be the first fashion designer as we know it today. According to Casal-Valls, one of Worth's greatest attributions is changing the perception of dressmaking from a craft to an art, by presenting and identifying himself as an artist. Worth used the practice of labelling, which already existed in the decorative arts and textile design, to make his name known and to serve as a guarantee of the quality of his products. It is not certain whether Worth was the first to use a label in fashion, but according to Casal-Valls he was surely one of the first to successfully use the label (Fig. 3.) as a means to promote his fashion house and to create a sense of exclusivity.⁸¹ Casal-Valls has stated that novelty and originality became the most important features, instead of quality of material and technique. It illustrated the changing ideas of taste of the new bourgeois or middle-class society, which Pierre Bourdieu labeled as 'distinction'. According to Casal-Valls, the desire for novelty was most clearly reflected in dress and represented the modernity of daily life.⁸² Kasia Stempniak has described how Thorstein Veblen has linked the substantial spending on dress to his theory of conspicuous consumption in his book *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). Meaning that the bourgeois buys unpractical commodities with the sole purpose to show off their wealth.⁸³ Stempniak, in line with Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson, has criticised Veblen's analysis as it links fashion only to economics and disregards any notion of female agency.⁸⁴ As mentioned before, adding a sense of luxury to one's design wasn't the only reason for dressmakers to label their garments. Casal-Valls has described how

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 377.

⁸¹ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 222.

⁸² Ibid., 224.

⁸³ Kasia Stempniak, "Outfitting Paris: Fashion, Space, and the Body in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2019), 16, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 17.

dressmakers, just as Worth, labelled their designs to highlight and attain recognition for one's creativity and to establish their own name. She has stated that a dressmaker's label served as a form of advertisement and publicity. It ensured the establishment of the dressmaker's name and enabled the identification of a dressmaker's designs. And finally, according to Casal-Valls a dressmaker's label served as a signature, it proclaimed her own work.⁸⁵ The notion of female agency will be further discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

C. Signed, sealed and.... labelled

Charles Frederick Worth was a renowned couturier who, as previously discussed, successfully used his label in branding his couture house and himself as an artist designer. Worth started labelling his designs in the early 1860s and began to use a label woven with his signature about twenty years later.⁸⁶ Laura Casal-Valls mentioned that it can't be said with certainty whether or not Worth was the first to apply a label in his garments.⁸⁷ However, Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington state that the tailor attached his name to the lacing tabs on men's waistcoats as early as the 1840s. And, although still an exception, textile labels woven with the tailor's name and address started appearing in the 1850s.⁸⁸ This raises the question whether the labelling practices applied by tailors might have been of influence to Worth's use of the label. The literature consulted for this thesis does not seem to refer to the labelling practices of the tailor in relation to the use of the label in haute couture or by dressmakers. This could be an interesting angle for further research. Furthermore, as discussed in the *status quaestionis* of this thesis, most research on the use of labels in the nineteenth century is focused on the type of labels and the way they have been applied in haute couture. Only fairly recently has more attention been paid to the use of labels by dressmakers, such as by Cynthia Amn us and Laura Casal-Valls. And as far as the research for this thesis has shown, no comparative research has yet been done on the type of labels used by dressmakers.

⁸⁵ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 221, 230, 239-240.

⁸⁶ Johnston, *19th-Century Fashion in Detail*, 36.

⁸⁷ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 222.

⁸⁸ Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, 117.

Given that many dressmakers turned to Paris for the latest fashion trends, it is plausible that they also copied the practice of labelling from their French colleagues. The final part of this chapter will focus on providing a comparative analysis of 41 labels originating from five different countries. The analysis will concentrate on the type of information provided on the label, the method of application, the design and the colour scheme used. For all 41 labels, the name of the dressmaker was either printed or woven on the waistband attached to the inner surface of the bodice. This practice became more common for dressmakers from the 1870s onwards.⁸⁹ The waistband or waist-tape was attached to the lining at the centre back of women's bodices. Hooks and eyes secured the waistband on the front.⁹⁰ It is interesting to see that the waistband inside the bodice was generally considered the right place for applying a dressmaker's label. Why was this considered the perfect location? Was the level of the dressmaker's skill possibly best represented by the bodice? Or is there an explanation to be found in the fact that a single skirt could be matched with different bodices, one for daywear and one for evening wear? These questions could also offer an interesting starting point for further research.

For this thesis a total of 41 labels by 32 individual makers with five different nationalities: Belgian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Swiss have been found in seven museums across Western Europe (Appendix A). Twelve labels from six Belgian dressmakers have been found at the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, the Kunstmuseum in The Hague and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The collections of the Centraal Museum, the Kunstmuseum, the Modemuseum Hasselt in Hasselt (Belgium) and the Museo Nacional do Traje (Portugal) contain twelve garments by eleven French dressmakers. The latter museum also holds the nine labels by nine different Portuguese dressmakers that have been found. All of the seven labels by five Spanish dressmakers are kept by the Museu d'Història de Sabadell in Spain. And a single Swiss label has been found at the Textilmuseum St. Gallen in Switzerland. The labels date from the 1870s until the 1900s and are part of different types of dresses: reception dress, wedding dress, evening dress, dinner dress and day dress. However, of the garments found in the Portuguese and Spanish museums it is not clear for which occasion these garments were worn.

It is likely that all the labels' makers fall into the first dressmaking group as

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Johnston, *19th-Century. Fashion in Detail*, 237.

identified by Laura Casal-Valls, as being dressmakers with their own businesses. However, it cannot be said with certainty which category as set out by Henry Mayhew, discussed in the first part of this chapter, the dressmakers belong to. Of the majority of the labels' makers discussed here, little information is available about their businesses or no in-depth research has been conducted so far. Madame Divoire-Bawin and Madame Van der Taelen both from Brussels are the exception as it is known that both dressmakers had a rich Dutch clientèle, such as Henriëtte van de Poll (1853-1946), a lady-in-waiting to the Dutch Queen Emma (1858-1934).⁹¹ Barcelona-based Augusta Zagri was also a dressmaker of distinction, whose clients included celebrities such as soprano Erminia Borghi-Mamo (1855-1941).⁹² A feature that could possibly indicate a first-class house, as identified by Mayhew, is the presence of a coat of arms on the label which means that these dressmakers were court suppliers. A coat of arms is visible on the labels by Madame A. Laferrière and Madame Fromont from Paris, Elvira T. Bello Castro from Coimbra, Fanny Ricot from Barcelona and Daubreby Van Swae from Brussels (Appendix B). The address given on the label may have also been an indication of the status of the dressmaking firm. According to Jess Berry this might suggest that it was not only given for practical reasons but possibly also as a "marker of the label's authenticity and exclusivity".⁹³ The city where the dressmaking business was located is mentioned on 22 of the 41 labels researched here, eighteen labels even provide the entire address (Appendix J). The label by Madame Makkink (Appendix D) doesn't contain a city or address.

By taking a close look at the 41 labels, two stylistic categories can be identified: 1) stamped block letters in gold and 2) cursive italics with a graceful underlining. Regarding the first category (Appendix C), seven labels, two of which are from Lisbon, three are from Paris and two are from Belgium show similar stylistic features to an early label by Worth (Fig. 3.). Both of the Belgian labels belong to Madame/Maison Divoire-Bawin. And two of the French labels are by Madame A. Laferrière. All of the seven labels have a gold text in block letters stamped onto a

⁹¹ "Tweedelige avondjapon bestaande uit japon en sleep," Centraal Museum Utrecht, accessed May 15, 2023, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12130/collect.34285638-D566-482A-906E-2E47545BA2BD>. And: "Japon," Centraal Museum Utrecht, accessed May 15, 2023, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12130/collect.33203488-AEF4-4B08-9487-DACE016B7FBC>.

⁹² "Cos de vestit amb ratlles de vellut blanques i negres," Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1890-1899/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-amb-ratlles-de-vellut-blanques-i-negres>.

⁹³ Berry, *House of Fashion*, 30.

cream-coloured waistband, apart from the label by Emilia de Abreu & Cia. This label is stamped onto a black waistband. The seven labels follow the exact same format. The dressmaker's name is printed in bold at the top with the address underneath. The text is applied in straight horizontal lines. Only the name of Madame A. Laferrière is slightly curved around the coat of arms printed between her name and her address. Six of the seven labels date from the 1870s, apart from one of the labels by Divoire-Bawin. The label that reads Maison Divoire-Bawin dates from circa 1896. According to Nancy J. Troy, couturiers such as Worth, Jacques Doucet (1853-1929) and Jeanne Paquin (1869-1936), initially "used only block print letterforms in their labels but eventually developed labels that conveyed their individual identities by featuring their names in cursive forms suggestive of - presumably inspired by - their handwritten signatures".⁹⁴

An additional two labels by Divoire-Bawin from Brussels fall, in terms of stylistic features, into the second category (Appendix D). 30 labels can be attributed to this category, which refers to the text being stamped or woven in cursive italics highlighted with a graceful underlining. Only four labels don't contain a graceful underlining, but otherwise correspond to the second stylistic category. These belong to Margarida de Moraes (Portugal), Daubreby Van Swae (Belgium), Madame Fromont (France) and one label by Francisca Vila de Coll (Spain). A total of three labels by the latter dressmaker and two labels by Madame Coche from Brussels fall into the category analysed here. Of the remaining labels five are from Portugal, eight from France, one from Switzerland, two from Belgium and four from Spain. Of the 30 labels falling into the second category, 25 labels contain stamped texts and the remaining five labels have woven texts. According to Cynthia Amnéus and Lucy Johnston the use of woven labels occurred around the late 1880s and was introduced by the House of Worth.⁹⁵ As the examples from my study falling in the second category all date from the 1880s-1900s, it seems that after the introduction of woven labels, it was used and existed next to the printed label. The cream-coloured waistbands onto which the texts are stamped or woven are the most common in both the first and second stylistic category, with a total of 28 out of 41. In eight cases, the text is applied to a black waistband, one label contains a beige waistband

⁹⁴ Troy, *Couture Culture*, 343.

⁹⁵ Amnéus, "Appendix: Dressmakers' Labels," 189. And: Johnston, *19th-Century. Fashion in Detail*, 36.

(Appendices C and D).

Alison Gernsheim gives a possible explanation for the use of black waistbands, which could be found in the separation of indoor and outdoor garments. According to Gernsheim it was Worth who used separate labels for these different kinds of garments. A white waistband with a gold text was used for indoor garments and a gold text on a black waistband was for outerwear.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, it is not possible to give a conclusive remark about the use of the labelled black waistbands part of this thesis. Although the two-piece dress by Mademoiselle Lalheugue and the bodice by Fanny Ricot were intended to be worn outdoors.⁹⁷ The bodices by Francisca Vila de Coll, Rosa y Joaquina, Teresa Solà and Augusta are also described as being worn as outerwear, however the labels part of these bodices are cream-coloured with a gold or red text (Appendix F).⁹⁸ And the black label with gold text by E. Herzig from St. Gallen is part of a black wedding dress (Fig. 4. and Fig. 5.).⁹⁹ The object descriptions of the three Portuguese labels by Emilia de Abreu, Elvira T. Bello Castro and Laura Guimarães only explain the construction of the bodices, but not on when and for what occasion these were worn.¹⁰⁰ The same

⁹⁶ Alison Gernsheim, *Victorian and Edwardian Fashion, A Photographic Survey* (New York: Dover Publications, 1981), 108.

⁹⁷ Email correspondence with Ninke Bloemberg, Fashion Curator of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, June 20, 2023. And: “Cos de vestit de seda acanalada negra i aplicacions de pedreria,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1890-1899/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-de-seda-acanalada-negra-i-aplicacions-de-pedreria>.

⁹⁸ “Cos de vestit de jacquard de ras i vellut amb motius florals,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1883-1889/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-de-jacquard-de-ras-i-vellut-amb-motius-florals>. And: “Cos de vestit amb solapes i aplicacions de punta,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1877-1882/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-amb-solapes-i-aplicacions-de-punta>. And: “Cos de vestit botonat de vellut de seda verda,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1883-1889/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-botonat-de-vellut-de-seda-verda>. And: “Jaqueta de vellut morat,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023,

<http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1883-1889/dona/cos-de-vestit/jaqueta-de-vellut-morat>. And: “Cos de vestit de ras de seda negra,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1890-1899/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-de-ras-de-seda-negra>. And: “Cos de vestit amb ratlles de vellut blanques i negres,” Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, accessed May 15, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1890-1899/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-amb-ratlles-de-vellut-blanques-i-negres>.

⁹⁹ “Kleid, 2teilig (Bezeichnung), Hochzeitskleid (Spezifische Bezeichnung),” Textilmuseum St. Gallen, Objektdatenblatt 03.03.2023. Provided in email correspondence with Annina Dosch, Research Assistant at the Textilmuseum St. Gallen, March 3, 2023.

¹⁰⁰ “Ficha de inventário 3378,” MatrizNet, accessed March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72818&EntSep=5#g>

information is lacking for the garments by Madame de Beauvais and Madame Coche (Appendix G).¹⁰¹

What stands out apart from the stylistic features is the type of information included on several labels (Appendix J). Eight labels, all matching the style of the second category, either mention *Robes & Manteaux* (6 labels) or *Robes & Confections* (2 labels). The latter combination is especially noteworthy. Today haute couture and prêt-à-porter are two separate industries. However, in the nineteenth century when the groundworks of haute couture were laid, this division was less clear. Charles Frederick Worth's first store was named "Special House of Confections", blurring the borders between haute couture and *confection*. Also, the in 1868 founded trade union *Chambre Syndicale de la Couture, des Confectionneurs et des Tailleurs pour Dame* served both.¹⁰² According to Didier Grumbach a real distinction couldn't even be made when looking into the telephone directory of Paris in 1850 as numerous dressmaking companies were listed under both headings.¹⁰³

Furthermore, on 23 labels out of 41, more than half of all the Western European labels found for this thesis, the designations *Madame*, *Mademoiselle* or *Maison* are used (Appendix J). Apart from a single label from Portugal, a total of eleven dressmakers from France and nine from Belgium have used these designations on their labels. According to Cynthia Amnéus quite a number of dressmakers used French names, called themselves "Madame" or used titles such as "modiste" on their labels.¹⁰⁴ These references to the capital of fashion would have given "an air of Parisian sophistication to their establishment".¹⁰⁵ Regarding the Portuguese labels, they do refer to the French terms of *Maison* and *modiste*, but unlike their Belgian colleagues, they use the Portuguese equivalent such as *Salão da Moda* (1), *Atelier de Vestidos* (1) and *Modista* (2). The latter designation is also used by the Spanish dressmaker Teresa Solá.

otoPosition. And: "Ficha de inventário 9204," MatrizNet, accessed March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72875&EntSep=5#gotoPosition>. And: "Ficha de inventário 15531," MatrizNet, accessed March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72946&EntSep=5#gotoPosition>.

¹⁰¹ "Ficha de inventário 38358," MatrizNet, accessed March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=1086479&EntSep=5#gotoPosition>. And: Email correspondence with Madelief Hohé, Curator Fashion and Costume Kunstmuseum in The Hague, June 7, 2023.

¹⁰² Stempniak, "Outfitting Paris," 148-149.

¹⁰³ Grumbach, *History of International Fashion*, 31.

¹⁰⁴ Amnéus, "Cincinnati's Dressmakers," 92.

¹⁰⁵ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 235-236.

