

Body Doubles:

The Origins of the Fashion Mannequin

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Abstract: This article traces the origins of the mannequin and challenges the gender assumptions it has been cloaked in. In nineteenth-century Paris, the fashion mannequin became a key technology in the construction of normative bodies, a principal “actor” in shaping current clothing cultures, and literally embodied debates over creativity and commodification. It locates the origins of the mannequin and the advent of live male fashion models in the bespoke tailoring practices of the 1820s, several decades before the female fashion model appeared on the scene. It ties the mannequin to larger shifts in the mass-production, standardization, and literal dehumanization of clothing production and consumption. As male tailors were put out of business by the proliferation of mass-produced clothing in standardized sizes, innovators like Alexis Lavigne and his daughter Alice Guerre-Lavigne made, marketed, and mass-produced feminized mannequins and taught tailoring techniques to and for a new generation of women. Starting in the 1870s and 80s, seamstresses used these new workshop tools to construct and drape innovative garments. Despite the vilification of the mannequin as a cipher for the superficiality and lack of individuality of fashionable displays in the modern urban landscape, early twentieth-century couturières like Callot Soeurs and Madeleine Vionnet ultimately used mannequins to produce genuinely creative clothing that freed the elite female body and allowed it new forms of mobility.

KEYWORDS

- mannequin
- gender
- fashion
- Paris
- seamstress
- tailor

Contextual Introduction

Like garments, academic articles are largely produced “backstage” and the labour that goes into them is equally unseen. I am thrilled to finally share this essay free of charge to readers and to let it go, but it is important to me to acknowledge the hands, hearts, and minds that have been involved in its extended genesis and *début* on the public stage. I feel it is important to place “Body Doubles” in the context of the histories of my evolution as a scholar, the field of Fashion Studies, and of the launch of the inaugural issue of our journal.

“Body Doubles” was originally a chapter of my doctoral dissertation, which I completed in 2002. I would not write the same article today, nor would I now have the time to do quite the amount of archival and actual sleuthing it required. However, I have continually updated it to reflect the expanding literature in our field, and I do feel it draws on the unique richness of approaches and frameworks at our disposal as scholars of fashion. The research process involved everything from systematic digital searches for the word *mannequin* in French literary sources (in the relative infancy of such technologies), close readings of obscure images I unearthed in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris that form part of my art historical training, as well as talking to an eighty-year-old tailor in Paris and kinetically experiencing the actual studio environments and techniques of making clothing in the setting of a French fashion school. In terms of theoretical frameworks, I began with a Marxist-feminist approach and have attempted to incorporate, so to speak, some of the possibilities offered by Actor-Network Theory (ANT), if only in a preliminary manner. A peer-reviewer asked me early on whether the mannequin was an object or an idea. I can now say with conviction that it is both, and more.

In reflecting on the process of working on the mannequin, an object that literally embodies dehumanization, I concluded that my labour on it, if often angst-ridden, has been anything but alienating. In fact, working on the mannequin’s inanimate form has allowed me meet and establish strong intellectual and emotional ties to so many people and places that I’ve become more sentimentally attached to this article than any other. I am reluctant

to let go of this “actor” in my life. As a student, this work helped me grasp the mechanics of tailoring and pattern drafting when I took a summer course at the Parisian École supérieure des arts et techniques de la mode (ESMOD), the school founded in 1841 by tailor Alexis Lavigne. For my research, I was determined to access Lavigne’s papers in ESMOD’s archives, but in order to do so I had to formally enroll as a fashion student and learn his techniques, which have been passed down for over a century. It was a humbling but illuminating experience.

When it left the workshop, this research helped me get my first job. Professor Christopher Breward encouraged me to present “Body Doubles” at a conference at the London College of Fashion. I wish to express my gratitude to him — his book on the *Hidden Consumer* was a lifeline during my doctoral work. At that conference I met Professor Caroline Evans, a fellow mannequin scholar, who became a true friend and mentor. This article is dedicated to her. I also made Barbara Burman’s acquaintance, and she was instrumental in setting me on the track towards my first paid position at the Winchester School of Art in 2002. Barbara, along with Lesley Miller and Judith Attfield, were ideal mentors who revealed the manifold possibilities of the History of Dress and Textiles to me. I also want to thank Professor Valerie Steele, whose work has legitimated the field and who famously launched the journal *Fashion Theory* in 1997, just as I was writing my dissertation proposal. My thesis advisor Professor Michael Marrinan gave me essential critical feedback, and Audrey Colphon, our fashion technician at Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University) School of Fashion, patiently helped explain the utility of mannequins for draping in the studio. I also want to thank the graduate students in Ryerson’s MA Fashion program, as well as the wonderful anonymous peer-reviewers (and many friends) who gave me such helpful suggestions for improving it over the years. I’ve done my best.

The mannequin helped me on my journey from being a lonely graduate student in Art History with a love for dress and material culture to an interdisciplinary scholar able to collaborate and co-edit a new journal in the field with my friend and fellow idealist Dr. Ben Barry and an incredible international editorial board. I have learned so much from my pioneering mentors in the field of Fashion Studies and the generosity of my community of scholars, creative practitioners, and students. Thank you all.

**“Mannequin of mannequins,
and all is but mannequin!”
– J.J Grandville,
Un autre monde, 1844**

Parisian dolls enchanted Walter Benjamin, who called them the “true fairies” of the arcades.¹ In the nineteenth century, the artisans and entrepreneurs of Paris garnered a worldwide reputation for their skill in producing an astonishing, beguiling, and sometimes disturbing range of humanoid figures. Some of these bodies became children’s playthings, but professional artists had their own life-sized, often jointed “dolls.” Painters posed and dressed these pliable and pliant tools called *mannequins* in service of their art. Tailors and then dressmakers, who also required docile bodies, quickly adopted these useful *mannequins*. While the English language has specific terms to differentiate between these diverse figures, the French word *mannequin* designates artists’, tailors’, and dressmakers’ dummies as well as the live, professional fashion model. Miniature, articulated wooden people called lay-figures in English still help artists draw and paint as fashion students and designers drape and construct garments on “tailor’s dummies” or “dress forms” behind the closed doors of their studios, while their more visible brothers and sisters animate every boutique and department store in the cast-resin guise of the shop window dummy.² Finally, the word *mannequin* was and is still used to designate the live fashion model, that idealized and often emaciated figure who struts across the catwalk and scrolls down the screens of social media feeds.

As the use of one word for these multiple animate and inanimate bodies suggests, the French *mannequin* is a shape-shifter, who blurs the boundaries between death and life, female and male, and continues to populate the spaces of labour and commerce.

Yet despite the starring role mannequins continue to play in the making and selling of clothing, their history in the fashion industry is less than two hundred years old. This article attempts to trace the origins of the fashion mannequin and to challenge the gender assumptions it has been cloaked in. The mannequin was a key technology in the construction of normative bodies, a principal “actor” in shaping current clothing cultures, and literally embodied contests over creativity and commodification in nineteenth-century Paris.

In 1900, Léon Rictor published the first book on the history of the mannequin. His retrospective account completely effaced the history of the tailor’s dummy in favour of the more alluring and erotic charge of the female mannequin: “The history of the mannequin? It is the history of woman herself, not of natural woman, but of the one born of our mannered and perverse tastes, the one whose contours are determined by fashion.”³ The female mannequin has dominated historical scholarship in the field.⁴ Her uncanny presence in twentieth-century shop window displays and Surrealist art has reinforced scholarly tendencies to psychoanalyze the female mannequin and focus on her commodified, eroticized body.⁵ Drawing on frameworks informed by Marxist commodity fetishism, gender studies, and Bruno Latour’s actor-network theory (ANT), this article nuances our interpretations of material culture,

demonstrating that male mannequins are key to our understanding of how fashion envisioned and reified normative bodies. In fact, contrary to established fashion history narratives, I argue that male mannequins appeared before their female counterparts. As early as the 1820s and even more commonly during the July Monarchy (1830–48), the somewhat derogatory term *mannequin* was given to the stylish men hired by tailors to advertise their wares.⁶ This dandy-for-hire in the flesh was joined by inanimate tailors' forms and stiff, painted shop window dummies. As both artifacts and live actors, these novel tailors' *mannequins* enforced sartorial ideals of hegemonic masculinity and helped to produce revolutions in tailoring. They quickly populated spaces of fashion production and consumption and artists, writers, and critics caricatured their performances of the fashionably dressed bourgeois body. The mass feminization and production of female mannequins celebrated and reviled by Riotor did not occur until the second half of the nineteenth century, when France exported dress forms and seductive shop window dummies across the globe in millions of almost identical copies. The mannequin's radical sex change from the Romantic period to the fin-de-siècle is as remarkable as it is complex. Her proliferation occurred at a time when Paris vociferously proclaimed the Parisienne's superiority. These stereotypes of the feminized body of Parisian fashion dating from the fin-de-siècle continue to echo in popular and scholarly tropes of the mannequin today.⁷ In part, they are related to changes in the garment industry and retail sectors, but exemplify Andreas Huyssen's theoretical model, which proposes a general feminization of the commodity in mass culture during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸ It is therefore time to shift our focus to the earlier male mannequin as an equally troubling and complex site for the less visible production and consumption of masculinities.⁹

The Mannequin's Prehistory

Before embarking on a study of the nineteenth century, a short prehistory places the mannequin in context. The first and only known fashion “dolls” were female, and their role in Early Modern fashion production and dissemination still requires elucidation.¹⁰ Art historians have managed to paint a clearer picture of androgynous or masculine mannequins as artists’ “silent partners.”¹¹ By the early fifteenth century, mannequins are documented as “common tools” in artistic practice.¹² The word mannequin comes from the Middle Dutch, *mannekijn* or “little man.”¹³ These small-scale, three-dimensional, abstract, and often articulated representations of male or androgynous human bodies were ideal clotheshorses for draping and rendering fabric.¹⁴ Like fashion dolls, the origins of these body doubles are difficult to document.