According to Cynthia Amnéus the design and colour scheme of a dressmaking label would change over time.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, as the majority of the labels found for this thesis all belong to different dressmakers it is not possible to sketch the stylistic developments per dressmaker. Even for the handful of labels by Madame Divoire-Bawin (4), Francisca Vila de Coll (3), Madame Van der Taelen (3), Madame Coche (2) and Madame A. Laferrière (2) it is challenging to analyse a stylistic journey (Appendix H). The two labels by Madame A. Laferrière are identical, as are the three labels by Madame Van der Taelen. Francisca Vila de Coll's labels all date from the 1880s, and the only stylistic difference seems to be the lack of a graceful underlining in one of her labels. The labels by Madame Divoire-Bawin and Madame Coche show a greater amount of stylistic differences. Starting with the first mentioned, Madame Divoire-Bawin's oldest label from 1877 uses the abbreviation for *Madame* followed by her married name above her address in Brussels. The other three labels date from the 1890s for which the only conclusive remark seems to be that the use of *Madame* has been replaced by *Maison*. The following characteristics seem to differ per label: whether or not *Maison* has been abbreviated or not, whether or not the designation for widow has been used, whether or not the address has been written in full and whether or not she uses her full married name. As for the two labels dating from the 1890s by Madame Coche, they seem to show a more individualistic take on the style from the second category previously described. There is a striking difference between the two labels looking at the font, the order in which the text is placed and the style of the curlicues.

Regarding an individualistic take on labelling styles, Cynthia Amnéus states that the individual style of each dressmaker is evident in the colours and designs used.¹⁰⁷ Overall, when looking at the 41 labels of my study little individuality seems visible. Only a handful of labels stand out (Appendix I). Looking at colour, the labels by Elvira T. Bello Castro and Augusta contain red texts. And the woven texts by E. Herzig and Madame Makkink are incredibly bright with their almost yellow-gold colour. The texts by Madame de Beauvais and Van der Taelen are woven in ton-sur-ton onto the waistband. Van der Taelen's labels even appear to be a whole different category (Appendix E) by themselves as they don't seem to resemble either of the two stylistic categories described here. The same ton-sur-ton design is used

¹⁰⁶ Amnéus, "Appendix: Dressmakers' Labels," 189.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

for the city of Lisbon written on Anna Amorim's label, which shows an interesting combination with the style of the second category as Anna Amorim's name is stamped in red in cursive italics with a graceful underlining. I find that the aspect which speaks the most individualistic approach is the use of their names without being preceded by *Madame*, *Mademoiselle* or *Maison*, as is the case for Anna Amorim from Portugal. A total of 20 dressmakers go by their names alone, of which the majority are from Portugal and Spain (Appendix J).

III. Dressmaking in the Netherlands

A. *Modemaaksters, kostuummaaksters* or *dameskleedingmakers*: diversifying the Dutch dressmaking trades

As in many Western European countries also the Dutch dressmaking trades resembled the French system. Until 1798, the manufacture of clothing in the Netherlands was controlled by the guilds. The organisation of the Dutch guild system could vary from town to town and it therefore also differed per town who was allowed to join the guilds. In Amsterdam, seamstresses acquired an independent guild in 1579. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they obtained a subordinate position in tailors' guilds, much like their French colleagues in Caen. In other cities seamstresses were permitted to practice their trade freely after paying small fees to local tailors' guilds, just like the seamstresses of Aix-en-Provence. Harald Deceulaer and Bibi Panhuysen, who are cited in the article by Clare Crowston, concluded that the guilds of the southern Netherlands were more successful in resisting both the competition of seamstresses and the entry of women into the guilds than in the northern Netherlands.¹⁰⁸ Panhuysen has found that even before the official dissolution of the Amsterdam guilds in 1812 linen and wool seamstresses and *modemaaksters*, which was a profession similar to the mantua maker, made up more than half of all garment producers. Therefore, Panhuysen concludes that women's labour was already a very important factor within the Dutch garment industry before the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹

The amount of people working in the clothing industries in the Netherlands in the period 1889-1899, which has been researched by Irene Maldini, shows an

¹⁰⁸ Hohé, "Haute Couture in Nederland," 63. And: Clare Crowston, "Women, Gender, and Guilds in Early Modern Europe: An Overview of Recent Research," *IRSH* 53 (2008): 38, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/8DD0903AB406FDC4778EC779182053EA/S0020859008003593a.pdf/div-class-title-women-gender-and-guilds-in-early-modern-europe-an-overview-of-recent-research-div.pdf>.

¹⁰⁹ Bibi Panhuysen, "Maatwerk. Kleermakers, naaisters, oudkleerkopers en de gilden (1500-1800)" (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2000), 178-179.

exponential growth of about 10.000 in these ten years (Appendix K).¹¹⁰ Maldini concludes from this “that the general amount of clothes produced at a national level increased significantly”.¹¹¹ Maldini has looked into the occupational census in Amsterdam in the period 1889-1930 to get an insight into the amount of independent dressmakers during that period. However, as Maldini has outlined in the table (Appendix L), a great amount of different occupation titles were used in the occupational census. With the lack of definitions for each title it complicates the making of a reliable overview.¹¹² In the table independent business owners are referred to with the letters A and B. The occupational titles that are linked to this are *costumiers*, *dameskleedingmakers* and *kleermakers*. The lack of definitions makes it difficult to distinguish between men and women. However, given the fact that tailors or *kleermakers* focused on the production of male clothing, it could suggest that *costumiers*, *dameskleedingmakers* and *naaisters* to which the letters A and B are assigned might refer to the independent female dressmaker.

To complicate things further, one of the most important studies into the Dutch clothing industry *Kleding in Nederland 1813-1920* written by Kitty de Leeuw seems to use the term *naaister* or seamstress in relation to characteristics assigned to the dressmaker. According to De Leeuw, Dutch seamstresses produced made-to-measure clothing commissioned by a rich female clientele. The design, cut and material used are determined by the seamstress, for which they used fashion prints as inspiration, in close collaboration with the customer.¹¹³ The term *modemaakster*, which probably refers to the dressmaker, is used by De Leeuw only a handful of times and for which she doesn't provide a clear definition. She describes the established *modemaakster* as an entrepreneur owning her own sewing shop with an affluent clientele which provides her with a reasonable income and relatively good working conditions. De Leeuw pays particular attention to the appearance of the *modemaakster*, which De Leeuw says is a company's calling card.¹¹⁴ The professions of seamstress and dressmaker seem to overlap considerably in De Leeuw's study. According to Bibi Panhuysen, the *modemaakster* appeared in the late

¹¹⁰ Maldini, “On paradigm shifts and industrial revolutions,” 105.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., 104.

¹¹³ De Leeuw, “Kleding in Nederland 1813-1920,” 47-48, 52, 139.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 120, 324.

eighteenth century in the Dutch Republic and was the Dutch equivalent of the French *marchande de modes*.¹¹⁵

Also Bianca du Mortier sighed at the number of different terms that seemed to be used within the Netherlands without any structure. The terms *kostuum-* (costume), *japonnen-* (dresses), *rokken-* (skirts), *lingerie-* and *modenaaiester* (sewing all clothes that were subject to fashion) were in the late nineteenth century added to the already existing *linnennaaiester* (linen seamstress), *verstelnaaiester* (seamstress specialised in mending) and *huisnaaiester* (seamstress working from her own home). A woman working in the dressmaking trades was free to assign herself any title she wished, it being *kostuumnaaiester*, *coupeuse* or *dameskleedermaakster*, all of which could refer to either the seamstress or the dressmaker.¹¹⁶ According to Tirza Westland the lack of professional training programmes and rules for what terms to use most likely caused this ambiguity in terminology.¹¹⁷ However, regardless of the cluttered use of the various titles, the increase in occupational names does show that a growing number of women were working in the nineteenth-century Dutch garment industry. This becomes also evident from Maldini's overview (Appendix L), which in addition shows that there was an increase in the number of individual female business owners. These numbers of the Dutch dressmaking trades seem to be similar to the growth in the number of dressmakers in London and Dublin, Barcelona and Boston as outlined in Chapter 1. This suggests a development widespread across Western Europe and even spreading across the Atlantic Ocean to Boston. Furthermore, the growing number of Dutch dressmakers could, just as in Barcelona, be linked to a diversification of the profession and could therefore explain the different occupation titles used.

The ambiguity in the occupational titles used by women was also visible in the rise of many fashion houses, large and small, which often bore the French title of *maison*. Companies of all kinds labelled themselves as *maison* or fashion house: from warehouses to couture houses to chain stores. Although this title was not used by all fashion retailers.¹¹⁸ Little confusion, however, exists about the high-ranking dressmaker owning her own so-called *gesloten huis* of which the description seems

¹¹⁵ Panhuysen, "Maatwerk," 178-179.

¹¹⁶ Bianca M. du Mortier, "Mode op maat: over naaisters, coupeuses en gesloten huizen in Amsterdam," in *Modepaleizen in Amsterdam 1880-1960*, ed. Annemarie den Dekker (Bussum: THOTH, 2007), 108.

¹¹⁷ Westland, "Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn," 81.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

to resemble the large couture houses in Paris. The *gesloten huizen* were characterised by the lack of shop windows and were only accessible via appointment. They contained fashionable interiors and their clientele was welcomed by French speaking employees.¹¹⁹ According to Du Mortier, the *gesloten huizen* and its owner ranked on the fashion ladder just below the haute couture houses. Both types of fashion houses were located in the best parts of the city so they were easily accessible for their customers. As far as is known, most of the *gesloten huizen* in Amsterdam were located on the Prinsengracht, Keizersgracht, Weteringschans, P.C. Hoofstraat or Vondelstraat.¹²⁰ The *gesloten huizen* seemed to match the first categories of dressmaking businesses as identified by Laura Casal-Valls for Barcelona and Henry Mayhew for London, discussed in Chapter 1. Casal-Valls' first category included dressmakers with their own workshop and Mayhew labelled dressmaking businesses with a showroom serving a rich clientele as first rate houses.¹²¹ For the making of a new garment according to the latest fashion a Dutch woman would commission these high-ranking dressmakers.¹²² According to Hohé a Parisian influence is clearly visible in the quality of the work the Dutch dressmakers produced and in the materials they used. Some would also sell garments which they had purchased in Paris. The dressmaker would inform their customers of the arrival of a new collection of fabrics and models through a printed invitation sent by post or through advertisements published in newspapers.¹²³

Another French dressmaking practice which was adopted in the Netherlands was the use of labels applied to the waistband bearing the names of dressmakers. This custom increased in the second half of the 19th century indicating that also Dutch dressmakers were breaking out of anonymity.¹²⁴ Analysing the Dutch labels (Appendix M) in the same manner as the Western European labels in Chapter 1 reveal that the labelling practices applied by Dutch dressmakers show many similarities to their fellow dressmakers across Western Europe. Firstly, all Dutch labels can be placed in the three identified categories. On the majority of the Dutch labels, a total of twelve, is the text stamped or woven in cursive italics with a graceful

¹¹⁹ Du Mortier, "Mode op maat," 110. And: Hohé, "Haute Couture in Nederland," 63.

¹²⁰ Du Mortier, "Mode op maat," 111.

¹²¹ Casal-Valls, "Fashioning Modernity," 228-229. And: Nenadic, "The social shaping of business behaviour in the nineteenth-century women's garment trades," 629.

¹²² Du Mortier, "Mode op maat," 111. And: Hohé, "Haute Couture in Nederland," 63.

¹²³ Hohé, "Haute Couture in Nederland," 63.

¹²⁴ Madelief Hohé, "Buitenlandse bestellingen," in *Romantische Mode. Mr Darcy meets Eline Vere*, ed. Madelief Hohé and Ileen Montijn (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 177.

underlining, placing them in the second stylistic category (Appendix O). Three labels can be assigned to the first stylistic category (Appendix N), containing stamped block letters in gold. The remaining five labels show similarities with the alternative category (Appendix P), of which the block letters are woven onto the waistband in a ton-sur-ton design.

Secondly, the cream-coloured waistbands to which the texts are applied are also most often used by the Dutch dressmakers, with a total of seventeen. The remaining three labels by Maison Art et Modes, Madame E. Mull and F. Grosjean are black. As for the Western European examples, the occasion for which the Dutch dresses to which these black labels are attached were worn, are unknown although the three Dutch gowns are all black. This may be worth researching further. The two labels by Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn (Appendix P) are Dutch examples of the use of different labels for different types of bodices. The label with a woven pink text is part of the dinner bodice (Fig. 6.). The evening bodice (Fig. 7.) can be matched with the same skirt as the dinner bodice and contains a cream-coloured waistband woven with ton-sur-ton text. Thus suggesting that different types of labels were used for different types of occasions.

The third similarity, although there is only one Dutch example, is the use of a coat of arms. The Dutch dressmaker Wed. L.M. Spier (Appendix O) was a supplier to the court and highlighted this on her labels with the use of a coat of arms just like her fellow dressmakers from Paris, Coimbra, Barcelona and Brussels (Appendix B). Also, almost every single dressmaker from across Western Europe, the Dutch dressmakers included, mention the city or entire address where their business is located (Appendix Q). And finally, as for the Western European dressmakers, there are not enough labels per Dutch dressmaker found to detect any developments in the design. In the case of differences, they are minimal. The labels by Gezusters Richelme (Appendix N) are identical in style and design and date from the same period, the only difference is that on one label the term *Modes* is used and on the other label *Confections*. The difference in labels by Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn has been described above and might be explained in the types of bodices. There is no mention of a chronological development here, as both bodices belong to the same skirt.

In several respects the Dutch labels also differ from the examples found from Western Europe. Whereas the majority of Western European labels have a printed

text, for Dutch labels it is almost equally divided between printed and woven. Another difference is the mentioning of services the dressmakers offered, such as *Robes & Confections* and *Robes & Costumes*, which was done by eleven out of fifteen Dutch dressmakers (Appendix Q). Only a minority of the Western European labels referred to these services and they almost all belonged to French and Belgian dressmakers (Appendix J). Besides the French references to the services offered, the Dutch dressmakers also seemed to use the French translation of the cities in which they were based. For example, the Dutch labels found consistently used *La Haye*, which is the French translation of The Hague. This seems to indicate that the Dutch dressmakers attached great importance to underlining a link to France. In this light, it is interesting to note that the use of terms such as *Madame*, *Mademoiselle* and *Maison* has had very limited following. Only three Dutch dressmakers used these terms, which means that the majority of the Dutch dressmakers used their name alone without being preceded by these designations. This is an even bigger amount than their Western European colleagues. Again, I find that this aspect is the strongest example of an individualistic approach to labelling. Another small personal touch dressmakers might have added, is the use of a different colour scheme. For example, Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn and J.F. Rusconi have applied pink texts to their labels. And Van Dalsum Soers' label has a bright yellow-gold coloured text. Although, the labels by E. Herzig from Switzerland and Madame Makkink from France resemble the label by Van Dalsum Soers, which may indicate that this style was more widespread after all.

B. The women behind their labels

Gez. Richelme

The Centraal Museum in Utrecht holds a cream-coloured silk two-piece wedding dress, which dates from circa 1882 (Fig. 8.). The wedding dress contains a cream-coloured waistband stamped with a gold text in block letters reading "Gez. Richelme Confections Zwolle". The stylistic characteristics of the label match the first stylistic category (Appendix N). The text on the label refers to the *gezusters* (sisters) Richelme who were located in the city of Zwolle. The same label design is used by

the Richelme sisters for another cream-coloured silk two-piece gown dating from around 1882 (Fig. 9.), which is part of the collection of the MoMu in Antwerp. There is a slight difference in the text, as the word “Modes” instead of the term “Confections” is placed between the sisters’ name and the city.

Although the name on the label refers to the Richelme sisters, only Jeanette Richelme is found to be registered as *modiste* and only her name comes up in newspaper articles.¹²⁵ An advertisement of 1861 even speaks of a single *jufvrouw* or miss Richelme.¹²⁶ A newspaper report on Jeanette’s death in 1899 is written by her sister C. Richelme. However, it remains unclear if they were business partners.¹²⁷ Another sister, Helena Richelme, was registered as a *winkelierster* or shopkeeper.¹²⁸ This would be a logical partnership with her sister Jeanette, but again there is no evidence of this.