Yet because of their gender and function, I believe that these painter’s “lay-figures,” rather than female fashion dolls, are the true ancestors of the first commercial dummies used specifically to design and display actual, full-scale male fashions in the nineteenth century.¹⁵

By 1694, the word had entered the dictionary of the Académie française and by the eve of the French Revolution, life-sized, articulated mannequins were fairly widespread.¹⁶ Few of these objects still exist, but a small-scale mannequin hand-crafted in the 1740s by the French sculptor Roubiliac and accompanied by an elite male and working-class female wardrobe (ca. 1750–62) survives in the collections of the Museum of London.¹⁷ The high quality of its construction and dress are evident in details like the wig crafted of human hair and the fingers, which are poseable and individually articulated [1]. By the mid-eighteenth century, the



FIGURE 1

François Roubiliac, *Articulated Artist's Lay-Figure*, Front and Back view, ca. 1740. Skeleton of bronze overlaid with cork, horsehair, wool, and an outer covering of silk stockinette, with a carved wooden and painted head. 76 cms. © Museum of London.

French had become the most prominent makers of luxury, life-sized, articulated padded *mannequins perfectionnés*, complete with silk cloth “flesh” coverings and realistic painted papier-mâché faces.¹⁸ These three-dimensional, poseable bodies could replace costly live models or wealthy sitters, obviating the need for clients to come in for lengthy posing sessions. Artists continued to use full-scale mannequins, but the nineteenth century saw this object’s relocation from the painter’s studio to the tailor’s workshop.

Mannequin Chic?

As with the lay-figure, the exact origins of the mannequin as tailor’s dummy are difficult to trace, but tailors seem to have used it to both make and sell clothing starting in the late 1820s. While the exact moment and means of this transition from artist’s to tailor’s *atelier* is not clear, the elite worlds of art, literature, and fashion constantly overlapped in early nineteenth-century Paris.¹⁹ Artists like Horace Vernet and Paul Gavarni drew fashion plates, while the best tailors, including Staub and Kleber, were considered “sculptors.” The word “chic,” which sounds like the scrawl of an artist’s pencil or the slice of a tailor’s shears, originated in the early nineteenth century as artists’ slang for an artificial but superficially elegant way of drawing and was soon applied to those who sported a dashing, tailored “look.”²⁰ The marketing of fashion and art had much in common. As Robyn Roslak argues, many Parisian artists “produced their canvases for sale in the open marketplace,” were paid by the piece, and “supplied the few with luxury.”²¹ The nineteenth century saw the same shift from bespoke tailoring for the wealthy few towards suits made in advance for the open market, transforming many men’s subjective and embodied experiences of dress and dressing.

Extravagantly decorated, colourful elite men’s dress in the Ancien Régime transitioned into the severe, black bourgeois suit of the later nineteenth century. The emphasis of nineteenth-century tailors was on perfect cut and fit: they literally sculpted their clients’ bodies with woollen broadcloth, steaming the fabric and shaping it with buckram linings to mould it perfectly to the male form. In order to create what Anne Hollander calls these “heroes

in wool,”²² the human body had to be measured with meticulous precision. In previous centuries, exact measurement had been reserved for expensive cloth; tailors simply cut notches in pieces of paper to mark the bodily dimensions of each individual client.²³ The final garment was then adjusted on the client’s body during several fitting sessions.

After the French Revolution, the newly invented metric system or *mètre révolutionnaire* attempted to replace the bodycentric, highly regionalized, and aristocratic Ancien Régime system that included measurements like *pouces* or thumbs (inches in the Imperial system), used the “*pied du Roi*” or “King’s foot” as a standard, and allowed local nobles to set their own measures for tithes of taxable goods. Postrevolutionary scientists attempted to make measurement a more rational, universal, and “democratic” process with the decimal system.²⁴ In his comprehensive article on standardizing nineteenth-century French bodies and clothing in “industrial sizes,” Manuel Charpy describes how quickly this mathematical turn influenced tailoring systems and practices.²⁵ During the first half of the nineteenth century, master tailors vied with each other in their patenting of measuring apparatuses and their publication of new geometric cutting methods. They produced instruments like Beck’s *costumomètre* (1819), Sylvestre’s *corsage mécanique* (1829), and Delas’ *somatomètre* or body-metre (1839).²⁶ Mathematical abstraction became the norm in clothing construction, as flat pattern drafting and “geometrical” tailoring techniques began to take over from embodied, intimate interactions and traditional methods of draping cloth directly on the body of the client.

It was difficult to transfer complex garments made from two-dimensional patterns onto three-dimensional bodies without making errors. As suit jackets became increasingly complex in cut and construction in the early nineteenth century, the mannequin became an essential working tool.

In the art world, mannequins helped artists translate the three-dimensional, clothed bodies of their sitters onto the flat, two-dimensional surface of the canvas.

The fashion mannequin reversed this dynamic, allowing the tailor to take a flat, two-dimensional pattern and bring it to life on the three-dimensional body of the mannequin. These opposing creative processes meant that most manufacturers of artist's lay figures begin to advertise separately from those who sold mannequins to tailors and dressmakers.²⁷ Yet the 1900 directory of Parisian commerce lists several manufacturers, including Stockman and Merle, who continued to market and sell to both the garment industry and artists.²⁸

Like the lay-figure before it, in theory the tailor's dummy dispensed with the need for busy bourgeois clients to "sit" for lengthy fittings. However, even in the nineteenth century, high-end tailors who made suits for the elite did not rely as heavily on standardized tailor's dummies. Wealthy clients who did not want to come in repeatedly could have individualized, bespoke mannequins sculpted to their precise measurements. By contrast, the harried working-class customer of the nineteenth century wanted his clothing immediately. While readymade clothing had long existed for the working classes, a new breed of entrepreneur in the first half of the nineteenth century responded to consumer demand for the rapid production of more fitted, elegant suits. On the lower end of the scale, block figures proved invaluable for the *confectionneur*, or ready-made clothing entrepreneur. These men took the scaled, geometric patterns so lovingly invented by the bespoke tailor and turned them into garments in standardized sizes for the mass market. According to Charpy, however, the popularity of clothing in fixed sizes encountered "multiple cultural resistance[s]" because "they were established for 'dominated' people and colonial subjects who usually were part of administrations: children, prisoners, boarders, or soldiers."²⁹

Tailor's dummies were rarely illustrated because they were functional tools used in the relative secrecy of the tailor's workshop. The earliest depiction I have found of a mannequin in use suggests that it was linked to the production of ready-made clothing. Based on the cut of the suits in the image, the anonymous pen and ink drawing dates to circa 1826–9 and shows two tailors absorbed in their work [2]. Bolts of cloth line the walls of a room illuminated by