Jeanette Richelme was probably born in 1827 in Brunssum as the daughter of Jean Paul Richelme and Elisabeth Berends, both of whom have no known birth and death records. Jeanette passed away on the 24th of March 1899 at the age of 72 living at the Nieuwe Markt in Zwolle.¹²⁹ The dates of the two gowns at the Centraal Museum and the MoMu compared to the date of death of Jeanette Richelme would suggest she was still working into old age. Advertisements in newspapers of the dressmaking business of the Richelme sisters appeared as early as 1857. From 1857 until 1899 every November and April they would inform their customers of their return from Paris and the arrival of the latest models for the new season.¹³⁰ In

¹²⁵ NL-ZICO, Collection Overijssel location Zwolle, 0123 Civil Registry in Overijssel, inv. no. 15307, fol. 121 (24 March 1899).

¹²⁶ “Modes,” advertisement, *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, April 19, 1861, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?qql%5B%5D=ppn+any+%28398543062+OR+430773684+OR+833050788%29&query=Richelme&coll=ddd&redirect=true&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1860-1869%7C1861%7C&identifier=ddd:000014473:mpeg21:p004&resultsidentifier=ddd:000014473:mpeg21:a0022&rowid=1.

¹²⁷ Obituary of J. Richelme, *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, June 7, 1899, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?qql%5B%5D=ppn+any+%28398543062+OR+430773684+OR+833050788%29&query=Richelme&coll=ddd&redirect=true&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1899%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000074737:mpeg21:a0013&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000074737:mpeg21:a0013&rowid=2.

¹²⁸ H.J. Michiel Wijers, “Jan Frederik Schouten (1910-1980), Jan Arnoldus Schouten (1883-1971),” *Kwartierstaten Eindhovense hoogleraren*, last modified March, 2020, <http://www.hjmwijers.nl/KEH/Schouten-JF-en-JA-kwst.htm#kw13>.

¹²⁹ NL-ZICO, Collection Overijssel location Zwolle, 0123 Civil Registry in Overijssel, inv. no. 15307, fol. 121 (24 March 1899).

¹³⁰ “Gezusters Richelme, te Zwolle,” advertisement, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 6, 1857, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1850-1859%7C1857%7C&identifier=ddd:010091342:mpeg21:a0009&resultsidentifier=ddd:010091342:mpeg21:a0009&rowid=8.

general they would announce the arrival of new hats and other types of headgear and, in some cases, new models of *mantilles* which was a type of jacket.¹³¹ This is interesting as the two gowns and the terms “Confections” and “Modes” used on the labels show that the Richelme sisters didn’t just sell hats. Regarding the size of their dressmaking firm, no business records seem to exist so it’s not clear if the Richelme sisters had any employees. From 1874 onwards they did advertise for the position of a *boodschapsmeisje* or messenger girl.¹³²

Judging from newspaper articles, the Richelme sisters were involved in the Zwolle division of the *Algemeene Nederlandsche Vrouwenvereniging* “Arbeid Adelt” founded in 1871. This women’s rights organisation aimed at enabling women to provide for themselves, for example by selling women’s handicrafts.¹³³ It seems that the depot from where the products were sold was located in the Richelme sisters’ dressmaking firm at the Nieuwe Markt in Zwolle.¹³⁴

¹³¹ “Gezusters Richelme,” advertisement, *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant*, November 11, 1862, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1860-1869%7C1862%7C&identifier=ddd:010544633:mpeg21:a0017&resultsidentifier=ddd:010544633:mpeg21:a0017&rowid=3. And: “Mantille,” Geïntegreerde Taalbank - Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, accessed May 15, 2023, <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M038436&lemma=mantille&domein=0&conc=true>.

¹³² “Dames Richelme,” advertisement, *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, March 28, 1874, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1870-1879%7C1874%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000066812:mpeg21:a0016&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000066812:mpeg21:a0016&rowid=1. And: “Gezusters Richelme,” advertisement, *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, December 24, 1875, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1870-1879%7C1875%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000074106:mpeg21:a0042&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000074106:mpeg21:a0042&rowid=2. And: “De Dames Richelme,” advertisement, *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, May 28, 1878, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1870-1879%7C1878%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000062850:mpeg21:a0013&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000062850:mpeg21:a0013&rowid=2. And: “Dames Richelme,” advertisement, *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, February 4, 1880, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C1880%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000069592:mpeg21:a0024&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000069592:mpeg21:a0024&rowid=6.

¹³³ Groot, *Vrouwen in de vormgeving in Nederland 1880-1940*, 43.

¹³⁴ “Arbeid Adelt,” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, May 3, 1886, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C1886%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000070148:mpeg21:a0008&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000070148:mpeg21:a0008&rowid=1. And: “Verslag der Algemeene Nederlandsche Vrouwenvereniging ‘Arbeid Adelt,’” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, March 18, 1889, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C1889%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000071847:mpeg21:a0030&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000071847:mpeg21:a0030&rowid=3. And: “Verslag der Algemeene Nederlandsche Vrouwenvereniging ‘Arbeid Adelt,’” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, April 16, 1890,

F. Grosjean

The Fries Museum in Leeuwarden holds a black silk bodice, which dates from around 1900 (Fig. 10.). The bodice contains a black waistband stamped with a gold text in block letters reading “Robes & Costumes F. Grosjean Leeuwarden”. Also this label matches the stylistic characteristics of the first category (Appendix N).

The label belongs to Fetje Grosjean born on the 17th of December 1854 in Leeuwarden, daughter of Feike Grosjean (1815-1900) and Antje Bloemsma (1824-1903). Fetje Grosjean had several different professions in the fashion industry. In the civil registries she is listed as *hoedenmaakster* meaning milliner, as *naaister* meaning seamstress and finally as *costumenmaakster* or costume maker.¹³⁵ The *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported in 1881 that Miss Grosjean was part of the jury at the national exhibition on industry held in Leeuwarden. Together with four fellow dressmakers she was to assess the work sent in by *dames-kleedermakers* from all over the country.¹³⁶

On the 6th of August 1887 Fetje Grosjean married the 34-year-old Andries Antonius born in 1853 and working as a photographer in Leeuwarden. On their marriage certificate Fetje Grosjean is listed as *costumenmaakster*.¹³⁷ After their marriage they lived at the Grote Hoogstraat 26 in Leeuwarden until 1890 when they

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1890%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000071392:mpeg21:a0013&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000071392:mpeg21:a0013&rowid=2. And: “Verslag der Algemeene Nederlandsche Vrouwenvereniging ‘Arbeid Adelt,” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, February 28, 1891,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1891%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000072332:mpeg21:a0005&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000072332:mpeg21:a0005&rowid=4. And: “Verslag der Algemeene Nederlandsche Vrouwenvereniging ‘Arbeid Adelt,” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, March 1, 1893,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1891%7C&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1893%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000072966:mpeg21:a0025&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000072966:mpeg21:a0025&rowid=5. And: “Verslag der Algemeene Nederlandsche Vrouwenvereniging ‘Arbeid Adelt,” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, February 7, 1898,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Richelme&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1898%7C&identifier=MMHCO01:000080293:mpeg21:a0006&resultsidentifier=MMHCO01:000080293:mpeg21:a0006&rowid=1.

¹³⁵ AlleFriezen, 1007 Civil Registry Stiens, inv. no. 1911, fol. 224 (1859-1890). And: AlleFriezen, 1002 Civil Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 4718, fol. 564 (1876 - 1904).

¹³⁶ “De Vereeniging voor Handel en Nijverheid,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, July 4, 1881,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C1881%7C&query=Grosjean&coll=ddd&page=3&identifier=ddd:010101706:mpeg21:a0020&resultsidentifier=ddd:010101706:mpeg21:a0020&rowid=10.

¹³⁷ AlleFriezen, 1002 Marriage Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 3612A, fol. 139 (6 August 1887).

moved to The Hague.¹³⁸ There, she had her establishment at the Zoutmanstraat 91 making a wide range of women's garments.¹³⁹ She also sold ready-to-wear garments and other products by the Amsterdam firm Bruning & Muhren, as she was labelled a *depothouder* at her address in The Hague by the *Haagsche Courant*.¹⁴⁰ Fetje Grosjean passed away in February 1926.¹⁴¹

It would seem unlikely that Fetje Grosjean would keep using her label with Leeuwarden stamped on it, while having her business in The Hague. This would suggest that the current dating of the bodice at the Fries Museum of circa 1900 should be reconsidered and that the bodice has to be dated earlier than 1890.

J. Deinema-Elders

The Fries Museum also holds a blue silk bodice dating from circa 1880-1889 (Fig. 11.). It is labelled by "J. Deinema-Elders Robes & Confections Leeuwarden" stamped in gold on a cream-coloured waistband matching the second stylistic category (Appendix O). What looks like a merman is stamped on the left side of the text.

Jeltje Elders was born on the 14th of February 1849 in Leeuwarden as the daughter of Hermanus Elders (1801-1869) and Sijtske Visser (1811-1865). It is unclear when she was first registered as *naaister* or seamstress. Just as it is not known when she started her own business and thus labelling the garments she made. However, the type of label as found in the blue silk bodice dates from after 1874 as it carries her married name. Jeltje Elders married Pieter Deinema (1848-1904), a merchant, on the 6th of June 1874.¹⁴² In the civil registries of 1876 until 1904 Jeltje is registered as *naaister* or seamstress.¹⁴³ Together with her husband and sister Aaltje Elders she lived at the Ruiterskwartier 55 before eventually moving to the ground floor at the Westerkade 13 in Leeuwarden, where she would

¹³⁸ AlleFriezen, 1002 Civil Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 4689, fol. 312 (1876-1904).

¹³⁹ "Mejuffrouw Grosjean," advertisement, *De Avondpost*, January 11, 1897, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Grosjean&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1897%7C&identifier=MMKB27:017826010:mpeg21:a00024&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017826010:mpeg21:a00024&rowid=2.

¹⁴⁰ "Bruning & Muhren," advertisement, *Haagsche Courant*, May 1, 1899, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Grosjean&coll=ddd&page=7&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1899%7C&identifier=MMKB04:000131259:mpeg21:a0048&resultsidentifier=MMKB04:000131259:mpeg21:a0048&rowid=5.

¹⁴¹ NL-HGA, 0335-01 The Hague, inv. no. 1543, fol. 69r (3 February 1926).

¹⁴² AlleFriezen, 1002 Civil Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 4646, fol. 224 (1859-1876).

¹⁴³ AlleFriezen, 1002 Civil Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 4707, fol. 130 (1876-1904).

live until her death on the 12th of May 1926.¹⁴⁴ Apart from her wedding announcement in the *Leeuwarder Courant*, no advertisements about her dressmaking business have been found.¹⁴⁵ A possible reason for this could be that it was not necessary for Jeltje to advertise because she was possibly already guaranteed a regular customer base.

Regarding the use of the image of a merman on her label, the reason for this is unclear. It seems unlikely to be a reference to her husband's profession as he was a merchant in silver and gold items. It might be far-fetched, but perhaps it indicated the location of Jeltje's home and possible atelier which was located on the Westerkade that ran along the city canal of Leeuwarden.

Maison Art et Modes

A black silk gown dating from around 1900 is also part of the collection of the Fries Museum (Fig. 12.). It contains a black waistband woven with a silver-coloured text in the style of the second category (Appendix O). The label reads "Maison Art et Modes Haarlem" with a coat of arms woven on the left-hand side. In 1909 Art et Modes was advertised as a "Maison de Couture", being located at the Wilhelminastraat in Haarlem.¹⁴⁶ In the Haarlem directory of 1904 is written that Maison Art et Modes was formerly known as Hegge-Remmers.¹⁴⁷ The Hegge-Remmers business was likely founded by Maria Louisa Geertruida Remmers (1843-??) and Wilhelmus Johannes Hegge (1836-1886). The latter passed away in 1886, suggesting that Maria Remmers took full charge over the firm.¹⁴⁸ In the following years the nature of the business changed from a warehouse into a dressmaking firm.¹⁴⁹ It advertised as

¹⁴⁴ AlleFriezen, 1002 Civil Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 4707, fol. 130 (1876-1904). And: AlleFriezen, 1002 Civil Registry Leeuwarden, inv. no. 4850, fol. 199 (1904-1922).

¹⁴⁵ "Burgerlijke Stand van Leeuwarden," *Leeuwarder Courant*, May 24, 1874, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&query=Elders&cql%5B%5D=%28date+_gte_+%2224-05-1874%22%29&cql%5B%5D=%28date+_lte_+%2225-05-1874%22%29&redirect=true&identifier=ddd:010586589:mpeg21:a0035&resultsidentifier=ddd:010586589:mpeg21:a0035&rowid=4.

¹⁴⁶ "Art et Modes," *Nieuwe Haarlemsche Courant*, October, 1 1909, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=%28Art+et+Modes%29&page=4&coll=ddd&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1909%7C&identifier=MMNHA03:178981001:mpeg21:a00035&resultsidentifier=MMNHA03:178981001:mpeg21:a00035&rowid=5.

¹⁴⁷ Directory Haarlem, Krantenviewer Noord-Hollands Archief, September 1, 1904, page 201, <https://nha.courant.nu/issue/ABH/1904-09-01/edition/0/page/201?query=>.

¹⁴⁸ AlleGroningers, Death Registry Wildervank, inv. no. 85, fol. 43 (29 July 1886).

¹⁴⁹ "Wegens uitbreiding der Confectiezaak," advertisement, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, February 22, 1891, <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?cql%5B%5D=ppn+any+%28833013246%29&query=wegens+uitbreiding+der+confectiezaak&coll=ddd&redirect=true&identifier=ddd:010890142:mpeg21:a0015&resultsidentifier=ddd:010890142:mpeg21:a0015&rowid=2>.

Maison Hegge-Remmers selling “Robes et Chapeaux” located at the Oosterstraat 205 in Groningen.¹⁵⁰ The dressmaking firm seemed to have quite a good name, as it was reported in 1895 that several ladies present at a reception with Queen Emma (1858-1934) in Assen wore dresses by Hegge Remmers from Groningen.¹⁵¹ The firm had its own workshop led by a French seamstress and every April and October it organised an “exhibition” with the latest fashions held at renowned locations such as hotel De Nieuwe Doelen in Leeuwarden.¹⁵²

The *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant* announced the opening of a second establishment of Maison Hegge Remmers on the 4th of October 1900 at the Wilhelminastraat 59 in Haarlem.¹⁵³ This establishment was probably run by Maria’s son Gerhardus Hegge (1872-1949), as the address of this venue was listed on the birth certificates of his children. Gerhardus had previously worked as a *winkelbediende* or shop assistant in the firm Hegge-Remmers in Groningen.¹⁵⁴ For four years, Maison Hegge Remmers had two branches with each its own workshop.¹⁵⁵ In 1904, it was reported that the firm in Groningen had gone bankrupt.¹⁵⁶ From then on, the Haarlem establishment continued under the name Art

¹⁵⁰ “Maison Hegge-Remmers,” advertisement, *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, October 1, 1897,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1897%7C&identifier=MMDA03:000103679:mpeg21:a0019&resultsidentifier=MMDA03:000103679:mpeg21:a0019&rowid=1.

¹⁵¹ “Binnenland,” *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, September 16, 1895,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers&coll=ddd&page=2&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1895%7C&identifier=MMDA03:000101467:mpeg21:a0031&resultsidentifier=MMDA03:000101467:mpeg21:a0031&rowid=2.

¹⁵² “Hegge Remmers,” advertisement, *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, September 6, 1895,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1895%7C&identifier=MMDA03:000101459:mpeg21:a0016&resultsidentifier=MMDA03:000101459:mpeg21:a0016&rowid=1. And: “Maison Hegge-Remmers,” advertisement, *Leeuwarder Courant*, October 5, 1897,

<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers+Doelen&coll=ddd&identifier=ddd:010594972:mpeg21:a0020&resultsidentifier=ddd:010594972:mpeg21:a0020&rowid=2>.