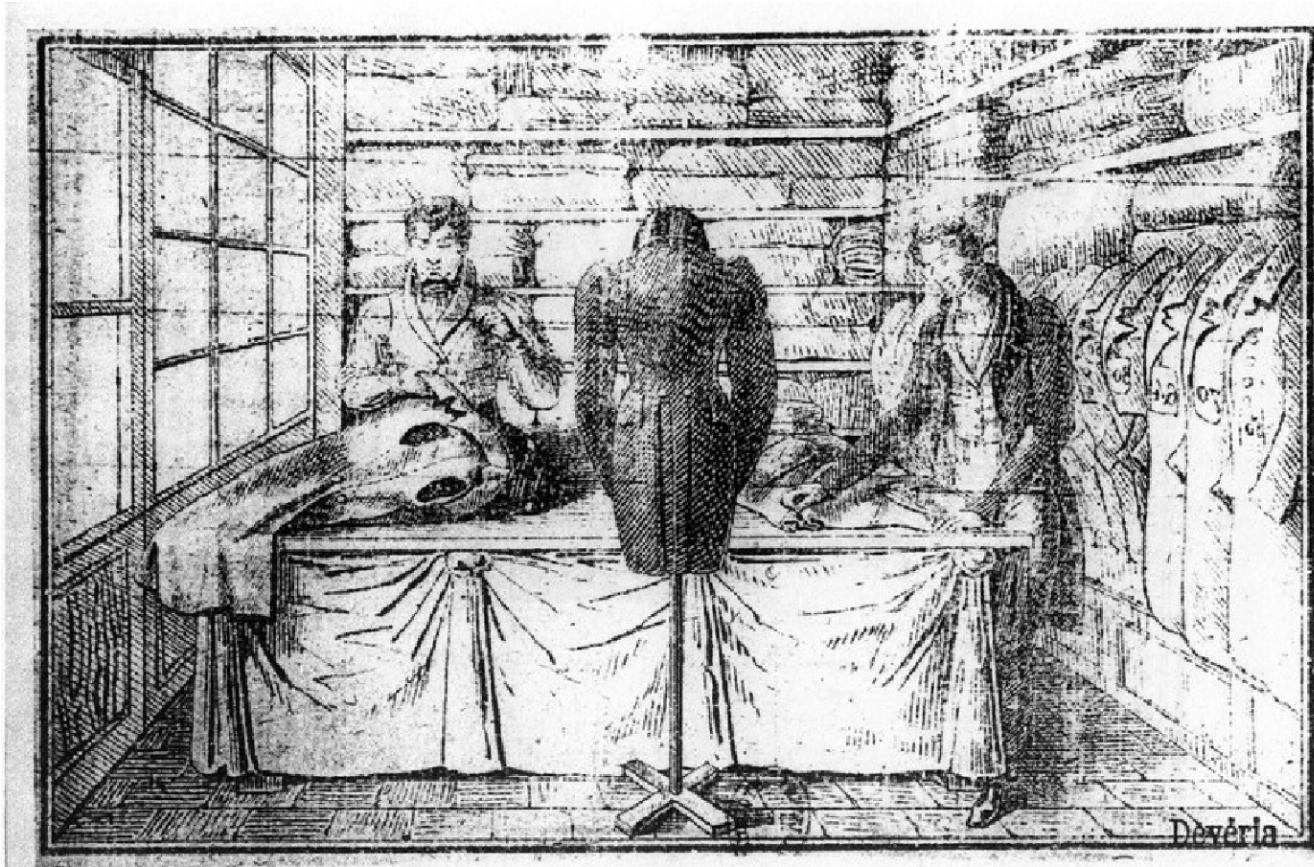


FIGURE 2

A tailor's dummy in the workshop, ca. 1826–9. Pen and ink. Paris: Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

one large window on the left. The standing tailor on the right cuts out cloth from one of these bolts, while his companion, whose knees are mostly concealed under the still sleeveless jacket draped over them, plies his needle, pad-stitching lapels. This tailor sits on his workbench, hunched over in a traditional cross-legged position still called *en tailleur* in French. Both tailors are stylishly dressed and coiffed, as one would expect of fashion professionals. A dummy dressed in a form-fitting jacket presides somewhat imperiously over their work. The headless but seemingly embodied garment occupies the centre of the image, where it “stands” with its back to us. Presumably it is being used as a three-dimensional visual template for the tailors or to check the fit and hang of the finished garment. There is a row of completed frock and cutaway coats strangely floating on the right with numbers pinned to them, suggesting several possibilities. Perhaps these are garments made in standardized sizes for anonymous customers, rather than pieces that were bespoke or “spoken for” by individual clients, or they could be order numbers for individual clients, who may have designated numerically rather than by name, providing us with an idea of the scale of the operation.

This visual evidence of the tailor’s dummy in use dates to the late 1820s. Written evidence appears in the trade literature with relative frequency during the period of the July Monarchy (1830–48). In 1839, the *Journal des Marchands-Tailleurs* announced the advent of “another” tailor’s dummy:

Another mechanical-mannequin of new invention has appeared in Paris. It is, they say, extremely useful for tailors, because they can try all sorts of garments on this apparatus... [and] are able to assure themselves in advance whether or not they will have to retouch each item...³⁰

While at first glance this piece seems to be a promotional blurb, professional journals like this one provide ambivalent accounts of the actual usefulness of the stiff, abstracted, “mechanical” body of the tailor’s dummy, which could not adequately reproduce the constantly mobile and yielding flesh and varying postures of the “real” body of the client. Regardless of its shortcomings, by mid-century it had joined shears, paper patterns, and the tape measure as an essential tool in the workshop of the tailor and the clothing entrepreneur.

New Actors

As the 1820s dummy “supervising” workers and the “spring mounted” apparatus of the 1830s suggest, the mannequin was not merely an inert thing — it wielded a power of its own over human actors. In actor-network theory (ANT), which aims to dissolve the boundaries between human and non-human “actors,” mannequins become part of an “assemblage” in the tailor’s workroom and “actively construct and perform the world they apparently describe.”³¹ ANT, which originally used an ethnographic methodology to analyze how forms of knowledge were constructed by the tools and scientists in a laboratory setting, could equally apply to the relationships produced by and through the tailor’s workshop, tools, mannequins, and customers. Though it is not often applied to fashion history, ANT shows potential in exploring exactly how often overlooked objects like mannequins worked as a technology in the garment industry. In Jane Bennett’s words, an actor “is that which *does* something, has sufficient coherence to perform actions, produce effects, and alter situations.”³² The mannequin changed the way cloth and humans interacted with the body through a normative and standardized intermediary, altering or sometimes even replacing the fleshly and personalized interaction between tailor or dressmaker and individual client. As the 1820s drawing implies, the mannequin’s body now humorously seems to be “directing operations,” producing two glaring absences in the assemblages typical of earlier tailoring practice.

The master tailor and his client are no longer present, nor are they involved in the intimate dialogue that was necessary to produce an elegant suit of clothes. This omission may seem minor, but it heralds a shift in the embodied, physical, and emotional relationship between maker and client.

It enabled the mass-production of garments, which has bequeathed us an often-bitter legacy of alienated labour, unhappy consumers, and ill-fitting and environmentally deleterious fast fashion.

Narcissistic Mannequins

The tailor's "block" or dummy and its brother produced for retail display arose in parallel during the first decades of the nineteenth century. A men's fashion journal appropriately named *Le Narcisse* advertised torsos with lifelike heads in 1831: "Men's busts for the use of tailors, executed using a new process... These busts, whose precision and elegance is combined with their usefulness for trying on garments, add to the decoration of the most elegant salons or boutiques."³³ While these busts are sold interchangeably for either "trying on garments" or "decorating" boutiques, the marketing material focuses on their suitability as display mannequins: for six extra francs, the maker could add an enameled head and eyes, conjuring a lifelikeness that would be an unnecessary extravagance in a simple, headless tailor's block.

Unlike the artist's mannequin or tailor's dummy, which was concealed in his *atelier*, shop window mannequins like the ones in *Le Narcisse* advertised men's clothing in increasingly lavish spectacles of retail display. Urban space was redefined during the 1830s and 1840s as a space for leisurely visual enjoyment and consumption.³⁴

Mannequins were a new element of the spectacle and writers and caricaturists were quick to comment on these sometimes-disturbing commodities inhabiting the equally novel spaces of the Parisian arcades.

In his *Physiologie du tailleur* (1841), the dandy Roger de Beauvoir observed scornfully that in order to pay their high rents "Almost all the tailors in the *passages* display a dressed mannequin at the door" and sell "stunning" dressing gowns made of expensive Lyons silk, as well as flashy gold and silver waistcoats to seduce provincial beaux.³⁵ In Honoré de Balzac's 1843 novel *Illusions perdues*, the hero is insulted by a true dandy when he appears at the Opéra in a readymade outfit purchased on the Rue de Richelieu. Tellingly, the dandy leans over to his friend and asks dismissively: "who is that young man who looks like a clothed mannequin in front of a tailor's door?"³⁶ These tailor's shops in the arcades were a part of Paris' commercial geography, which allowed the bourgeoisie to stroll day or night, untroubled by carriages splattering their clothing. By the 1820s, developments in the production of plate glass ensured that the newest arcades were fitted with elaborate shop windows and mirrors.³⁷ When lit by flickering gaslight, these pyrotechnics produced an almost hallucinatory effect, engineered to foster the illusory link between the dressed bodies of the mannequins and the male consumers gazing at them. The title of the publication *Le Narcisse* suggests the two-dimensional fashion plate's role in

reflecting the admiring and potentially homoerotic gaze of its readers. In a process of self-reification, the generic but three-dimensional body of the blank-featured mannequin encouraged a potential "Narcissus" to imagine his own body inside the clothes on display, if not to waste away while contemplating the beauty of his own reflection.