¹⁵³ “Ouverture Jeudi 4 Octobre,” advertisement, *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant*, September 26, 1900,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers+&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1900%7C&identifier=MMKB12:000082075:mpeg21:a00065&resultsidentifier=MMKB12:000082075:mpeg21:a00065&rowid=2.

¹⁵⁴ NL-NHA, 358.46 Civil Registry Haarlem, inv. no. 11912, fol. 177 (29 March 1912). And: NL-SAA, 5416 Amsterdam, inv. no. 49, fol. 130 (1920-1921).

¹⁵⁵ “Maison Hegge Remmers,” advertisement, *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, April 22, 1901,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers+&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1900%7C&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1901%7C&identifier=MMDA03:000102999:mpeg21:a0013&resultsidentifier=MMDA03:000102999:mpeg21:a0013&rowid=1.

¹⁵⁶ “Faillissementen,” *De Maasbode*, November 26, 1904,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers+&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1900%7C&identifier=MMDA03:000102999:mpeg21:a0013&resultsidentifier=MMDA03:000102999:mpeg21:a0013&rowid=1.

et Modes. As the death certificate of Maria Hegge-Remmers is missing, it is unclear when she has passed away. This means that it can't be said with certainty whether Maria was involved in the business in Haarlem after the business in Groningen went bankrupt. Given that the label of the Fries Museum reads "Maison Art et Modes Haarlem" it suggests that the gown should be dated after 1904 when most likely Maria's son had control over the business in Haarlem. The fact remains that the company was founded by Maria and had carried her name for twenty years, which is the reason why her biography is included in this thesis. And even though as yet no dresses have been found with a Hegge-Remmers label, it cannot be ruled out that the firm labelled their designs.

Wed. L.M. Spier

The Fries Museum and the Kunstmuseum in The Hague hold a total of three dresses by Wed. L.M. Spier. A purple silk and white lace two-piece dress decorated with flowers dating from circa 1900 is kept by the Fries Museum (Fig. 13.). A pink silk and white lace two-piece dress (Fig. 14.) and a blue silk and lace two-piece dress (Fig. 15.) also dating from circa 1900 are part of the Kunstmuseum's collection. The labels inside the three dresses are identical and match the design style of the second category. The text "Wed. L.M. Spier Maison de Confection Zutphen" is woven in ton-sur-ton on cream-coloured waistbands (Appendix O). Two coats of arms, one of the royal house and one of supplier to the court, are woven on both sides of the text. Wed. L.M. Spier seems to have advertised as a court supplier from 1898 onwards.¹⁵⁷

The name on the labels refers to the widow L.M. Spier, whose maiden name was Roosjen Noah Mendels born in 1794 in Rotterdam. She married Levi Moses Spier (1786-1845) in 1814 in Zutphen and worked in their butcher's shop, which she continued to do after her husband's death in 1845.¹⁵⁸ Given that on the dress labels

de%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1904%7C&identifier=MMKB04:000187949:mpeg21:a0052&resultsidentifier=MMKB04:000187949:mpeg21:a0052&rowid=2.

¹⁵⁷ Postcard containing the coats of arms designed by Jo Spier in 1906. NL-ECZ, Stedelijk Museum Zutphen, inv. no. 0250-P38899. And: "Wed. L.M. Spier," advertisement, *De Zutphense Courant*, November 2, 1898,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1898%7C&query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=2&identifier=MMRAZ02:000346106:mpeg21:a00010&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000346106:mpeg21:a00010&rowid=8.

¹⁵⁸ "Spier wereldwijd onderzoek, Roosjen Noah Mendels (1794-1876)," Genealogie Online, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-spier/I428.php>. And: "De ondergeteekende verwittigt hiermede hare geëerde begunstigers," *De Zutphense Courant*, October 16, 1858, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1850-1

and in newspaper ads she went by the name widow L.M. Spier, it would seem she founded the warehouse after her husband's death. This means she would have been in her late 50s, early 60s. The first mention of the warehouse in a newspaper ad appears to be in 1858. It was located at the Beukerstraat in Zutphen and initially sold ready-to-wear clothing, accessories and fabric samples.¹⁵⁹

In 1861 Roosjen Mendels transferred her business to her two sons, Jozef Levi Spier (1834-1926) and Izak Spier (1837-1872). She passed away in 1876.¹⁶⁰ Jozef and Izak would continue the firm under their mother's name.¹⁶¹ The two brothers would expand the warehouse with a workshop employing several seamstresses.¹⁶² The company was then advertised as both a warehouse and a *maison de confection*.¹⁶³ The firm existed until almost the mid-20th century and remained located at the Beukerstraat 41, but did continue under the name Trussany from 1946 onwards.¹⁶⁴

859%7C1858%7C&query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMRAZ02:000302042:mpeg21:a00009&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000302042:mpeg21:a00009&rowid=2.

¹⁵⁹ "Opruiming van Manufacturen," advertisement, *De Zutphense Courant*, August 7, 1858, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1850-1859%7C1858%7C&query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMRAZ02:000302032:mpeg21:a00013&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000302032:mpeg21:a00013&rowid=9.

¹⁶⁰ "Vennootschap," *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, October 15, 1865, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&query=Vennootschap&cql%5B%5D=%28date+_gte_+%2213-10-1865%22%29&cql%5B%5D=%28date+_lte_+%2216-10-1865%22%29&cql%5B%5D=ppn+any+%28400915472+OR+830850090%29&redirect=true&identifier=ddd:010791264:mpeg21:a0015&resultsidentifier=ddd:010791264:mpeg21:a0015&rowid=5. And: "Manufacturen," *De Zutphense Courant*, April 13, 1861,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1860-1869%7C1861%7C&identifier=MMRAZ02:000304067:mpeg21:a00018&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000304067:mpeg21:a00018&rowid=1. And: "Spier wereldwijd onderzoek, Roosjen Noah Mendels (1794-1876)," Genealogie Online, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-spier/I428.php>.

¹⁶¹ "Manufacturen," advertisement, *De Zutphense Courant*, April 13, 1861, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1860-1869%7C1861%7C&identifier=MMRAZ02:000304067:mpeg21:a00018&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000304067:mpeg21:a00018&rowid=1.

¹⁶² "Wollen- en Linnennaaiester," advertisement, *De Zutphense Courant*, August 10, 1875, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1870-1879%7C1875%7C&identifier=MMRAZ02:000317024:mpeg21:a00011&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000317024:mpeg21:a00011&rowid=4. And: "Costume Naaisters," advertisement, *De Zutphense Courant*, April 13, 1887,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=4&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C1887%7C&identifier=MMRAZ02:000333085:mpeg21:a00015&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000333085:mpeg21:a00015&rowid=4.

¹⁶³ "Wed. L.M. Spier," advertisement, *De Zutphense Courant*, October 5, 1891, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1891%7C&identifier=MMRAZ02:000327083:mpeg21:a00024&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000327083:mpeg21:a00024&rowid=5.

¹⁶⁴ "Opening van het modebedrijf 'Trussany,'" advertisement, *Zutphensch Dagblad voor Achterhoek en Veluwezoom*, May 3, 1946, <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode>

As in the case of Maria Remmers, the labels date from after Roosjen's death. However, also in the case of Roosjen, her biography is included in this thesis because the company would not have existed without her. Here, the link with Roosjen is even more obvious as the three labels still bear her name.

E. Janssen-Reitsma

A white two-piece dress dating from circa 1900 stored at the Kunstmuseum (Fig. 16.) has a cream-coloured waistband woven in ton-sur-ton with the text “E. Janssen-Reitsma Poelestraat Groningen”. The design of the label doesn’t seem to match either of the two stylistic categories from Chapter 1 (Appendix P). However, the label does show similarities with the labels by Madame H. van der Taelen from Brussels (Appendix E).

The woman behind this label was Ebeltje Reitsma born in 1866 in Marum as daughter of Alle Reistma (1841-??) and Janke Posthuma (1841-??).¹⁶⁵ She was working as a *modiste*, as was listed on her wedding certificate, when she married carpenter Albert Janssen (1864-??) in 1893.¹⁶⁶ The use of the type of label found in the two-piece of the Kunstmuseum must have started after Ebeltje’s wedding as she is using her married name. The handful of newspaper ads on her dressmaking firm date from 1901 until 1917. Ebeltje Reitsma’s firm in *robes et confection* was located at the Pelsterstraat until 1901 when she moved her business to the Poelestraat 14 in Groningen. The firm consisted of a workshop employing several seamstresses.¹⁶⁷ In 1917, the tailoring firm Gebroeders Ibeling, which was headed by Mrs

%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1940-1949%7C1946%7C&identifier=MMRAZ03:179291101:mpeg21:a00052&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ03:179291101:mpeg21:a00052&rowid=1.

¹⁶⁵ AlleGroningers, Birth Registry Marum, inv. no. 105, fol. 53 (9 November 1866).

¹⁶⁶ AlleGroningers, 1621 Wedding Registry Aduard, inv. no. 279, fol. 14 (1 July 1893).

¹⁶⁷ “E. Janssen-Reitsma,” advertisement, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, September 25, 1901, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1901%7C&query=E.+Janssen+Reitsma&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010883420:mpeg21:a0049&resultsidentifier=ddd:010883420:mpeg21:a0049&rowid=1. And: “E. Janssen Reitsma,” advertisement, *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, November 4, 1901, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1901%7C&query=E.+Janssen+Reitsma&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMDA03:000104000:mpeg21:a0010&resultsidentifier=MMDA03:000104000:mpeg21:a0010&rowid=2. And: “Gevestigd Modezaak,” advertisement, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 2, 1904, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1904%7C&query=Jansen+Reitsma&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010891336:mpeg21:a0040&resultsidentifier=ddd:010891336:mpeg21:a0040&rowid=1. And: “Flinke Naaisters gevraagd,” advertisement, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, April 9, 1905, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1905%7C&query=Janssen+Reitsma&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010891256:mpeg21:a0110&resultsidentifier=ddd:010891256:mpeg21:a0110&rowid=6.

Veldman-Strabbing, took over Ebeltje's business.¹⁶⁸ Ebeltje was registered to be living at the Van Alkemadelaan 550 in The Hague at the time of her death in 1935.¹⁶⁹

Madame E. Mull

The gold text which reads "Robes Mme E. Mull La Haye" is stamped onto a black waistband in style of the second category (Appendix O). The waistband is attached to the bodice of a black two-piece dress dating from circa 1890 that is part of the collection of the Kunstmuseum (Fig. 17.). The dress was made by Elisabeth Dorothea Auguste Mull who was born in 1868 in Mismar in Mecklenburg, Germany, as daughter of Heinrich Nikolaus Christoph Mull and Maria Elise Wilhelmina Marsman, both of whom have no known birth and death records. She married banker Otto Paul Kirchhoff (1864-??) in 1895.¹⁷⁰ In 1884 she had already established her business at Noordeinde 163 in The Hague and moved her workshop a few doors down to number 18A a couple of years later.¹⁷¹ The majority of the newspaper advertisements are aimed at recruiting new employees for her workshop, which seem to end from 1906 onwards.¹⁷² Further details about both her company and herself are not known.

¹⁶⁸ "Gebres. Ibelings," advertisement, *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 17, 1917, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1910-1919%7C1917%7C&query=Jansen+Reitsma&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010600897:mpeg21:a0078&resultsidentifier=ddd:010600897:mpeg21:a0078&rowid=4.

¹⁶⁹ NL-HGA, 0354-01 Civil Registry The Hague, inv. no. 832, fol. 121.

¹⁷⁰ NL-HGA, 0335-01 Civil Registry The Hague, inv. no. 738, fol. 76 (19 February 1895).

¹⁷¹ "In het Costumes-Atelier van Mme Mull," advertisement, *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, November 4, 1884,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C&query=Mme+Mull&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMKB19:003591055:mpeg21:a00026&resultsidentifier=MMKB19:003591055:mpeg21:a00026&rowid=2. And: "Het Atelier voor Costumes," advertisement, *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, May 5, 1885,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C&query=Mme+Mull&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMKB19:003593004:mpeg21:a00023&resultsidentifier=MMKB19:003593004:mpeg21:a00023&rowid=1. And: "Bekwame Tailleenaisters," advertisement, *De Avondpost*, June 2, 1892,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Mme+Mull&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1892%7C&identifier=MMKB27:017842129:mpeg21:a00040&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017842129:mpeg21:a00040&rowid=1.

¹⁷² "Mme E. Mull," advertisement, *Haagsche Courant*, November 5, 1906,

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Mme+Mull&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1906%7C&identifier=MMKB04:000133219:mpeg21:a0058&resultsidentifier=MMKB04:000133219:mpeg21:a0058&rowid=1.

Jenny Haefely

A gold text printed in the style of the second category on a cream-coloured waistband reads “Robes Jenny Haefely La Haye” (Appendix O). The label is part of a dark purple two-piece dress dating from around 1890 and is stored at the Kunstmuseum (Fig. 1.).

The Swiss dressmaker Jenny Haefely founded her company in 1883 and was located at the Prinsestraat 83 in The Hague.¹⁷³ The earliest known advertisement by Jenny Haefely seems to date from 1888, in which she informed her customers of her return from Paris. From 1893 onwards Jenny Haefely was assigned as a supplier to the court.¹⁷⁴ Only a handful of advertisements appear to have been published and are all written in French. No advertisements seemed to either have survived or were placed by Jenny Haefely after 1904. However, in the annual report of the municipality of The Hague of 1920 she was still registered at the Prinsestraat 83 and employed eight people.¹⁷⁵ The use of the French language and the limited number of advertisements underlined the exclusive nature of the house. Jenny Haefely most likely passed away in 1936, as the newspaper *Het Binnenhof* reported that a woman by the same name laid buried at the Begraafplaats Kerkhoflaan since then.¹⁷⁶

M.C. de Kolff-van Dam

The Kunstmuseum holds a cream-coloured two-piece dress (Fig. 18.) which contains a cream-coloured waistband stamped in gold in the style of the second category (Appendix O). The waistband is labelled with “Robes & Confections M.C. de Kolff-Van Dam Rotterdam”.

The dress was made by Maria Cornelia van Dam around 1877, who was born in Rotterdam in 1839 and was the daughter of Wilhelmus Antonius van Dam (1812-1895) and Cornelia Zandvliet (1810-1871). Her father was registered as a tailor, which begs the question of whether she learnt the tricks of the trade from her

¹⁷³ Meij, *Haute Couture & Prêt-à-porter*, 73.

¹⁷⁴ “Residentienieuws (Vervolg),” *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, August 9, 1893, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Haefely&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1893%7C&identifier=MMKB19:003610184:mpeg21:a00053&resultsidentifier=MMKB19:003610184:mpeg21:a00053&rowid=3.

¹⁷⁵ NL-HGA, Gedigitaliseerde gedrukte materialen, Haags Gemeentearchief, annual report municipality The Hague, fol. 1129 (1920).

¹⁷⁶ “Stichting R.K. Begraafplaatsen te 's-Gravenhage,” *Het Binnenhof*, October 27, 1956, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Haefely&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C20e_eeuw%7C1950-1959%7C&identifier=MMKB19:000389024:mpeg21:a00052&resultidentifier=MMKB19:000389024:mpeg21:a00052&rowid=1.

father.¹⁷⁷ In 1867 she married Hendrikus de Kolff and lived together at the Steiger 18 in Rotterdam until Hendrikus passed away in 1890.¹⁷⁸ Maria remarried in 1897 to Arnoldus Reijnart, who was a shopkeeper.¹⁷⁹ It is unclear if they joined forces in Maria's dressmaking firm. Maria doesn't appear to be registered as a dressmaker anywhere and there is no information available on her dressmaking business. Furthermore, no newspaper articles have been found advertising her business. Maria van Dam passed away on the 30th of December 1900.¹⁸⁰

Madame Hortus-Nicolle

The label by "Mme Hortus-Nicolle Maison Française Amsterdam" is part of a cream-coloured wedding dress from circa 1898 stored at the Kunstmuseum (Fig. 19.). The pink text is woven into the cream-coloured waistband in the style of the second category (Appendix O).