This blurring between animate and inanimate bodies points to a more generalized reification and rationalization of the fashionable male body in consumer culture. Historians like Margot Finn have demonstrated that sophisticated marketing devices, including those aimed at male shoppers, existed earlier and in other geographical locales during the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century.³⁸ In England, an Early Modern "gentry" masculinity that was not premised upon rational calculation was replaced by more "calculative, rational, and regulated masculinities."³⁹ Both David Kuchta and Christopher Breward have explored the advent of the sober suit from seventeenth century onwards as "an appropriate badge" of both "reformed aristocrats and newly emancipated capitalists."⁴⁰ The advent of standardized, geometrically tailored suits and their accompanying mannequins was one of the final phases of this trend towards masculine quantification and restraint.

While the practical tailor's bust had a clear use value in the Marxist sense, shop window dummies and fashion models were always-already commodities and can be read as literal embodiments of exchange value and alienated labour.

Alongside the regulation and rationalization of masculine codes of dress, behaviour, and consumption, there was a growing awareness of the potential for visual and sexual objectification of the tailored body as it navigated public and commercial spaces.

A vaudeville from 1826, *Orthopaedics, or the Tailor for Hunchbacks* satirizes the profession of male fashion modelling.⁴¹ One of the central characters is Hector, formerly an artist's model, whose classicizing name suggests his physical perfection. The script describes him as a "mannequin, model for fashions." In the play, his employer, the tailor Dubelair (whose French name translates into English as the "tailor of the beautiful look") hires him to show off eccentric outfits that will "turn the heads of Dandies and Fashionables." Hector enters singing: "Brilliant model, faithful mirror, I sparkle with light and fire! I wander [vogue] everywhere, setting the vogue, for the new looks in the catalogue."⁴² Instructed to stroll in public parks like the Jardin des Tuileries, his dress and demeanour were meant to attract new clients. He would then name his tailor, note the client's address, and send a tailor's employee to take his measurements. Like artist's models, called *modèles* or sometimes "*mannequins vivants*," the fashion model had to be physically attractive to drum up business. Yet whether they worked for artists or tailors, their profession consisted of hiring out their bodies, making their class status ambiguous: they had to be elegant enough to appeal to dandies and poor enough to require a wage. Although they appear in a variety of literary accounts, early fashion modelling is a difficult practice to document archivally. However, the proliferation of sources describing the male *mannequin de mode* during the July Monarchy suggests that this was at least a small-scale practice from the 1820s through the 1840s.⁴³

In 1844, Jean-Jacques Grandville published the illustrated volume *Another World*, a satirical voyage through a universe that paralleled contemporary Parisian society. Grandville critiqued the new advertising practice of displaying real garments on figurative representations by animating these anthropomorphic objects [3]:

What do I see on the road? Laced buskins out walking, canes holding their heads high and giving their arms to ladies' bonnets. Boots walking jauntily with their hats tipped over one ear: this is an extension of the same system. Tailors, hat-makers, bootmakers, milliners, have found a way to do away with the man whom they used as a living signboard. Advertisement has improved itself by becoming simpler.⁴⁴



FIGURE 3

Un voyage d'avril, from Jean-Jacques Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 1844. Paris: H. Fournier. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

Grandville's narrator comments ironically on the cost saving "improvement" of advertising practice. The accessories in this image are an uncanny presence: they replace the body with the objects it wears, raising the spectre of the commodity fetishism Karl Marx later denounced in *Capital*, whereby social relations were reified and replaced by relationships between objects.⁴⁵ It would seem that by the 1840s, some tailors, who once had intimate, tactile interactions with clients, employed live models and then substituted them with shop window dummies. By the 1860s, male playwrights like Auguste Luchet were lamenting the dehumanizing effect of this new regime and the loss of his personal relationship with his tailor: "One is no longer a client, one is a size eighty! A hundred vestimentary factories are leading us towards the absolute and indifferent uniform."⁴⁶ As the trouser suit became the emblem of this democratization during the July Monarchy and tailoring systems based on geometric abstraction enshrined the scientific and political notion of the "homme moyen," the mannequin's passively dressed form stood as a further symbol of bourgeois men's alienation from their bodies. Elizabeth Wilson observes that fear of depersonalization, often expressed through worries about uniformity in dress, haunts modern societies.⁴⁷

Despite Luchet's perceptions that he was a number rather than a person, these innovations were often made with the best of socially progressive intentions. One entrepreneurial master tailor, Alexis Lavigne, (1812–80) made a commercial success of democratizing fashionable clothing. A tailor, instructor, and inventor, he was a skillful self-promoter who wrote cutting manuals and invented and patented numerous products.⁴⁸ In 1849, Lavigne, who dubbed himself a "*tailleur-mannequinier*," was awarded a medal for his "busts for tailors" at the tenth Industrial Exhibition in Paris.⁴⁹ Paris had long been famous as a centre for the Beaux-Arts and the luxury trades, but as urban historians like Andre Guillerme remind us, the final decades of the eighteenth century saw Paris transformed into an increasingly important site of industrial production as well.⁵⁰ Lavigne's career trajectory in the garment and mannequin industries illustrates an important shift in the gendering and proliferation of mannequins.

Sex Changes: The Female Mannequin

Simple female mannequins had existed alongside male tailor's dummies in the first half of the nineteenth century but unlike the more lifelike male display mannequin, they were often schematic structures fashioned from wicker or wire and made by basket weavers or tinsmiths.⁵¹ Middle and upper-class women purchased fabrics and brought them to their dressmakers for making-up rather than buying them readymade. After the elite luxury of some Ancien Régime Parisian boutiques with female display mannequins,⁵² retail display for women's clothing in the first half of the century was somewhat rudimentary and based on draping whole lengths of cloth or shawls for effect. The live fashion model, often called a *demoiselle-mannequin* to distinguish her from her male counterparts, appeared in the context of luxury silk draper's shops. Unlike the men hired by tailors to walk around in public, the female model only plied her trade in relatively private retail settings for exclusive clients. The first named female model is usually considered to be Marie Worth, who became the wife of the first haute couture designer Charles Frederick Worth. He met her while she worked as a shop girl during the late 1850s, modelling his designs.⁵³ Other couturiers seem to have quietly adopted the practice of hiring several house models to display couture garments and staging early fashion shows, called *mannequin-parades*. By 1900, Riotor claimed that mannequin makers were basing their products on casts taken directly from the elegant bodies of these *filles-mannequins*, thus conflating the bodies of the live model and the shop window dummy and revealing the originally masculine connotations of the term.⁵⁴ The turn of the century, the period at which Riotor was feminizing the history of the mannequin as "artificial" woman, was also the apogee of mimetic realism in mannequin design. Pierre Imans achieved worldwide fame for his eerily lifelike wax mannequins with glass eyes and real hair. In his 1907 catalogue, he sold them by first name like dolls or prostitutes, who were not afforded the honour of being titled Mademoiselle or Madame. By this point, the commodification of the female mannequin and her conflation with the prostitute was a common trope, as explored by Caroline Evans in *The Mechanical Smile: Modernism and the First Fashion Shows in France and America, 1900–1929*.⁵⁵

How did this transition occur in the mid-nineteenth century? The rise of ready-made clothing in the menswear sector put many custom tailors out of business and encouraged others to turn to a new clientele: women.

Tailors, who were trained to work with heavy irons and woollen cloth, had traditionally been responsible for making riding habits for horsewomen, but these items formed only a small part of their trade. Female dressmakers worked with lighter, more feminine fabrics like silk and cotton and did not use elaborate pattern-drafting techniques in the first half of the century. With the rise in popularity of sport amongst the bourgeoisie, the horsewoman, called an *Amazone* in French, took on a new importance. The beauty of the riding habit relied on fit rather than feminine decorations, fabrics, or colours and sculpturally molded the curves of the female body.⁵⁷ On a broader level, this form of dress feminized the techniques of geometric abstraction that had long existed in the tailoring trade. Winnifred Aldrich cites the second half of the 1850s as the period when tailors start systematically using scaled pattern systems for cutting women's jacket patterns.⁵⁸

In step with these developments, the entrepreneurial Alexis Lavigne began to advertise himself as a "Tailleur pour Dames". He opened shop at number 3, rue de Rohan in 1857.⁵⁹ Lavigne's business was located in the fashionable area between the Rue de Rivoli and Rue Saint-Honoré, near the Comédie Française and the Louvre. Most importantly, it was close to the Tuileries Palace, principal residence of Emperor Napoleon III and his wife, Eugénie. The Empress, who had a personal stable of some twenty horses, passionately loved both riding and fashion.⁶⁰ The master tailor was appointed *amazonier* or habit-maker to the Second Empire court and to the Empress herself.