Unfortunately, no birth, death, or residential data of Madame Hortus-Nicolle have been found. From newspaper articles from the period 1895 until 1899 it is known that Madame Hortus-Nicolle worked for the Winkel van Sinkel, the first department store in Amsterdam, until 1895. She then started her own *maison in robes et manteaux* at the Herengracht 367 in Amsterdam.¹⁸¹ The same year she was advertising for the employment of staff, such as messenger girls and seamstresses.¹⁸² It appeared her business was growing rapidly as she was advertising for a *directrice* or head of the atelier in 1897 who had to be competent in dealing with clientele.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ NL-SAR, 494-03 Civil Registry Rotterdam, inv. no. 192, fol. 25 (1860-1880).

¹⁷⁸ NL-SAR, 494-03 Civil Registry Rotterdam, inv. no. 480, fol. 112 (1880-1895).

¹⁷⁹ NL-SAR, 999-06 Wedding Registry Rotterdam, inv. no. 1897A, fol. a70 (24 February 1897).

¹⁸⁰ NL-SAR, 999-09 Death Registry Rotterdam, inv. no. 1900G, fol. g047 (30 December 1900).

¹⁸¹ "Winkel van Sinkel," Stadsarchief Amsterdam, last modified April 23, 2019, <https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/stukken/immigranten/winkel-sinkel/>. And: "Robes et Manteaux," advertisement, *Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant*, September 3, 1895, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Mme+Hortus+Nicolle&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1895%7C&identifier=ddd:010092239:mpeg21:a0084&resultsidentifier=ddd:010092239:mpeg21:a0084&rowid=1.

¹⁸² "Mme Hortus Nicolle," advertisement, *Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant*, December 7, 1895, [https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Mme+Hortus+Nicolle&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1896%7C&query=Hortus+Nicolle&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010092420:mpeg21:a0020&resultsidentifier=ddd:010092420:mpeg21:a0020&rowid=2](https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Mme+Hortus+Nicolle&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1895%7C&identifier=ddd:010092235:mpeg21:a0029&resultsidentifier=ddd:010092235:mpeg21:a0029&rowid=2). And: "Mme. Hortus Nicolle," advertisement, *Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant*, June 4, 1896, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1896%7C&query=Hortus+Nicolle&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010092420:mpeg21:a0020&resultsidentifier=ddd:010092420:mpeg21:a0020&rowid=2.

¹⁸³ "Robes et Manteaux," advertisement, *Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant*, February 8, 1897, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1

Van Dalsum Soeurs

A gold-coloured two-piece dress dating from around 1898 (Fig. 20.), part of the Kunstmuseum collection, contains a cream-coloured waistband woven with a bright gold-coloured text in the style of the second category (Appendix O). The label reads “van Dalsum soeurs Robes & Confections Amsterdam”. Little information is available on this fashion house. According to Ietse Meij the firm was founded by E. van Dalsum in 1883 and was located at the Keizersgracht 513 in Amsterdam.¹⁸⁴ As for the Richelme sisters, it is notable that only one person seems to be linked to the company, while sisters are mentioned on the label. In 1903 the business was moved to the Prinsengracht number 729.¹⁸⁵ In one of the last known advertisements the company advertises for the placement of students at Maison van Dalsum.¹⁸⁶

Willems-Janssens

A cream-coloured bodice (Fig. 21.) dating from around 1900 is labelled with a cream-coloured waistband stamped in black with “Willems-Janssens Robes & Confections 8B Van Galenstraat La Haye”. The design of the label follows the characteristics of the second category (Appendix O).

The business was founded by Marie Janssens born in 1860 in Sint-Joosten-Node in Belgium and was the daughter of Pierre Janssens and Anne Marie Boon, both of whom have no known birth and death records. She was listed as a seamstress on her wedding certificate. Marie married 49 year old Ludovicus Willems who was registered as a shopkeeper in 1896 in The Hague.¹⁸⁷ In the same year she advertised under her married name offering employment for seamstresses and a messenger girl.¹⁸⁸ An advertisement from 1910 shows that the firm was housed at

899%7C1897%7C&query=Hortus+Nicoll&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010093587:mpeg21:a0059&resultsidentifier=ddd:010093587:mpeg21:a0059&rowid=1.

¹⁸⁴ Meij, *Haute Couture & Prêt-à-porter*, 67.

¹⁸⁵ “Verhuisd,” advertisement, *Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant*, August 4, 1903, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Van+Dalsum+Soeurs&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C&identifier=ddd:010128799:mpeg21:a0048&resultsidentifier=ddd:010128799:mpeg21:a0048&rowid=1.

¹⁸⁶ “Nette Leerlingen,” advertisement, *De Courant*, September 7, 1909, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1900-1909%7C1909%7C&query=Maison+van+Dalsum&coll=ddd&page=3&identifier=MMKB19:003501057:mpeg21:a00072&resultsidentifier=MMKB19:003501057:mpeg21:a00072&rowid=6.

¹⁸⁷ NL-HGA, 0335-01 Wedding Registry The Hague, inv. no. 742, fol. 225 (6 May 1896).

¹⁸⁸ “Maison Willems-Janssens,” advertisement, *De Avondpost*, September 8, 1896, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Maison+Willems-Janssens&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C&identifier=MMKB27:017825275:mpeg21:a00021&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017825275:mpeg21:a00021&rowid=2.

the Hugo de Grootstraat number 12.¹⁸⁹ Marie Janssens passed away in 1917 living at the Hugo de Grootstraat 52 in The Hague.¹⁹⁰ Her husband Ludovicus had passed away ten years earlier in 1907. Interestingly, he was registered as a *dameskleermaker* or women's tailor on his death certificate.¹⁹¹ This raises the question whether Marie and Ludovicus were in business together. The advertisements about the dressmaking business were still placed after Ludovicus' death, suggesting that Marie continued and was in charge of the firm.

C. Petit

A green silk two-piece gown (Fig. 22.) contains a cream-coloured waistband woven in ton-sur-ton with the text "C. Petit La Haye". The design of the label doesn't match either of the two categories, but does share similarities with the labels of Madame Van der Taelen (Appendix E) and E. Janssen-Reitsma (Appendix P). The dress dates from around 1875-1880 and is part of the collection of the MoMu in Antwerp.

The dressmaking house was founded under the name Modes by Clotilde Petit who was born on the 3rd of June 1833, possibly in Moulins. The dressmaking house was located at Papestraat 13 in The Hague until 1872, when it was relocated to Molenstraat 13. Clotilde changed the name of the house into "C. Petit Maison Française" in 1882 and moved the house one last time to Noordeinde 56.¹⁹²

In 1889 it was reported that A.M.V. Fumière and V.F. Gros, two former modistes working for Clotilde, were to continue her firm by entering into a partnership. The house would then bear the name "Maison Française Robes et Confections C. Petit (Fumière et Gros)".¹⁹³ The partnership was entered into for eight years until 1897 with the possibility of extending it. It seemed the partnership between Fumière and Gros had ended in 1903 as a lease was drawn up for the premises at Noordeinde between Clotilde and Marie Amerlinck from Ghent. Marie

¹⁸⁹ "Bekwame en aankomende naaisters gevraagd," advertisement, *De Avondpost*, April 7, 1910, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1910-1919%7C1910%7C&query=Willems+Janssens&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMKB27:017855096:mpeg21:a00023&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017855096:mpeg21:a00023&rowid=8.

¹⁹⁰ NL-HGA, 0335-01 Death Registry The Hague, inv. no. 1491, fol. 146r (27 February 1917). And: NL-HGA, 0354-01 Civil Registry The Hague, inv. no. 1954, fol. 167.

¹⁹¹ NL-HGA, 0335-01 Death Registry The Hague, inv. no. 1442, fol. 96r (15 May 1907).

¹⁹² "Maison C. Petit," RKD, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/425539>.

¹⁹³ "Bij Akte, den 23n Maart 1889," *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, April 4, 1889, <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Fumi%C3%A8re+et+Gros&coll=ddd&identifier=MMKB19:003599166:mpeg21:a00025&resultsidentifier=MMKB19:003599166:mpeg21:a00025&rowid=1>. And: "Maison C. Petit," RKD, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/425539>.

Amerlinck was registered as working as a shopkeeper at the address at Noordeinde in 1913 and 1920.¹⁹⁴ She might have advertised for the employment of seamstresses and dressmakers in 1912.¹⁹⁵ Advertisements of Maison Petit located at Noordeinde number 56 can be found well into the late 1990s.

J.F. Rusconi

A yellow silk floral two-piece gown dating from 1882 from the Rijksmuseum, of which no photograph is available, contains a cream-coloured waistband stamped with a pink border and text which reads “J.F. Rusconi Robes et Confections Utrecht”. The design of the label matches the stylistic characteristics from the second category (Appendix O).

The gown was made by Johanna Frederika Rusconi born in 1856 in Utrecht as the daughter of Johannes Gothard Rusconi (1816-1873) and Cornelia Jansen (1817-1893).¹⁹⁶ Johanna seems to have first been registered as a seamstress in 1875 while living at the Minrebroederstraat 258 in Utrecht.¹⁹⁷ In 1900 she was living at the Oude Kampe 14bis together with her sister Bernardina Geertruida (1850-??). By then she was registered as a *tailleuse* or dressmaker. Three years later she would move to the Schouterstraat number 5, followed by the Voorstraat 73 and finally the Springweg number 2 in 1910.¹⁹⁸ Johanna Frederika Rusconi passed away in 1944.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ “Bij Akte, den 23n Maart 1889,” *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, April 4, 1889, <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Fumi%C3%A8re+et+Gros&coll=ddd&identifier=MMKB19:003599166:mpeg21:a00025&resultsidentifier=MMKB19:003599166:mpeg21:a00025&rowid=1>. And: NL-HGA, 0373-01 Notarial Archive The Hague, inv. no. 2519, fol. 14 (16 August 1904). And: NL-SAA, 5416 Overgenomen delen, inv. no. 50, fol. 29 (1920-1921). And: NL-HGA, 0354-01 Civil Registry The Hague, inv. no. 28, fol. 38.

¹⁹⁵ “Bekwame Mouwennaaster,” advertisement, *Haagsche Courant*, February 21, 1912, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&query=%28C.+Petit%29&cql%5B%5D=ppn+any+%28398541485+OR+398541477+OR+424119838+OR+832402826+OR+832923869%29&redirect=true&page=3&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C20e_eeuw%7C1910-1919%7C1912%7C&identifier=MMKB04:000138051:mpeg21:a0096&resultsidentifier=MMKB04:000138051:mpeg21:a0096&rowid=9.

¹⁹⁶ NL-HUA, 481 Civil Registry Utrecht, inv. no. 722-02, fol. 192 (4 September 1856).

¹⁹⁷ NL-HUA, 1007-2 Civil Registry Utrecht, inv. no. 7579, fol. 377 (1860-1879).

¹⁹⁸ NL-HUA, 1007-2 Civil Registry Utrecht, inv. no. 7845, fol. 25 (1900-1912). And: NL-HUA, 1007-2 Civil Registry Utrecht, inv. no. 7871, fol. 6 (1900-1912).

¹⁹⁹ NL-HUA, 1221 Death Registry Utrecht, inv. no 1799, fol. 16 (27 September 1944).

IV. Female agency

A. Claiming ones Self

Feminisation

According to M.H.D. van Leeuwen and I. Maas women's professions have been under-recorded in historic censuses. The registration of a woman's profession depended on whether the census taker considered the woman's job to be an occupation. For example, part time activities were often not included in the censuses. The censuses thus give an incomplete picture of both the numbers of working women and also of which occupations women were working in.²⁰⁰ The situation as outlined by Van Leeuwen and Maas concerned the entire Dutch labour force and encompasses all Dutch industries in the nineteenth century, not just the dressmaking trades. However, this outline is important to the subject of this chapter as it shows quite an opposite development in the Dutch dressmaking trades. Given that before 1812, women already made up more than half of all garment producers. Followed by an increasing number of female workers in the dressmaking trades in the nineteenth century, as shown in Maldini's table, indicate a feminisation of the trades. It is the process of feminisation which could be a possible explanation for the inclusion of women's professions in the dressmaking trades in the censuses.

Wendy Gamber stated that the dressmaking trades were somewhat of a special niche in that, compared to other areas of the labour force, the dressmaking trades exceed the amount of women that were employed. More so, men were almost completely missing. Gamber suggested that the growing amount of female dressmakers has to do with the Victorian notion of decency. The physical contact necessary for dressmaking made it impossible for men to operate as dressmakers. Men working in the dressmaking trades was something of an exception which is also evident in the job titles as "man milliners" and "man dressmakers". Dressmaking was

²⁰⁰ M.H.D. van Leeuwen and I. Maas, "Economische specialisering en veranderende sociale verhoudingen in de 19de en 20e eeuw. Een studie op basis van de Nederlandse volkstellingen en huwelijksakten," in *Twee eeuwen Nederland geteld. Onderzoek met de digitale Volks-, Beroeps- en Woningtellingen 1795-2001*, ed. O.W.A. Boonstra, P.K. Doorn, M.P.M. van Horik, J.G.S.J. van Maarseveen, J. Oudhof (The Hague: DANS, 2007), 183-184.

segregated by sex and mirrored traditional conceptions of women's work.²⁰¹ In the nineteenth century the notion that working in the garment trades was, as Clare Haru Crowston stated, "an expression of women's innate capabilities" was firmly established.²⁰² Female domination of the garment trades was in many ways realized in the late eighteenth century. In 1781, the seamstresses' guild obtained new privileges in the sphere of female clothing, including a monopoly on the fabrication of women's clothes and the right to make some articles of clothing for men. After finally obtaining their privileges the guild system was abolished ten years later in 1791. This did not mean, however, that the sexual division in the garment trades was rejected.²⁰³

Pernilla Rasmussen analysed the process of the gender division of the garment trades in terms of emasculation and feminisation. This change was part of a cultural turn, which included a more polarized view of the sexes and the felt importance of distinguishing male from female.²⁰⁴ The legitimacy of the profession of the tailor was questioned by arguing that tailoring and needlework were linked and should therefore be reserved for women.²⁰⁵ The gender divide in the dressmaking trades is exemplified by the Dutch dressmaker Fetje Grosjean who was part of an all female jury for the national exhibition in Leeuwarden. This was in contrast to the jury assessing the work of tailors which was made up entirely of men.

Female individualisation

The monopoly that women had over the dressmaking industry seemed to have been a combination of a self-acquired right fought for by the women working in the trades and a *fait accompli* imposed and enhanced by societal notions of women's abilities linked to their nature. Still, according to Cynthia Amn us the trades turned out to be a "female territory that provided them with a desired separate sphere, in which they worked with and for women".²⁰⁶ This separate sphere allowed for, what Christine Delhaye has identified as, female individualisation processes. Delhaye believed that

²⁰¹ Gamber, "A Precarious Independence," 61, 64.

²⁰² Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 66-67.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Rasmussen, "Creating Fashion," 53.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 52.

²⁰⁶ Cynthia Amn us, "Dressmaking as a Trade," in *A Separate Sphere: Dressmakers in Cincinnati's Golden Age, 1877-1922*, ed. Cynthia Amn us (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum; Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2003), 55, EBSCOhost.

these processes can be uncovered by analysing the history of consumption, which Delhaye assigned an important role in the individualisation of women during the nineteenth century. She has analysed the fashion discourse as diffused by two nineteenth-century Dutch women's magazines *De Gracieuse* and *De Vrouwen-Wereld*. In her research she has applied a more gender-specific approach. With this approach Delhaye has aimed to both nuance and add to the critique feminists scholars have raised about women being excluded from Western individualisation processes. Delhaye confirmed that women were excluded from so-called male individualisation processes. But she stated that what has been till thus far overlooked is the fact that women were part of female individualisation processes.²⁰⁷

Delhaye has described how the fashion discourse presented by the two women's magazines refers to the modern belief of the individual. Firstly, liberal notions such as the idea of 'freedom of choice' stand out. Traditional regulations no longer determined fashion behaviour; readers now had the freedom to choose for themselves.²⁰⁸ They were advised to rely and trust on their own judgment. Secondly, alongside these liberal notions of freedom and choice Delhaye traces ideas that can be linked to the doctrine of romanticism, such as originality, individuality and artistry. According to Delhaye, the editors of the women's magazines constantly associated fashion with art, speaking of the art of dressing, but also describing the garments designed by dressmakers as art and calling the dressmakers artists. And thirdly, the editors advised women to take their own personality as a guiding principle when making fashion choices.²⁰⁹ The fashion discourse expressed in these two women's magazines addressed their female readership as autonomous individuals being free to choose and express their creativity and artistry by relying on their own personality. In order for their readers to establish their autonomy and individuality they needed to know themselves. As Delhaye has put it "techniques of individuation are in a certain symbiotic relationship with techniques of the self".²¹⁰

Given that many female dressmakers took inspiration from fashion magazines, both for themselves to create a fashionable persona as well as to advise their customers, I believe that dressmakers were part of the readership targeted by

²⁰⁷ Delhaye, "Modernisering, consumptiecultuur en vrouwelijke individualisering," 363, 369-367, 396.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 377-378.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 379, 386.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 381-383.

these magazines. As dressmakers these women were at the heart of the fashion discourse and consumer culture studied by Delhaye. Therefore, I argue that the dressmakers were part of the female individualization processes that Delhaye has aimed to uncover. A workspace ruled and owned by women would seem to have provided the necessary space for female individualisation processes to flourish. A “desired separate sphere”, as Amnéus put it, for the nineteenth-century woman to be completely in control of oneself and to develop oneself in a self-chosen way.²¹¹ It might have been no coincidence that a small majority of the fourteen Dutch dressmakers whose lives and businesses have been described in the previous chapter, seem to have remained unmarried. The financial security that marriage provided was not necessarily needed for the (financially) independent dressmaker with her own business.

Authorship

Entrepreneurship meant a huge risk for women, especially as small businesses had a low chance of success. Yet more and more women were starting their own dressmaking firms during the nineteenth century.²¹² Given the fragile situation women with their own businesses found themselves in, it suggests that the call for (financial) independence was not the only attraction for starting their own businesses as dressmakers. According to Gamber, dressmakers considered themselves ‘ladies’, just like the wealthy clientele they served.²¹³ This had very little to do with their socially assigned position, as these women often came from working or middle-class families, but seemed to be linked to the work they performed.²¹⁴ The name and motto of the Dutch women’s movement *Arbeid Adelt* (1871) referred to this by stating that a woman’s profession gave her noble status.²¹⁵ The involvement of for example the Dutch Richelme sisters in the Zwolle division of *Arbeid Adelt* does point towards an

²¹¹ Amnéus, “Dressmaking as a Trade,” 55.

²¹² Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy. The millinery and dressmaking trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 53.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 74.

²¹⁴ For example, the fathers of the Dutch dressmakers mentioned in the previous chapter, worked as skippers (Janssen-Reitsma), chimney sweepers (Rusconi), tailors (De Kolff-Van Dam), civil servants (Richelme) and merchants (Grosjean).

²¹⁵ Sasja Alkemade, “Feminisme in de handwerkwinkel: vrouwelijke arbeid en emancipatie,” *Atria*, May 11, 2022, <https://atria.nl/nieuws-publicaties/feminisme/feminisme-20e-eeuw/tesselschade-feminisme-in-de-handwerkwinkel/>.

awareness of their own privileged position as women entrepreneurs providing for themselves. By facilitating the sale of products made by other women they contributed to increasing the independence of their fellow women.

A debate that had been going on in the Dutch women's movement and that would eventually lead to an internal split within *Arbeid Adelt* was about whether or not women should market their products under their own name. Initially, the debate mainly concerned the work of upper-class women who felt the need to express themselves as artists through needlework. It would eventually spread to other areas as well and focused on whether the anonymity of women's workers was favourable or not. The more progressive division of the women's movement called *Tesselschade* (1872) felt that there was no shame in women working and they should be proud to work under their own names.²¹⁶ An illustrative statement by Dutch author, feminist and editor of the fashion magazine *Het Toilet. Grootste en goedkoopste Modejournaal van Nederland* (1876-1887) Codien Zwaardemaker-Visscher (1835-1912) is quoted by Lotte Jensen and reads as follows: "Painters, writers and translators, dressmakers, they all find it comfortable to simply go down the right road under their own name; they all find that no one considers them any less worthy of it - on the contrary, the same family relations that at first so pettishly opposed this first step of publicity often later find a cause of pride in it. It's the same with choosing between publicity and anonymity: honesty lasts the longest."²¹⁷ According to Jensen, this was a significant statement at a time when it was common for women to market their work under a pseudonym.²¹⁸ All the more striking is the fact that the labels of the Dutch dressmakers, apart from *Maison Art et Modes*, analysed in this thesis all bear the name of the dressmaker herself. This could be seen as evidence that these women were not only acknowledging themselves as the creators of their own work, but publicly claimed their authorship. Patricia Zakreski has linked the professionalism of the dressmaker's "artistic

²¹⁶ Groot, *Vrouwen in de vormgeving in Nederland 1880-1940*, 43. And: Lotte Jensen, "Trots op haar eigen naam. Codien Zwaardemaker-Visscher," *Filter. Tijdschrift over Vertalen* 13, no. 3 (2006): 21, <https://repository.uibn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/131217/131217.pdf?sequence=1>.

²¹⁷ Translated by the author of this thesis. The original quote is as follows: "Schilderessen, schrijfsters en vertaalsters, modisten, zij allen bevinden zich er wel bij eenvoudig onder haar eigen naam den rechten weg op te gaan; zij allen ondervinden, dat niemand haar er minder om acht- integendeel, dezelfde familie-betrekkingen die eerst zo kleingeestig tegen dien eersten stap der openbaarheid zich verzetten, vinden daar later vaak juist een oorzaak van trots in. 't Is ook met de keuze tusschen openbaarheid en anonimiteit: eerlijk duurt het langst." Jensen, "Trots op haar eigen naam," 21.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

persona” to “models of authorship”. According to Zakreski, authorship transferred “notions of aesthetic sensibility” onto the profession of the dressmaker, and in return dressmaking projected levels of skilled craftsmanship and of feminisation onto the author’s profession.²¹⁹ So, by labelling the garments the dressmaker did not only claim to be the creator. It also pointed to an awareness or “sensibility” about the need to use and express her own originality, individuality and artistry in order to create. This can be linked back to the female individualisation processes as identified by Christine Delhaye.

B. Marketing of the Self

Nancy J. Troy has described how the development of specifically the couture label was strongly influenced by the ever-increasing commercial importance given to brand names in the late nineteenth century. Troy considered the label with its maker’s name which was also the name of the brand as a special form of expression conveyed by the maker. The couture label was even protected by copyright law.²²⁰ For dressmakers, the risk of plagiarism would have been of lesser significance for the use of a label, as they were the ones who took inspiration from the great couturiers of their time. Still, the way they have used their names in newspaper advertisements does seem to indicate the use of their personal names as brand names. This makes it seem that a dressmaker’s label also had a commercial function, as attributed by Troy to the couture label. Also the label captured contradictions between originality and reproduction. As has become clear in the previous chapters, little individuality was visible in the design of dressmakers’ labels. For the design of the labels analysed in this thesis it seemed that, apart from a few exceptions, either one of the two stylistic categories have been used. Although the (almost) exact same design is used for each label by every dressmaker, according to Troy the originality of the label was hidden in the name of the maker.²²¹ So while the

²¹⁹ Patricia Zakreski, “The Writer and the Couturière: Authorship and Creative Industry in the 1870s,” in *Fashion and Authorship: Literary Production and Cultural Style from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Gerald Egan (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2020), 212, Ebook Central.

²²⁰ Troy, *Couture Culture*, 25-26.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

garment of which the label is part of is crafted as a unique piece, the label itself is not. According to Troy, in this way the label functions as a signature. The originality and uniqueness of the maker's name make both the garment and the label a rare product.²²² This refers back to the changing ideas of luxury described in Chapter 1.

Regarding the commercial importance given to brand names, this is both reflected by the labels as by the advertisements of the Dutch dressmakers. Especially in the way a dressmaker used her name. Although the use of her married name and/or first name leaves little confusion about the gender of the maker. I feel that by not using the designation of *Madame* or *Mademoiselle* or the Dutch equivalent *mevrouw* or *mejuffrouw* the name and therefore the label are disconnected from a human material entity. It brings the name into abstraction, much like a signature. A dressmaker's name could then be inextricably linked to a business. This might explain why the sons of the Dutch dressmakers Wed. L.M. Spier and Marie Hegge-Remmers continued their mothers' dressmaking businesses under their mothers' names. And why the brothers Spiers proceeded to use their mother's name on their label. The business sense was highlighted by the fact that the address was also mentioned on the label, as well as the type of garments the dressmakers were making and selling.

In the case of the advertisements, a more personal format was generally used. Especially when the dressmaker informed her customers of her return from Paris with the latest fashions. Then she addressed her customers directly but from a third person by using her own name. This more personal tone was emphasised by the use of the designations for *Madame* and *Mademoiselle*. For example, Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn had her name preceded by the French designation for *Mademoiselle*, while Fetje Grosjean used the Dutch equivalent in her advertisements.²²³

The advertisements which were intended to inform the customers on the

²²² Ibid., 26-28.

²²³ "Le Magasin de Lingeries Confections etc.," advertisement, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, August 6, 1867, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Scherpenzeel+Kahn&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C19e_eeuw%7C1860-1869%7C&identifier=ddd:010138405:mpeg21:a0027&resultsidentifier=ddd:010138405:mpeg21:a0027&rowid=6. And: "Mejuffrouw Grosjean," advertisement, *De Avondpost*, January 11, 1897, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Grosjean&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1897%7C&identifier=MMKB27:017826010:mpeg21:a00024&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017826010:mpeg21:a00024&rowid=2.

arrival of the latest fashions seem to be the most frequently used by dressmakers. Although there was a huge versatility in the layout and design of these advertisements, a few features do stand out. Firstly, deliberate choices seem to have been made in what had to catch the reader's eye. Certain combinations of terms were often used, such as “the latest models”, “models bought in Paris”, *nouveautés* and the mentioning of the presence of a “french seamstress” in the workshop.²²⁴ Secondly, the mentioning of Paris is a characteristic element that recurs frequently. And thirdly, this was also the case for the overviews that were given in French of the types of garments that were up for sale or could be commissioned by the customer to be made-to-measure. These three features literally stood out by using different fonts and sizes for each piece of information in one ad.

Regarding the pieces of garments, on 11 out of the 20 Dutch labels a reference is being made to the type of garments that were being sold, such as *Robes & Manteaux*, *Robes & Confections* and *Modes*. However, these references are not consistently being used in the advertisements of these labels' dressmakers. The advertisements often give much more extensive references to the type of garments. The limitation in the references being made on the labels could possibly be explained by the size of the label and the format of a label with matched after French example. The label was intended to make the nature of the business clear, which was explained by the short references to the products or services being offered.

Another advertisement that occurred frequently was dedicated to the employment of staff. The format is different from the advertisement described above aimed at informing customers. In the employment advertisements the name of the dressmaker was printed in a smaller font, while the advertised occupation is printed in capital and bold letters. A similar formatting was used for Wed. L.M. Spier, Fetje Grosjean, Mme E. Mull, Mme Hortus Nicolle, and Willems-Janssens.²²⁵ The

²²⁴ “Confections, Layettes, Nouveauté’s,” advertisement, *Apeldoornsche Courant*, August 19, 1890, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Hegge+Remmers&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1890%7C&identifier=MMCODA02:000184824:mpeg21:a0011&resultsidentifier=MMCODA02:000184824:mpeg21:a0011&rowid=1.

²²⁵ “Bekwame Linnennaaisters,” advertisement, *Zutphensche Courant*, April 1, 1881, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1880-1889%7C1881%7C&query=Wed+L.M.+Spier&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=MMRAZ02:000372075:mpeg21:a00016&resultsidentifier=MMRAZ02:000372075:mpeg21:a00016&rowid=5. And: “Mme. E. Mull,” advertisement, *De Avondpost*, March 2, 1895, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=Mme.+E.+Mull&coll=ddd&page=1&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1895%7C&identifier=MMKB27:017824060:mpeg2

employment advertisements were aimed at a different kind of audience than the advertisements about a dressmaker's return from Paris. To make this distinction immediately obvious to the reader, may have been the reason for using a different kind of format and layout.

1:a00029&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017824060:mpeg21:a00029&rowid=1. And: "Wordt gevraagd een Dienstbode," advertisement, *Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant*, February 4, 1896, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1896%7C&query=Hortus+Nicolle&coll=ddd&page=1&identifier=ddd:010092353:mpeg21:a0039&resultsidentifier=ddd:010092353:mpeg21:a0039&rowid=3. And: "Maison Willems-Janssens vraagt bekwame Naaisters," *De Avondpost*, September 8, 1896, https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=2%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C1896%7C&query=Willems+Janssens&coll=ddd&identifier=MMKB27:017825275:mpeg21:a00021&resultsidentifier=MMKB27:017825275:mpeg21:a00021&rowid=4.

V. Final Conclusions

The use of labelled waistbands in researching nineteenth-century dressmakers in general and specifically Dutch dressmakers is a detail that is often overlooked but appears to be very informative. Through the information provided on the labels biographies of fourteen different Dutch dressmakers could be written. The businesses of these women were located all across the Netherlands. Amsterdam and The Hague have been known as cities where many dressmaking businesses were located. However, the Dutch labels found for this thesis show that dressmaking firms were also situated in places that have not (yet) been written into the history of fashion, such as Leeuwarden, Zutphen and Zwolle. Furthermore, studying the labels and the biographies can prove helpful in giving a more precise dating of a garment, as is the case of the Dutch Fetje Grosjean and Maison Art et Modes.

Through the biographies, an indication of the type of businesses these Dutch women had was obtained. The Dutch dressmakers identified in this thesis can all be labeled as independent dressmakers owning their own dressmaking firm, matching the first category as identified by Laura Casal-Valls. Furthermore, out of the fourteen Dutch dressmakers at least half had workshops with several employees. However, from the biographies it also appears that many details about these women and their businesses are still lacking, such as the type of customers the identified dressmakers served and whether or not their businesses contained showrooms. Therefore matching them to the categories identified by Henry Mayhew is challenging.

The fourteen short biographies also show that many different terms have been used for the independent Dutch dressmaker owning her own business, these included *modiste*, *naaister*, *tailleuse* and *costumenmaakster*. During the nineteenth century the number of women in the trades increased rapidly, this was visible not only in the occupational census, but also in the occupational titles used. Therefore, the biographies can be seen as a reflection of the diversification of the Dutch dressmaking trades.

Apart from the information on the label which provides useful data for the identification of Dutch dressmakers and the writing of their biographies, a lot of information can also be derived from the design of a dressmaker's label. Analysing

the labelling practices has provided an answer to the leading research question of this thesis which concerns the extent to which the late nineteenth-century Dutch dressmakers used their labels for branding their fashion houses and how this related to the Western European fashion practice. The stylistic and comparative analysis of the twenty Dutch dressmakers' labels with the 41 labels from Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal and Switzerland show similarities to the labelling practices of French couturiers such as Worth. This included the use of stamped block letters on their labels, which would develop into applying their names in cursive italics. These two labelling styles have been identified in this thesis as two stylistic categories. In addition, an alternative category has been distinguished in which the block letters are woven onto the waistband in a ton-sur-ton design. The majority of the labels analysed in this thesis, both Dutch and Western European, fall into the second category.