Along with the *costumes amazones* he advertised, made-to-measure busts became an important part of Lavigne's business and marketing strategies. The Empress herself owned several of Lavigne's customized busts to avoid wrinkles when storing her dresses.⁶¹ By this time he had moved up the street to 15, rue de Richelieu, the centre of the tailoring trade in Paris. A sales prospectus for these busts from Lavigne's publication *Journal de l'Habillement* (1868) [4] illustrates how this aspect of his early trade in women's busts intersected with his expertise in making customized riding habits. The image depicts the horsewoman's



FIGURE 4

Alexis Lavigne, *Sales Prospectus for Riding Habits and Custom-made Busts*, ca. 1868. Paris: Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

metamorphosis into mannequin and then woman of fashion. On the left, the fully-dressed *amazone* wears a riding habit. A bust with the initials L.V. or Lavigne stamped on the skirt takes centre stage. At the far right of the lithograph stands a woman wearing a princess-line pinstriped day dress. These mannequins were not made in great quantities at first. However, by 1900 Lavigne's firm was making much less expensive standardized models and sales figures had risen exponentially to over thirty thousand busts annually.⁶² With their blank expressions and identical features, the women in Lavigne's advertisement resemble mannequins, ready to be dressed in different garments. Between them sits the mute bust, blurring the distinction between inanimate and animate woman, between bodies and their doubles. The image encourages female consumers to identify their own bodies with the busts and to imagine themselves judging the visual effect of their dresses as a third party would, by seeing themselves in the round.

Although this prospectus is aimed at a wealthy female consumer with the space to display her clothing at home, the bust had even more obvious uses for makers of women's clothing. Like the increasingly complex cut of men's coats in the first decades of the nineteenth century, women's bodice styles in the 1870s and 1880s became increasingly fitted and were often inspired by menswear styles. From about 1865 to the 1890s, there was a boom in the publication of technical books, aids, and methods of cutting and pattern drafting aimed at teaching tailoring techniques to female dressmakers.⁶³ Alice Guerre-Lavigne followed in her father's footsteps as a teacher of tailoring techniques for and then by women, and her lessons used mannequins as basic instructional tools. From 1885 to her death in 1924, she and her husband published a professional journal entitled *L'Art dans le costume*, and she wrote for many other fashion publications.⁶⁴ In the inaugural issue she proclaimed that Parisian seamstresses derived their superiority from the fact that they had a complete set of mannequins.⁶⁵ While the French journal celebrates the ability of the Parisian couturiere to "set the line" of fashion, it is also blatant self-promotion and advertises a series of seven scaled Lavigne dress forms, from size 38 for slender young women or girls to size 50 for matrons.⁶⁶ Competitors also entered the expanding market for these invaluable objects. In 1869 Frédéric Stockman, a Belgian sculptor turned mannequin-maker, launched his own company in

Paris and truly industrialized the process of their production.⁶⁷ By the 1880s these mute body doubles had become indispensable tools of the trade and took up residence in the homes and studios of professional and home dressmakers. One commentator describing the products of the 1889 Paris World's Fair noted that "there is hardly a homemaker who does not have her bust, the almost obligatory accessory to the sewing machine."⁶⁸

The factory production of mannequins translated into a substantial reduction in their cost: a bust that cost 45 francs in 1867 sold for a mere 12 francs in 1900.⁶⁹ Alice Guerre-Lavigne complained in 1885 that while Paris had formerly been the only city where one could purchase busts, increasing international competition was coming from Germany and America, who were "stealing this product."⁷⁰ Although common soldiers had long been subject to the tyranny of standardized sizes, the proliferation of both mass-produced mannequins and jackets soon had a psychological impact on female consumers.

They began to internalize a system familiar to us in the twenty-first century — the novel fact that their body size corresponded to a numeric measurement.

"Yes, nowadays the mannequin has entered into our mores. — 'I am a 42, a 44' — that number which indicates the half-measure of the bust! — says the amazon."⁷¹

As with the tailor's dummy, the dress form helped dressmakers translate two-dimensional patterns into three-dimensional garments. Yet as women's clothing from the 1870s and 1880s illustrates, the dress form was used in even more innovative and creative ways by dressmakers than tailors (5). Pattern drafting and draping are now considered diametrically opposed forms of clothing construction: one is based on flat paper patterns and the other uses the body of the mannequin to work directly in the round.

Dressmakers with this versatile new tool at their disposal could use it both for pattern-drafting bodices and draping skirts. Skirts worn over the crinolines of the 1850 and 1860s featured elaborate surface decoration and patterns that struck the eye in new, full-length carte-de-visite photographs, but actual skirt construction was relatively simple and linear. The skirts covering the bustle styles of the 1870s and 1880s achieved visual interest through more freeform, asymmetrical, and sculptural techniques of draping and pinning, effects that were enabled by the advent of the mannequin in the late 1860s. The dress form arose in tandem with innovations in the technology of support garments, including steam-moulded corsets, which produced more standardized silhouettes for the fashionable female body.⁷² The corseted, contained shape of the mannequin's three-dimensional body could be attired in a wire bustle and the seamstress could study the fall and drape of the fabric in order to create the skirt silhouette she desired. Just like the feminized body derived from the male mannequin, an 1885 dress by Madame Tridou becomes a hybrid of masculine and feminine cut, construction, and fabrics [5]:

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O117701/dress-tridou-madame/>

FIGURE 5

(available at the above URL)

**Madame Cridon, *Day Dress with fitted bodice and draped skirt*, 1885.
Brown wool and silk. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.**

The silk-lined lapels and false waistcoat allude to menswear while volumetric skirts and the exaggerated shelf bustle emphasize the roundness of the female buttocks. The upper body was constructed through pattern drafting and its lower half through draping, while the whole dress rhythmically alternates matte masculine wool with the sheen of feminine silk.

“That hideous machine with a human form”

Like her male counterpart, the female shop window dummy soliciting customers in the large plate-glass windows of the new department stores garnered the most literary and visual attention. These bodies on the newly fashionable boulevards of Haussmann’s Paris replaced the display mannequins standing outside of traditional tailoring establishments in the arcades. Émile Zola famously described the *étalage* of mannequins in the 1883 novel *Au Bonheur des Dames*, set in the late 1860s, but James Tissot’s canvas *The Shopgirl (La demoiselle de magasin)*, painted between 1883–5 as part of a series on the women of Paris, is one of the representations of a shop window dummy in a painting [6].⁷³ In the



FIGURE 6

James Tissot, *La Demoiselle de magasin*, c. 1883–5. Oil on canvas, overall: 146.1 x 101.6 cm. Gift from Corporations' Subscription Fund, 1968. © 2018 Art Gallery of Ontario.

glass window of a shop selling ribbons and trimmings, the artist has placed a headless and limbless female bust clothed in what looks like burgundy velvet elaborately embroidered with gold thread.⁷⁴ There are in fact three torsos in the picture, the two shop girls and the dummy. Their busts are identical in shape and size, and could easily be the same body seen from the side, back, and front respectively, a standard device in fashion-plate iconography. These women resemble one another, they are “types” cast from the same mould. The image implies that the corseted shop girl and the mannequin are sisters — the gaze of the male stroller looking through the window suggests that both bodies are potentially for sale. As the naturalist writer Alexandre Hepp lamented in an article written in the same year as Tissot’s work, contemporary Parisian women seemed increasingly mannequin-like:

On your arm, you have a woman who seems superior to all others... and suddenly, as you turn a corner, you encounter another woman — who resembles yours “like a sister.” They are in effect daughters of the same mannequin... That elegance you thought unique is churned out in a hundred thousand copies, illustrated in a catalogue and shipped, postage paid, to the ends of the earth.⁷⁵

The mannequin proved an easy target for expressions of disgust with new forms of commodity culture like the “unoriginal” and standardized clothing on sale in department stores. Hepp’s commentary echoes larger anxieties during the 1880s and 1890s over the commercial and aesthetic decline of the Parisian luxury trades in the face of increasing foreign competition from American and German industrialists.⁷⁶

Because of its links with science and technological progress, the artificial/mechanical body of the male mannequin found easier acceptance than its female counterpart as a mass-produced, clearly “unnatural” product of industry.

While the tailor’s dummy could still be considered a rationalized, practical tool of the trade, male commentators from Riotor to Benjamin consistently eroticized the female mannequin, or “wommanequin,” as Hillel Schwartz calls her, eliding the difference between cloth and female flesh, between practical and sexual object in a period that also saw the invention of “Parisian rubber articles,” which were lifelike sex dolls.⁷⁷

Elegance in Effigy

Julie Parks argues that Enlightenment fashion dolls “emblemize the more ontological issues of how consumer societies confuse the distinction between ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ selfhood, thus throwing into question the viability of a ‘real’ self.”⁷⁸ Likewise, during the July Monarchy, the mannequin became a cipher for the superficiality of elite society and the potential for confusion between real and imagined personae. Since the time of Rousseau, critics had railed against fashion’s artifice, which is featured in Charles Philippon’s scathingly humorous caricature of 1830 in the journal *La Silhouette* [7]. “Les Fashionables” are male and female versions of the same

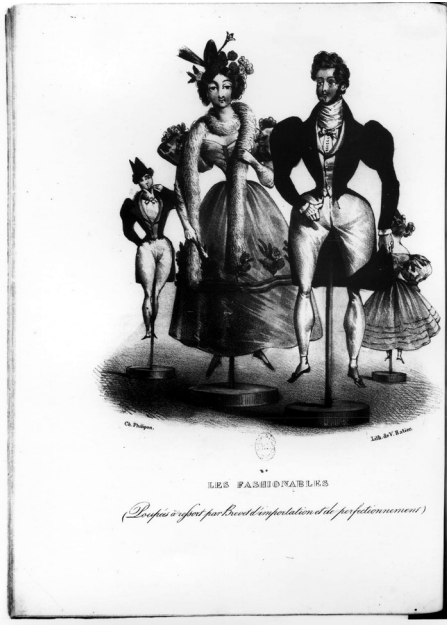


FIGURE 7

Charles Philippon, "Les fashionables,"
from *La Silhouette*, February 11th, 1830.
Paris: Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque
Nationale de France.

doll. Of equal height, they have the same cinched waists, overdone hairstyles, and gigot sleeves. The couple has spawned not children but smaller-scale imitations of themselves:

The Fashionables are spring-mounted dolls that drink, eat and act like natural humans. These little machines, modeled after the very type of ideal beauty, are astonishingly perfect...You can see them daily between the hours of three and four at the Tuileries Gardens without paying an entrance fee... Fashionables can be installed in any parlour where they are desired.⁷⁹

Dressed mannequins and fashion dolls taunted contemporaries with the fear that in the modern city, beauty might only be cloth-deep.

In a chapter entitled "Just like Longchamps," Grandville takes up this theme. Longchamps was a racetrack in Paris where the wealthy rode on horseback and in carriages to show off the latest fashions. In this alternate yet familiar universe, the narrator encounters a carriageway devoid of upper-class humans. The only live beings are animals and servants [8]. In this world where clothing is more important than the people wearing it, Grandville's frustrated narrator finds his vision obscured and the bodies of the wealthy replaced by plaster, wood, or wax *sosies* or body doubles:

Try as I might to peer past the blinds of carriage windows, I can only catch glimpses of wigs or hats on wooden heads. In some of them, there are mannequins dressed with the most studied elegance and the greatest luxury. It seems that in this country the fashion is to have oneself replaced in public promenades by body doubles (*sosies*) made out of plaster, wood or wax. Elegance is created in effigy... And indeed what good is the rest of the person? One only goes there to look at the clothes. It was while pondering the solemnities of fashion, that the prophet cried out: Mannequin of mannequins, and all is but mannequin!⁸⁰



FIGURE 8

Comme à Longchamps from Jean-Jacques Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 1844. Paris: H. Fournier. Courtesy Toronto Public Library.

While Grandville's satire is aimed at the idle rich, immobile men and women who pose stylishly as they are driven along in their luxuriously appointed carriages, the gender dynamic of this cultural critique metamorphoses along with the feminization of the mannequin itself. Alexandre Hepp's vilification of the department store mannequin in the 1880s echoes tropes surrounding the commodification of the fashionable female body in fin-de-siècle Paris:

The Mannequin has killed summer's froufrous, its sprightly allure and grace, and menaces the whole art of fashion. The Mannequin, that hideous machine with a human form, which stands at attention the length of the rooms of the Louvre, the Bon Marché, Printemps, in front of the facades on street corners, on sidewalks, its grey carcass stuffed with bran, a number scribbled in ink in place of a heart.⁸¹

The nineteenth century's swift adoption and acceptance of the mannequin as functional tool for making clothing stands in stark contrast with its disparagement of the mannequin used to sell it.

While male critics of capitalism saw in the mannequin a soulless manifestation of the commodity fetish, as a functional tool it helped tailors and dressmakers produce and sell the fashionable facades that were a necessary if contested part of living in modern cities.

Far from “menacing the whole art of fashion,” this three-dimensional body double provided the necessary technology for late nineteenth-century dressmakers like Madame Tridou to drape skirts in unique and individualized ways.

Walter Benjamin and the Surrealists took up the theme of the female mannequin as carcass or corpse in the early twentieth century.⁸² These inert bodies were then free to serve as artist’s muses, as projections for the sexual fantasies of the Surrealists. By the first half of the twentieth century, the eroticized female mannequin became what Hillel Schwartz calls the “enabling fiction” for a new generation of writers, philosophers, photographers, and painters.⁸³ Yet while male writers and artists eroticized and reconfigured, even traumatized her prefabricated body as a spur for their creativity, female designers and dressmakers continued to employ her body to create new objects for women in different but no less innovative ways. The mannequin allowed early twentieth-century couturières like the four female designers Callot Soeurs to conceive, shape, and fashion clothing into radically different designs and structures [9], but because their creativity resulted in commercially successful garments like this draped evening dress rather than “high” art, their creativity has been underappreciated in the historical record.



FIGURE 9

Left: Callot Soeurs dress (1915-16). Purchase, Irene Lewisohn Bequest, 1951. Accession no. C.I.51.97.2a, b. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Right: Callot Evening Gown (ca. 1915). Photograph by Philippe Ortiz. Control no. 2002714470. George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress.



Using the mannequin, Callot Soeurs and others trained a new generation of groundbreaking and socially progressive female couturières like Madeleine Vionnet (1876–1975), who eschewed pattern drafting altogether and used these techniques to drape the entire body in bias-cut clothing that allowed women to move freely [10]. An iconic photograph shows Vionnet working with her “half-size” 80cm *mannequine*, a term that suggests that its owner deliberately re-feminized it.⁸⁴ In the couture house, the



FIGURE 10

Thérèse Bonney, *Madeleine Vionnet and her mannequin* (ca. 1923–6). BANC PIC 1982.111 ser. 15. Thérèse Bonney Photograph Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

mannequin's ties to "art" were re-established. Yet while painters had used their lay-figures as mere clotheshorses, the fashion mannequin helped to change the entire process of creating first men's and then women's clothing over the course of a century. From a tool that helped tailors translate two-dimensional patterns onto a three-dimensional body, it became the means through which radically new forms of women's clothing could be draped and sculpted without the use of patterns at all. The immobile bodies of shop window dummies posing in perfect, uncreased suits may have created "elegance in effigy," yet in the hands of skilled makers of clothing, the mannequin could also be used as a blank, three-dimensional canvas to transform flat, inanimate cloth into sculptural forms on live bodies in motion.

Endnotes

¹ W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, Trans. H. Eiland and K. McLaughlin, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, (Z1, 2), 2002, p. 694.

² At the School of Fashion where I teach, they are familiarly known as “Judies” and “Jimmies” for female and male forms respectively.

³ “L’histoire du mannequin? C’est l’histoire de la femme elle-même, non pas celle de la nature, celle de nos goûts maniérés ou pervers, celle aux lignes figées par la mode.” Riotor in *Le mannequin*, p. 29.

⁴ C. Evans, “Masks, Mirrors, and Mannequins: Elsa Schiaparelli and the Decentered Subject,” *Fashion Theory*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1999, p. 3-32; S. K. Schneider, *Vital Mummies: Performance Design for the Shop Window Mannequin*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; U. Lehmann, “Stripping Her Bare: the Mannequin in Surrealism,” in *Addressing the Century: 100 Years of Art & Fashion*, London: Hayward Gallery, 1998; T. Grönberg, “Beware the Beautiful Women: the 1920s Shopwindow Mannequin and a Physiognomy of Effacement,” *Art History*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1997, p. 375-96; L. Conor, “The Mannequin in the Commodity Scene” in *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004, p. 105-28; V. Osborne, “The Logic of the Mannequin: Shopwindows and the Realist Novel,” in J. Potvin, ed., *The Places and Spaces of Fashion, 1800–2007*, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 186-99; E. R. Klug, “Mannequins and Display in America, 1935–70,” in J. Potvin, ed., *The Places and Spaces of Fashion, 1800–2007*, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 200-13; E. Marshall Orr, J. Yuzna, M. Russell, *Ralph Pucci: The Art of the Mannequin*, New York: Museum of Arts and Design, 2015. Lou Taylor has also discussed its history and use in fashion museum displays, *The Study of Dress History*, Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2002, p. 26-47.