The almost identical design of the labels as well as the widespread use of the label throughout Western Europe made the labelling of garments appear as a trend. It indicates that using a label was a deliberate choice, which is telling for the dressmakers' purposes for their labels. Their labelled waistbands served as promotional tools for their businesses. The fact that a garment was labelled already established an idea of luxury. The name that was stamped or woven onto the waistband would only further emphasise a sense of exclusivity. The dressmaker's label visualised the commercial importance given to the maker's name as a brand name. The strength of the label laid in the continuous use of the same design, just like a signature. This is reflected in the Dutch and Western European dressmaker's labels studied in this thesis, which show an incredible amount of similarities. Unlike what Cynthia Amnéus has stated, the originality and individuality isn't conveyed in the design of the label, but rather in the name of the dressmaker on the label. The commercial use of the dressmaker's name as a brand name is exemplified by the Dutch dressmaking businesses of Wed. L.M. Spier and Marie Hegge-Remmers. Their names continued to be used as brand names after the businesses were taken over by their sons. This continuation of a founder's name is a practice still applied by fashion houses today, such as Chanel and Maison Schiaparelli whose names refer back to their female founders.

An interesting detail the Dutch dressmakers applied in branding their dressmaking firms was referring to the capital of fashion. This seems to have been of

greater importance to the Dutch dressmakers than to their counterparts from Spain and Portugal, whose labels have been studied in this thesis. The Parisian link is made visible in the design of the Dutch labels through the use of French terms for the services they offered and by translating the cities they were based in into French. This could indicate that the Parisian link was used as a branding tool in order to present a fashionable image.

Although the use of the label by Dutch dressmakers served an important purpose in branding their fashion houses, the meaning of the label far exceeded the mere commercial use of it. The exceptionality of the nineteenth-century dressmaking trades being a female dominated industry was reflected in the dressmaker's label. Its widespread use by dressmakers seemed to indicate an overall acceptance of the artistic persona of the dressmaker. Furthermore, the use of the label could be considered a reflection of the dressmaker's self-awareness as the creator of her own work and her expressing her own originality, individuality and creativity. This appears to be most strongly manifested in Dutch dressmakers applying their name alone without the terms *Madame*, *Mademoiselle* and *Maison*. In short, by using a label the dressmaker publicly claimed her authorship. At a time when the majority of women worked under a pseudonym, this seems to be an incredible example of female agency.

Appendices

Abbreviations:

How is the text applied on the label?	Abbreviation
Stamped text	ST
Woven text	WT

Abbreviations used on the labels	Full term
Mme	Madame
Mmes	Mesdames
Melle	Mademoiselle
Melles	Mesdemoiselles
Mson	Maison
Mon	Maison
Vve	Veuve (widow)

Appendix A: general overview of Western European labels

Country	Colour code	Amount of labels	Amount of dressmakers	Overview of dressmakers
Belgium		12	6	Madame H. Van der Taelen (3 labels), Daubreby Van Swae, Madame/Maison Divoire-Bawin (4 labels), Augusta Remy, Madame/Mesdames Coche (2 labels), Couvreur Soeurs
France		12	11	Mesdemoiselles Lalheugue, Madame Morel-Pineau, Madame Chapuis, Madame Fromont, Madame Cozas, Madame Makkink, Madame Chapus-Bardol, Maison Lipman, Madame A. Laferrière (2 labels), E. Dupont, Mesdames de Beauvais.
Spain		7	5	Augusta, Fanny Ricot, Francisca Vila de Coll (3 labels), Rosa y Joaquina Vilamala, Teresa Solá
Portugal		9	9	Emilia de Abreu, Elvira T. Bello Castro, Jo..[a] Maia Sande, Mademoiselle Augustine, Margarida de Moraes, Laura Guimaraes, Albertina Teixeira, Anna Amorim, Demetria Castro Pereira.
Switzerland		1	1	E. Herzig
Total		41	32	

Appendix B: coat of arms, Western European labels

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Mme A. Laferrière, Rue Taitbout, 28 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1880</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 26040.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Mme A. Laferrière, Rue Taitbout, 28 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1880</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 26053.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Mme Fromont Rue de la Paix 9 Breveté de S.A.R. La Princesse de Galles (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1890</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1969-0006.</p>
<p>4.</p> 	<p>Salão da Moda, Elvira T. Bello Castro, 90 Rua Ferreira Borges 94 Coimbra (WT)</p>	<p>1890-1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 9204.</p>

<p>5.</p> 	<p>Fanny Ricot, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1899</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5283.</p>
<p>6.</p> 	<p>Daubreby Van Swae, 21. Rue du Pépin, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1890</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 19761.</p>

Appendix C: first stylistic category, Western European labels.




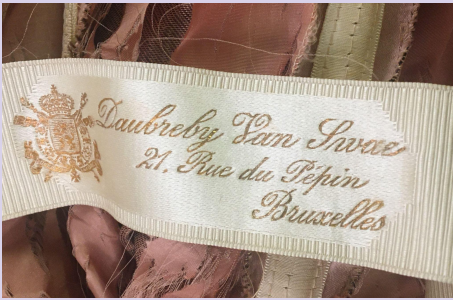

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Emilia de Abreu & Cia, Lisboa (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1890</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 3378.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Melle Augustine, Lisboa (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1890</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 13294.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Mme A. Laferrière, Rue Taitbout, 28 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1880</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 26040.</p>
<p>4.</p> 	<p>Mme A. Laferrière, Rue Taitbout, 28 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1880</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 26053.</p>
<p>5.</p>	<p>E. Dupont, Rue du</p>	<p>1870-</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do</p>

	Sentier, Paris (ST)	1880	Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 36995.
<p>6.</p> 	Mson Divoire-Bawin, Montagne de la Cour, 20, Bruxelles (ST)	ca. 1896	Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0097.
<p>7.</p> 	Mme Vve Divoire-Bawin, 20 Montagne de la Cour, Bruxelles (ST)	1877	Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 8134.

Appendix D: second stylistic category, Western European labels.

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Salao da Moda, Elvira T. Bello Castro, 90 Rua Ferreira Borges 94 Coimbra (WT)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 9204.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Jo[...]a Maia Sande Porto (ST)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 13070.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Margarida de Moraes, Modista Lisboa 69 Travessa de Vitória 20 (ST)</p>	<p>1870- 1890</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 15254.</p>
<p>4.</p> 	<p>Laura Guimaraes, Porto (ST)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 15531.</p>
<p>5.</p>	<p>Modista Rocio - Lisboa, Demetria Castro Pereira, Entrada Rua das Galinheiras nº 24 2º</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 17878.</p>

	(ST)		
<p>6.</p> 	Atelier de Vestidos, Albertina Teixeira, Porto (WT)	ca. 1900	Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 38399/1.
<p>7.</p> 	E. Herzig, Robes & Confections, St. Gall (WT)	1850-1880	Textilmuseum St. Gallen, Switzerland, inv. no. 42932.
<p>8.</p> 	Mme Coche, Robes & Manteaux, 7 Rue de Londres, Bruxelles (ST)	1899-1900	Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BCS-0093.
<p>9.</p> 	Mmes Coche Robes & Manteaux 38 & 40 Rue du Pépin Bruxelles (ST)	1898-1900	Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1963-0037.

<p>10.</p> 	<p>Mon Vve Divoire Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1890</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0114.</p>
<p>11.</p> 	<p>Maison Vve Divoire Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1870- 1899</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. K. 54-2003.</p>
<p>12.</p> 	<p>Couvreurs Soeurs, Rue de Gouvernement Provisoire, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1890- 1895</p>	<p>Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands, inv. no. BK-NM-13- 075-A.</p>
<p>13.</p> 	<p>Daubreby Van Swae, 21. Rue du Pépin, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1890</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 19761.</p>
<p>14.</p> 	<p>Augusta Remy, Robes & Manteaux, Anvers (ST)</p>	<p>1880- 1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. K. 67-1989.</p>





<p>15.</p> 	<p>Madame Chapus-Bardol, Saint Chély d'Apcher, Lozere (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0200.</p>
<p>16.</p> 	<p>Mme Cozas, Robes et Manteaux, Rue de la Lyze, Algiers (ST)</p>	<p>1893</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. CMC-0304.</p>
<p>17.</p> 	<p>Melles Lalheugue, Pau (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1890</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 26029/001- 002.</p>
<p>18.</p> 	<p>Mme Morel-Pineau, Genève (ST)</p>	<p>1892</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 10398.</p>
<p>19.</p> 	<p>Mmes de Beauvais, 26 Fauboug St. Honoré, Paris (WT)</p>	<p>1905- 1910</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 38358.</p>

<p>20.</p> 	<p>Mme Chapuis Jne, Robes & Manteaux, 19 Rue de Richelieu (ST)</p>	<p>1889- 1890</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1951-0322.</p>
<p>21.</p> 	<p>Mme Makkink (WT)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1956- 0017.1-2.</p>
<p>22.</p> 	<p>Mme Fromont Rue de la Paix 9 Breveté de S.A.R. La Princesse de Galles (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1890</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1969- 0006.</p>
<p>23.</p> 	<p>Maison Lipman, 2, Rue de la Paix, 2 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1896</p>	<p>Modemuseum Hasselt, Hasselt, Belgium, inv. no. MMH.2018. 0001.</p>
<p>24.</p> 	<p>Francisca Vila de Coll, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>1883- 1889</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 4598.</p>

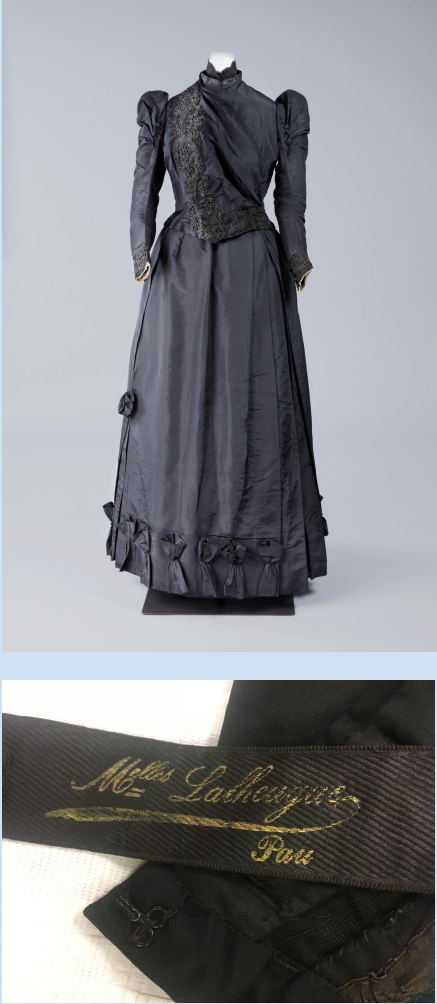
<p>25.</p> 	<p>Francisca Vila de Coll, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>1883-1890</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 4941.</p>
<p>26.</p> 	<p>Francisca Vila de Coll, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>1877-1882</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5312.</p>
<p>27.</p> 	<p>Fanny Ricot, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1899</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5283.</p>
<p>28</p> 	<p>Teresa Solà, Modista, Sabadell (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1895</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5706.</p>
<p>29.</p> 	<p>Rosa y Joaquina [Vilamala], Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1883</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5716.</p>

30. 	Augusta, Robes & Manteaux, Barcelone (ST)	1890- 1899	Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5730.
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Appendix E: alternative stylistic category, Western European labels

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>1892</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 7944.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>1898</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0091.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1905</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 10726.</p>
<p>4.</p> 	<p>Lisboa, Anna Amorim (WT and ST)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 3622.</p>

Appendix F: garments intended for outdoor

Garment and label	Dressmaker	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Melles Lalheugue, Pau (ST)</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 26029/001-002</p>
<p>2.</p>	<p>Fanny Ricot, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5283.</p>



3.

Francisca Vila de
Coll, Barcelona
(ST)

Museu d'Història de
Sabadell, Sabadell,
Spain, inv. no. 4598.



4.

Francisca Vila de
Coll, Barcelona
(ST)

Museu d'Història de
Sabadell, Sabadell,
Spain, inv. no. 4941.



5.

Francisca Vila de
Coll, Barcelona
(ST)

Museu d'Història de
Sabadell, Sabadell,
Spain, inv. no. 5312.



6.

Rosa y Joaquina
[Vilamala],
Barcelona (ST)

Museu d'Història de
Sabadell, Sabadell,
Spain, inv. no. 5716.



7.

Teresa Solá,
Modista, Sabadell
(ST)

Museu d'Història de
Sabadell, Sabadell,
Spain, inv. no. 5706.



8.





Augusta, Robes &
Manteaux,
Barcelone (ST)

Museu d'Història de
Sabadell, Sabadell,
Spain, inv. no. 5730.






Appendix G: garments with black labels with unspecified use


Garment and label	Dressmaker	Museum collection
<p>1.</p>  	<p>Emilia de Abreu & Cia, Lisboa (ST)</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 3378.</p>
<p>2.</p>  	<p>Salão da Moda, Elvira T. Bello Castro, 90 Rua Ferreira Borges 94 Coimbra (WT)</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 9204</p>
<p>3.</p>	<p>Laura Guimaraes, Porto</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje</p>

 	<p>(ST)</p>	<p>e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 15531.</p>
<p>4.</p>  	<p>Mmes de Beauvais, 26 Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris (WT)</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 38358</p>
<p>5.</p>	<p>Mme Coche, Robes & Manteaux, 7 Rue de Londres, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BCS-0093.</p>



Appendix H: stylistic developments per dressmaker

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Mme Vve Divoire-Bawin, 20 Montagne de la Cour, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1877</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 8134</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Mon Vve Divoire Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1890</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0114.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Mson Divoire-Bawin, Montagne de la Cour, 20, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1896</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0097.</p>

<p>4.</p> 	<p>Maison Vve Divoire Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1870- 1899</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. K. 54-2003.</p>
<p>5.</p> 	<p>Francisca Vila de Coll, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>1883- 1889</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 4598.</p>
<p>6.</p> 	<p>Francisca Vila de Coll, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>1883- 1890</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 4941.</p>
<p>7.</p> 	<p>Francisca Vila de Coll, Barcelona (ST)</p>	<p>1877- 1882</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5312.</p>
<p>8.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>1892</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 7944.</p>

<p>9.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>1898</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0091</p>
<p>10.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1905</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 10726.</p>
<p>11.</p> 	<p>Mme Coche, Robes & Manteaux, 7 Rue de Londres, Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1899-1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BCS-0093.</p>
<p>12.</p> 	<p>Mmes Coche Robes & Manteaux 38 & 40 Rue du Pépin Bruxelles (ST)</p>	<p>1898-1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1963-0037.</p>
<p>13.</p> 	<p>Mme A. Laferrière, Rue Taitbout, 28 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>1870-1880</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 26040.</p>

<p>14.</p> 	<p>Mme A. Laferrière, Rue Taitbout, 28 Paris (ST)</p>	<p>1870- 1880</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 26053.</p>
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Appendix I: individualistic labelling styles

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Salão da Moda, Elvira T. Bello Castro, 90 Rua Ferreira Borges 94 Coimbra (WT)</p>	<p>1890-19 00</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 9204.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Lisboa, Anna Amorim (WT and ST)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 3622.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Augusta, Robes & Manteaux, Barcelone (ST)</p>	<p>1890- 1899</p>	<p>Museu d'Història de Sabadell, Sabadell, Spain, inv. no. 5730.</p>
<p>4.</p> 	<p>E. Herzig, Robes & Confections, St. Gall (WT)</p>	<p>1850- 1880</p>	<p>Textilmuseum St. Gallen, Switzerland, inv. no. 42932.</p>

<p>5.</p> 	<p>Mme Makkink (WT)</p>	<p>1890- 1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. KOS-1956- 0017.1-2.</p>
<p>6.</p> 	<p>Mmes de Beauvais, 26 Fauboug St. Honoré, Paris (WT)</p>	<p>1905- 1910</p>	<p>Museu Nacional do Traje e da Moda, Lisbon, Portugal, inv. no. 38358.</p>
<p>7.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>1892</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 7944.</p>
<p>8.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>1898</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. BSC-0091</p>
<p>9.</p> 	<p>Mme H. van der Taelen, Bruxelles - Ostende (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1905</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 10726.</p>

Appendix J: Western European labels divided by characteristics

Characteristics	Belgium	France	Spain	Portugal	Switzerland	Total
City	6	2	7	6	1	22
Full address	6	9		3		18
No address		1				1
Robes & Manteaux	3	2	1			6
Robes & Confections		1			1	2
Madame/Mesdames	6	9				15
Mademoiselle/ Mesdemoiselles		1		1		2
Maison	3	1		2		6
Modiste			1	2		3
Dressmaker's name without Madame, Mademoiselle or Maison	3	1	7	8	1	20
Total amount of labels	12	12	7	9	1	41

Appendix K: amount of people working in the clothing industries in the Netherlands in the period 1889-1930, focusing on the periode 1889-1899.