⁵ K. Miller, *Doubles; Studies in Literary History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; S. Freud, *The Uncanny*, Trans. David McLintock, New York: Penguin, 2003.

⁶ In France, professional male and female models are still called *mannequins*. The first live fashion shows were called “mannequin parades” in English.

⁷ V. Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, 3rd edition, London: Bloomsbury, 2017; A. Rocamora, *Fashioning the City: Paris, Fashion and the Media*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

⁸ A. Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. See also J. Munro, “Vivified Commodities: Paris and the Development of the Fashion Mannequin,” Chapter 9 of *Silent Partners*, p. 167-89.

⁹ L. Riotor, *Le mannequin*, Paris: Bibliothèque Artistique et Littéraire, 1900, p. 96.

¹⁰ In her book on fashion dolls, Juliet Peers states that most of the sources on the history of fashion dolls quote uncritically from Max Von Boehn's unfootnoted work on dolls in the 1920s, in *Fashion Doll: from Bébé Jumeau to Barbie*, Oxford: Berg, 2004, p. 17-9; Y.C. Croizat, "'Living Dolls': François 1er Dresses His Women," *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 60, 2007, p. 94-130; J. Park, "Appearing Natural, Becoming Strange: The Self as Mimetic Object," Chapter 3 in *The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

¹¹ Notably Jane Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

¹² Hillel Schwartz suggests that Masaccio, one of the first Italian painters to render realistic figures, may have used a mannequin. *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles*, New York: Zone Books, 1996, p. 107; Munro, p. 13.

¹³ Schwartz, p. 107; Munro, p. 34-5.

¹⁴ For an excellent summary of their use in painting drapery, see Munro, "Casting Stuffs: 'All Poetry,'" In *Silent Partners*, p. 26-9.

¹⁵ Intriguingly, just as the first suits developed from the need for fitted, padded under-armour that allowed the body to move, "Medieval Knights in the off season hung their suits of armour upon dummies called dobbles" (or doubles?). Schwartz, p. 112.

¹⁶ The artist's term lay-figure also comes from Middle Dutch, from *leeman* or "limb-man." These early mannequins were usually made of wood with metal articulations. They were padded and covered with fabric to produce a lifelike body.

¹⁷ Objects like these were valuable enough to be resold and this one was purchased in the 1760s by the English genre painter Arthur Devis. *Polite Society by Arthur Devis, 1712–1787: Portraits of the English Country Gentleman and His Family*, Preston: Harris Museum and Art Gallery, 1983, catalogue nos. 55 & 56, 67.

¹⁸ Munro, p. 39.

¹⁹ H. Hahn, "Fashion Discourses in Fashion Magazines and Madame de Girardin's *Lettres Parisiennes* in July-Monarchy France (1830–1848)," *Fashion Theory*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2005, p. 221.

²⁰ See for example, C. Baudelaire, "Du chic et du poncif," *Salon de 1846*, p. 163-4.

²¹ R. Roslak, "Artisans, Consumers, and Corporeality in Signac's Parisian Interiors," *Art History*, vol. 29, no. 5, 2006, p. 883.

²² A. Hollander, *Sex and Suits*, New York: Knopf, 1994, p. 89.

²³ A. Matthews David, "Made to Measure? Tailoring and the 'Normal' Body in Nineteenth-Century France," in W. Ernst, ed., *Histories of the Normal and Abnormal: Social and Cultural Histories of Norms and Normativity*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 142-64.

- ²⁴ I. Hacking, *The Taming of Chance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- ²⁵ M. Charpy, "Adjustments: Bodies and Clothing in Standard Industrial Sizes During the 19th Century," *Modes Pratiques. Revue d'histoire du vêtement et de la mode*, "Special Issue," vol. 3, février 2018, p. 190.
- ²⁶ C. Beck, *Notice explicative sur le costumomètre et le longimètre, instruments indispensables aux tailleurs et aux personnes qui, sans l'aide d'aucun maître, veulent couper et confectionner toutes sortes de vêtements d'hommes ou de femmes*. n.p. Paris, 1819, 11-19; F. Chenoune, *Des modes et des hommes*, Paris: Flammarion, 1993, p. 44.
- ²⁷ While the mass-produced mannequin becomes standard, some *mannequiniers* advertised both ready-made and made-to-measure busts in 1900, including Stockman and Charles Weiss, at 25 rue de Bichat, *Annuaire-almanach du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature et de l'administration*, Paris, 1900, p. 1971-2.
- ²⁸ *Annuaire-almanach*, p. 1971-2.
- ²⁹ Charpy, p. 194.
- ³⁰ "Il vient encore de paraître à Paris un mannequin-mécanique d'une nouvelle invention; il est, dit-on, d'une très grande utilité aux tailleurs, puisque c'est sur cette mécanique qu'ils pourront essayer tout espèce d'habillement, et s'assurer d'avance, par un mécanisme aussi ingénieux qu'immédiat, s'il y aura ou non poignard à chaque pièce qu'ils essaieront sur ce mannequin qu'on peut appeler sans pareil." M. Couanon, ed., *Journal des marchands-tailleurs*, septembre 1839, p. 259.
- ³¹ Entwistle does not mention the mannequin specifically but this avenue of theorization could be productive for future studies of it. J. Entwistle, "Bruno Latour: Actor-Network Theory and Fashion" in A. Rocamora and A. Smelik, eds., *Thinking Through Fashion*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2016, p. 271.
- ³² Jane Bennett, "The Force of Things: Steps Toward an Ecology of Matter," *Political Theory*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2004, p. 355.
- ³³ "Bustes d'homme à l'usage de MM.les Tailleurs, exécutés d'après un nouveau procédé, et d'une construction très-solide, aux prix les plus modérés. Le directeur s'empresse d'annoncer à MM.les Tailleurs qu'il se charge de faire exécuter, sur toutes sortes de tailles, des bustes d'homme dont la forme est proportionnée selon la méthode qu'il enseigne. Ces bustes dont la précision et l'élégance se joignent à l'utilité pour l'essai des vêtements, ajoutent à l'ornement des magasins ou des salons les plus élégants." *Le Narcisse, album de l'élégant, revue générale des mode fashionables parisiennes*, Paris: Imprimerie Cordier, 1er décembre 1831, p. 8.
- ³⁴ Hahn in "Fashion Discourses," p. 206. For more on the history of painted and sculpted street signs as advertising, see R. Wrigley, "Between the Street and the Salon: Parisian Signs and the Spaces of Professionalism in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1998, p. 49.
- ³⁵ "Les tailleurs des passages ont presque tous à leur porte un mannequin habillé... ils ont de plus qu'eux des robes de chambre ébouriffantes, dont la plus grande partie est en soie de Lyon, et qu'ils vendent à très-haut prix; et des gilets d'or et d'argent qui plaisent aux beaux de Carpenteras." R. de Beauvoir, "Le Tailleur," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, Paris: L. Curmer, 1841, p. 244.

- ³⁶ H. de Balzac, *Illusions perdues*, vol. 5, Paris: Pléiade, 1837, p. 194.
- ³⁷ M. Marrinan, *Romantic Paris: Histories of a Cultural Landscape*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, p. 282.
- ³⁸ "Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution." *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2000, p. 135.
- ³⁹ Finn, p. 154.
- ⁴⁰ C. Breward, *The Suit*, London: Reaktion, 2016, p. 17. See also D. Kuchta's classic text *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850*, Berkeley, CA: Berkeley University Press, 2002.
- ⁴¹ Rochefort et Georges Duval, *Le tailleur des bossus, ou l'orthopédie, contrefaçon en 1 acte et en vaudeville*, Paris: J.N. Barba, 1826.
- ⁴² Rochefort in *Le tailleur*, p. 6.
- ⁴³ While this *mannequin* is a subject of ridicule, sources like Louise Bury's 1844 story "L'homme-mannequin" about a noble but impoverished male fashion model who marries a wealthy Marquess, as well as the story of a "poor but charming young man" who works as a model in the 1842 story "Le gilet de santé" suggest that there was a fascination with beautiful men serving as tailor's models.
- ⁴⁴ "Que vois-je sur la chaussée? Des brodequins que se promènent, des cannes qui portent haut la tête en donnant le bras à des capotes; des bottes marchent crânement le chapeau sur l'oreille: continuation du même système. Les tailleurs, les chapeliers, les bottiers, les modistes, ont trouvé le moyen de supprimer l'homme qui leur servait d'enseigne vivante. La réclame s'est simplifiée en se perfectionnant." J.J. Grandville, *Un autre monde*, Paris: H. Fournier, 1844, p. 70.
- ⁴⁵ K. Marx, *Capital*, London: Penguin Classics, p. 165.
- ⁴⁶ A. Luchet, *L'art industriel à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1868, p. 379. Luchet did not come from a wealthy family and knew the industry from the inside — before he became a journalist and playwright, he worked for a draper in Paris.
- ⁴⁷ E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 2nd edition, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003, p. 12-3.
- ⁴⁸ In 1841, at the age of 23, he published the first of many editions of his cutting manual and founded the professional school that is now called ESMOD or the École Supérieure des Arts et Techniques de la Mode, an institution that currently has branches from Japan to Brazil. In 1847, he patented a flexible metric tape measure that still bears his name. In order to access historical material on Lavigne, the author took a summer pattern drafting course at the school, which was still taught based on his principles. In 2011, ESMOD curated an exhibit about his inventions and the history of the School. The catalogue, by Catherine Örmén, is called *Saga de mode, 170 ans d'innovations*, Paris: Esmod Éditions, 2011.
- ⁴⁹ *Exposition nationale des produits de l'industrie française*, n.p. Paris, 1849. Hazel Hahn cites an 1849 vaudeville called *Un déluge d'inventions, revue de l'exposition de l'industrie* "in which a mechanical woman is invented as a