	1889	1899	1909	1920	1930
1) Population dedicated to clothing	Category VIa 59,915	Category VIIa 69,328	Category VIIa 78,357	Category VII (1-10) 95,911	Category VII (1-10) 89,094
2) Total population censused	4,509,670	5,104,137	6,091,802	7,225,493	7,935,565
3) Workers dedicated to clothing per person censused	0.01328	0.01358	0.01286	0.01327	0.01122

Appendix L: independent dressmakers in Amsterdam in the period 1889-1930

Population working in occupations relevant for this study in Amsterdam (1889-1930)

Occupation	Position*	1889	1899	1909	1920	1930
<i>Costumiers</i>	A+B	44		1,930		
<i>Costumiers</i>	C+D			3,289		
<i>Dameskleedingmakers</i>	A+B	70				
<i>Dameskleedingmakers</i>	C+D	71				
<i>Kleermakers</i>	A+B	954	2,827	774		
<i>Kleermakers</i>	C+D	1,827	4,471	3,243		
<i>Naaisters</i>	A+B	406	1,001			
<i>Naaisters</i>	C+D	4,150	1,691			
<i>Verstelnaaister</i>	A+B			2,028		
<i>Verstelnaaister</i>	C+D			89		
<i>Bedrijfsboofden</i>	A+B				1,660	1,897
<i>Kleermaker (heeren)</i>	C+D				3,976	
<i>Kleermaker (dames)</i>	C+D				6,660	
<i>Kleermaker (dames en heeren)</i>	C+D				84	
<i>Huisnaaisters</i>	C+D				1,771	979
<i>Kleermaker (maat)</i>	C+D					2,027
<i>Kleermaker (confectie)</i>	C+D					1,441
<i>Costuumnaaister</i>	C+D					4,462
<i>Confectiefabriekarbeider</i>	C+D					2,576

Note. Elaborated by the author based on the occupational censuses published by CBS (*Centraal Bureau Statistics*) <http://volkstellingen.nl/nl/index.html> [Accessed September 9, 2015]

* Positions A+B refer to business owners, managers and independent professionals; C+D refer to staff in companies run by others.

Appendix M: general overview of Dutch labels

Museum collection	Amount of labels	Amount of dressmakers	Overview of dressmakers
Centraal Museum, Utrecht	1	1	Gezusters Richelme
Fries Museum, Leeuwarden	4	4	F. Grosjean, J. Deinema-Elders, Maison Art et Modes, Wed. L.M. Spier
Kunstmuseum, The Hague	10	9	E. Janssen-Reitsma, E. Mull, Jenny Haefely, M.C. de Kolff-Van Dam, Madame Hortus Nicolle, Van Dalsum-Soeurs, Wed. L.M. Spier (2), Willems-Janssens, Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	1	1	J.F. Rusconi
MoMu, Antwerp, Belgium	4	3	C. Petit, Gezusters Richelme, Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn (2)
Total	20	15	


Appendix N: first stylistic category, Dutch labels

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>Gez. Richelme, Confections, Zwolle (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1882</p>	<p>Centraal Museum, Utrecht, inv. no. 14636/001-002.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>Gez. Richelme, Modes, Zwolle (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1882</p>	<p>MoMu, Antwerp, Belgium, inv. no. T12/1222ABC/J2.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Robes & Costumes, F. Grosjean, Leeuwarden (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1900</p>	<p>Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, inv. no. FM2018-094_01.</p>

Appendix O: second stylistic category, Dutch labels

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
1. 	J. Deinema- Elders, Robes & Confections, Leeuwarden (ST)	ca. 1880 - 1889	Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, inv. no. T2002-138
2. 	Maison Art et Modes, Haarlem (WT)	ca. 1900	Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, inv. no. T1964-298.
3. 	Wed. L.M. Spier, Maison de Confection, Zutphen (WT)	ca. 1900	Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, inv. no. T2002-121A.
4. 	Wed. L.M. Spier, Maison de Confection, Zutphen (WT)	ca. 1900	Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. K. 50-2003
5. 	Wed. L.M. Spier, Maison de Confection, Zutphen (WT)	ca. 1900	Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. K. 49-2003.
6. 	Robes, Mme. E. Mull. La Haye (ST)	ca. 1890	Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. KOS-2007-0171.

<p>7.</p> 	<p>Robes, Jenny Haefely, La Haye (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1890</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. K.413-1974.AB.</p>
<p>8.</p> 	<p>Robes & Confections, M.C. de Kolff- Van Dam, Rotterdam (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1877</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. CMC-0135.</p>
<p>9.</p> 	<p>Mme. Hortus-Nicolle, Maison Française, Amsterdam (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1898</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. KOS-1961-0082.</p>
<p>10.</p> 	<p>van Dalsum soeurs, Robes & Confections, Amsterdam (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1898</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. KOS-3000-0181.</p>
<p>11.</p> 	<p>Willems- Janssens, Robes & Confections, 8B Van Galenstraat, La Haye (ST)</p>	<p>ca. 1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. KOS-1957-0046.</p>
<p>12.</p>	<p>J.F. Rusconi,</p>	<p>ca. 1882</p>	<p>Rijksmuseum,</p>

 A rectangular label with a white background and red embroidery. The text is written in a cursive script: "J. F. Rusconi" on the top line, "Robes & Confections." on the second line, and "Utrecht" on the third line. The label is bordered by a thin red line.	Robes & Confections, Utrechts (ST)		Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-15417.
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Appendix P: alternative stylistic category, Dutch labels

Label	Dressmaker	Date	Museum collection
<p>1.</p> 	<p>E. Janssen-Reitsma, Poelestraat, Groningen (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1900</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. KOS-1963-0038.</p>
<p>2.</p> 	<p>C. Petit, La Haye (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1875-1880</p>	<p>MoMu, Antwerp, Belgium, inv. no. T12/1312AB/J238.</p>
<p>3.</p> 	<p>Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn, Amsterdam (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1892-1893</p>	<p>Kunstmuseum, The Hague, inv. no. CMC-0367.</p>
<p>4.</p> 	<p>Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn, Amsterdam (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1890 - 1895</p>	<p>MoMu, Antwerp, Belgium, inv. no. T12/1251A/J95 (evening bodice).</p>
<p>5.</p> 	<p>Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn, Amsterdam (WT)</p>	<p>ca. 1890 - 1895</p>	<p>MoMu, Antwerp, Belgium, inv. no. T12/1251B/J95 (dinner bodice).</p>

Appendix Q: Dutch labels divided by characteristics

Dressmaker	City	Full address	Robes & Costumes / Robes & Confections / Robes / Confections / Maison de Confections	Madame/ Mesdames / Mademoiselle / Mesdemoiselles	Maison	Name of dressmaker without Madame, Mademoiselle or Maison
Gez. Richelme (2)	1		1			1
F. Grosjean	1		1			1
J. Deinema-Elders	1		1			1
Maison Art et Modes	1				1	
Wed. L.M. Spier (3)	1		1			1
E. Janssen-Reitsma		1				1
Madame E. Mull	1		1	1		
Jenny Haefely	1		1			1
M.C. de Kolff- van Dam	1		1			1
Madame Hortus-Nicolle	1		1	1		
Van Dalsum Soeurs	1		1			1
Willems-Janssens		1	1			1
C. Petit	1					1
J.F. Rusconi	1		1			1
Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn (3)	1					1
Total	13	2	11	2	1	12

Illustrations



Fig. 1. (title page) Jenny Haefely, Purple two-piece dress, Robes Jenny Haefely La Haye, ca. 1890, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. K.413-1974.AB).



Fig. 2. Mantua, ca. 1708, silk, metal, (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1991.6.1a, b).



Fig. 3. Charles Frederick Worth, Label used between 1867 and 1870, Worth & Bobergh, 7, Rue de la Paix 7, Paris, 1869.



Fig. 4. E. Herzig, Two-piece wedding dress, E. Herzig, Robes & Confections, St. Gall, 1850-1880, silk, cotton, linen, (St. Gall, Textilmuseum St. Gallen, inv. no. 42932).



Fig. 5. E. Herzig, Label part of two-piece wedding dress, E. Herzig, Robes & Confections, St. Gall, 1850-1880, silk, cotton, linen, (St. Gall, Textilmuseum St. Gallen, inv. no. 42932).



Fig. 6. Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn, Gown with dinner bodice, Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn Amsterdam, silk, wool, cotton, embroidery, moire, tulle, (Antwerp, MoMu, inv. no. T12/1251B/J95).



Fig. 7. Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn, Evening bodice, Van Scherpenzeel-Kahn
Amsterdam, silk, wool, cotton, embroidery, machine lace, moire, tulle, (Antwerp,
MoMu, inv. no. T12/1251A/J95).



Fig. 8. Gezusters Richelme, Wedding dress, Gez. Richelme, Confections, Zwolle, ca. 1882, silk, cotton, mesh fabric, (Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. no. 14636/001-002).



Fig. 9. Gezusters Richelme, Two-piece gown, Gez. Richelme, Modes, Zwolle, 1880-1882, silk, cotton, wax, metal, (Antwerp, MoMu, inv. no. T12/1222ABC/J2).



Fig. 10. Fetje Grosjean, Black silk bodice, Robes & Costumes F. Grosjean Leeuwarden, ca. 1900, silk, (Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, inv. no. FM2018-094_01).



Fig. 11. Jeltje Deinema-Elders, Blue silk bodice, J. Deinema-Elders Robes & Confections Leeuwarden, circa 1880-1889, silk, (Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, inv. no. T2002-138).



Fig. 12. Maison Art et Modes, Black silk gown, Maison Art et Modes Haarlem, ca. 1900, silk, (Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, inv. no. T1964-298).



Fig. 13. Wed. L.M. Spier, Purple silk and white lace two-piece dress, Wed. L.M. Spier
Maison de Confection Zutphen, ca. 1900, silk, lace, (Leeuwarden, Fries Museum,
inv. no. T2002-121A).



Fig. 14. Wed. L.M. Spier, Pink silk and white lace two-piece dress, Wed. L.M. Spier
Maison de Confection Zutphen, ca. 1900, silk, lace, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv.
no. K. 50-2003).



Fig. 15. Wed. L.M. Spier, Blue silk and lace bodice part of two-piece dress, Wed. L.M. Spier Maison de Confection Zutphen, ca. 1900, silk, lace, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. K. 49-2003).



Fig. 16. Ebeltje Janssen-Reitsma, White two-piece dress, E. Janssen-Reitsma Poelestraat Groningen, ca. 1900, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. KOS-1963-0038).



Fig. 17. Elisabeth Dorothea Auguste Mull, Black two-piece dress, Robes Mme E. Mull La Haye, ca. 1890, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. KOS-2007-0171).



Fig. 18. Maria Cornelia de Kolff-van Dam, Cream-coloured two-piece dress, Robes & Confections M.C. de Kolff-Van Dam Rotterdam, ca. 1877, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. CMC-0135).



Fig. 19. Madame Hortus-Nicolle, Cream-coloured bodice part of wedding dress, Mme Hortus-Nicolle Maison Française Amsterdam, ca. 1898, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. KOS-1961-0082).



Fig. 20. E. van Dalsum, Gold-coloured two-piece dress, van Dalsum soeurs Robes & Confections Amsterdam, ca. 1898, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. KOS-3000-0181).



Fig. 21. Marie Willems-Janssens, Cream-coloured bodice, Willems-Janssens Robes & Confections 8B Van Galenstraat La Haye, ca. 1900, unknown material, (The Hague, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. KOS-1957-0046).



Fig. 22. Clotilde Petit, Green silk two-piece gown, C. Petit La Haye, ca. 1875-1880, silk, embroidery, passement, cotton, (Antwerp, MoMu, inv. no. T12/1312AB/J238).

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Fig. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Mantua,” downloaded August 30, 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/81809>.

Fig. 3. Tétart-Vittu, “La naissance d’une haute couture,” 179.

Fig. 4. Photo provided by Annina Dosch, Research Assistant Textilmuseum St. Gallen, March 3, 2023.

Fig. 5. Photo provided by Annina Dosch, Research Assistant Textilmuseum St. Gallen, March 3, 2023.

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Appendix B.2. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 26053,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=73012&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

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Appendix C.1. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 3378,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72818&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

Appendix C.2. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 13294,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72929&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

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Appendix D.2. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 13070,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72927&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

Appendix D.3. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 15254,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72944&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

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Appendix D.5. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 17878,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72964&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

Appendix D.6. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 38399/1,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=1086650&EntSep=2#gotoPosition>.

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Appendix D.23. Antique-Gown, “Maison Lipman Reception or Society Gown, ca. 1896,” downloaded March 29, 2022, <https://www.antique-gown.com/en/1890-1900/maison-lipmann-reception-or-society-gown,-ca-1896.html>.

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Appendix D.25. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit de jacquard de ras i vellut amb motius florals,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1883-1889/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-de-jacquard-de-ras-i-vellut-amb-motius-florals>.

Appendix D.26. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit amb solapes i aplicacions de punta,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1877-1882/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-amb-solapes-i-aplicacions-de-punta>.

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Appendix D.28. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit de ras de seda negra,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1890-1899/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-de-ras-de-seda-negra>.

Appendix D.29. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Jaqueta de vellut morat,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1883-1889/dona/cos-de-vestit/jaqueta-de-vellut-morat>.

Appendix D.30. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit amb ratlles de vellut blanques i negres,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1890-1899/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-amb-ratlles-de-vellut-blanques-i-negres>.

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Appendix E.4. MatrizNet, “Ficha de inventário 3622,” downloaded March 4, 2023, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objetos/ObjetosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=72825&EntSep=5#gotoPosition>.

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Appendix F.4. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit de jacquard de ras i vellut amb motius florals,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1883-1889/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-de-jacquard-de-ras-i-vellut-amb-motius-florals>.

Appendix F.5. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit amb solapes i aplicacions de punta,” downloaded March 7, 2023, <http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca/prenda/1877-1882/dona/cos-de-vestit/cos-de-vestit-amb-solapes-i-aplicacions-de-punta>.

Appendix F.6. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Jaqueta de vellut morat,” downloaded March 7, 2023,
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Appendix F.8. Museu Virtual de la Moda de Catalunya, “Cos de vestit amb ratlles de vellut blanques i negres,” downloaded March 7, 2023,
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Appendix K. Maldini, “On paradigm shifts and industrial revolutions,” 105.

Appendix L. Maldini, “On paradigm shifts and industrial revolutions,” 104-105.

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Appendix P.4. Photo author, November 18, 2022.

Appendix P.5. Photo author, November 18, 2022.

Bibliography

Abbreviations:

ECZ: Erfgoedcentrum Zutphen

HGA: Haags Gemeentearchief

HUA: Het Utrechts Archief

NHA: Noord-Hollands Archief

SAA: Stadsarchief Amsterdam

SAR: Stadsarchief Rotterdam

ZICO: Collection Overijssel location Zwolle

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