new mannequin." Lavigne advertised mannequins for tailors, but the vaudeville feminized the bodies on display at the industrial exhibition. H. Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 115.

⁵⁰ A. Guillerme, *La naissance de l'industrie à Paris: entre sueurs et vapeurs: 1780–1830*, Paris: Champ Vallon, 2007.

⁵¹ Nicole Parrot, *Mannequins*, Paris: Éditions Colona, 1981, p. 35.

⁵² High-end milliners' boutiques featured heads with faces for displaying hats but they lacked bodies. Jane Munro has unearthed evidence that a Parisian luxury boutique, "Au Magnifique," used a life-sized female display mannequin in the 1770s, and a fixed painted wood version dressed in a robe à la française survives from the 1760s, but these figures were rare. Munro, p. 38-9.

⁵³ Jean-Philippe Worth, *A Century of Fashion*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1928, p. 10. and C. Evans, "The Ontology of the Fashion Model," p. 63.

⁵⁴ Riotor in *Le mannequin*, p. 86.

⁵⁵ See particularly Chapter 1, "Pre-History: Nineteenth-Century Fashion Modelling." By the early 20th century, using only a first name to designate a woman removed her from her family ties and often from the world of respectability. Actresses like "Polaire" often went by one name, live mannequins entering couture houses like Paquin were "renamed" with one first, and often exoticized name, as were prostitutes upon entering a brothel. Specific couture dresses were often given feminine first names like "Mireille." C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ A. Matthews David, "Amazon Chic: Women's Tailoring in Nineteenth-Century France," *Cutting a Figure: Tailoring, Technology and Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, PhD. Dissertation, August 2002, p. 178; J. Arnold, "Dashing Amazons: the Development of Women's Dress, c. 1500–1900," in A. de la Haye and E. Wilson, eds., *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999; *La fashion-journal des modes, guide des élégants*, n.p. Paris, 1845, p. 523; F. Sourd, *La nouvelle grève des tailleurs de Paris*, chez l'auteur, Paris, 1868, p. 11.

⁵⁷ For example, the Vicomte de Hédouville compares the amazone to a statue the couturier has cast after nature, while the Baron de Vaux says that the amazone is beauty molded in a dark bodysuit. H. de Pène, in Vicomte de Hédouville, ed., *La femme à cheval*, Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1884, p. 5; Baron Charles-Maurice de Vaux, *Les femmes de sport*, Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion, 1885, p. 141.

⁵⁸ W. Aldrich, "The Impact of Fashion on the Cutting Practices for the Woman's Tailored Jacket, 1800–1927," *Textile History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2003, p. 137.

⁵⁹ X. Chaumette, C. Fauque, and E. Montet, *Le tailleur, vêtement-message*, Paris: Syros-Alternatives, 1992, p. 76; C. Örmén, *Saga de mode*, p. 40.

⁶⁰ G. Bouchet, *Le cheval à Paris de 1850–1914*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 1993, p. 252.

⁶¹ "La mode était à tel point le pivot de ses préoccupations qu'elle avait fait installer aux Tuileries un nombre considérable de mannequins grandeur nature et habillés de ses toilettes, à seule fin de leur éviter des faux plis."

Anny Latour, *Les magiciens de la mode*, Paris: R. Julliard, 1961, p. 131.

⁶² Riotor in *Le mannequin*, p. 94; Örmén, *Saga*, p. 42.

⁶³ Aldrich in "Cutting Practices," p. 144. These included Lavigne's *Méthode de coupe pour dames à l'usage des tailleurs, couturières et apprentis des deux professions*, chez l'auteur, Paris, 1868.

⁶⁴ Örmén, *Saga*, p. 93.

⁶⁵ "Ce qui fait la supériorité des couturières parisiennes, c'est que leur outillage ne laisse rien à désirer. Elles ont toutes une ou plusieurs séries de mannequins depuis la taille la plus petite (38) jusqu'à la taille la plus forte (50)..." Alice Guerre-Lavigne, *L'art dans le costume*, Paris, décembre 1885, p. 14; she goes on to describe the sizes, from 38, which can be used for girls over 14 years old or thin young women, to size 50, which is simply called "Taille forte." She notes that the size 42 mannequin is the most useful.

⁶⁶ These sold for the relatively inexpensive price of 16 francs plus 4 francs postage, and a large ad states that the headquarters for their mannequin business was located at 15, rue de Richelieu, the same locale where her father opened shop during the Second Empire.

⁶⁷ In 1894 his catalogue offers female busts in 12 standardized sizes. *Bustes et Mannequins F. Stockman*, Paris, Rue Legendre. Stockman continues to manufacture mannequins in a factory in the suburbs of Paris: <http://www.siegel-stockman.com/>.

⁶⁸ G.A. Godillot, "Classe 56 matériel et procédés de la couture et la confection des vêtements," *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889, p. 17.

⁶⁹ Riotor in *Le mannequin*, p. 96.

⁷⁰ A. Guerre-Lavigne, *L'art dans le costume*, Paris, décembre 1885, p. 15.

⁷¹ "Oui, désormais le mannequin est entré dans les moeurs. — 'J'ai un 42, un 44' — ce numéro qui indique la demi-mesure du tour de poitrine-dit l'amazone." Riotor in *Le mannequin*, p. 78.

⁷² S. Sadako Takeda and K. Durland Spilker, *Fashioning Fashion: European Dress in Detail 1700–1915*, Munich: Delmonico Books, 2010, p. 96.

⁷³ Tissot's work has received a great deal of critical attention. See T. Garb, "Painting the 'Parisienne': James Tissot and the Making of the Modern Woman," in K. Lochnan, ed., *Seductive Surfaces: The Art of Tissot*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999; E. Prelinger, "Tissot as Symbolist and Fetishist? A Surmise," in K. Lochnan, ed., *Seductive Surfaces: The Art of Tissot*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999; H. Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991, p. 125-6; M. Wentworth, *James Tissot*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 154-73.

⁷⁴ The images from Tissot's series were to be accompanied by texts written by different authors. Emile Zola was to write the story that would be paired with Tissot's *Demoiselle*. Wentworth in *James Tissot*, p. 169.

⁷⁵ A. Hepp, "Le mannequin," in *Paris tout nu*, Paris: E. Dentu, 1885, p. 232-3.

⁷⁶ J. Coffin, *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trades, 1750–1914*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 202.

⁷⁷ J. Munro, *Silent Partners*, p. 176-8.

⁷⁸ Park, p. 105.

⁷⁹ "Les fashionables, poupées à ressort, qui boivent, mangent et agissent comme des personnes naturelles. Ces petites machines, modelées sur le type de la beauté idéale, sont d'une perfection surprenante....On peut les voir tous les jours, sans rétribution, de trois à quatre heures, au jardin des Tuileries...Les fashionables se transportent dans les salons où ils sont désirés." "Les fashionables, par brevet d'importation et de perfectionnement," *La Silhouette*, Paris: Aubert, 11 février 1830, p. 44.

⁸⁰ "Il paraît que dans ce pays la mode est de se faire représenter dans les promenades publiques par des Sosies en plâtre, en bois ou en cire. On fait de l'élégance en effigie. Robes, coiffures, écharpes, diamants, tout ce qui résume la beauté, le luxe ou la réputation de la personne, est au rendez-vous; elle seule est absente. A quoi bon du reste la personne? On ne va là que pour voir des habits. C'est en songeant aux solennités de la mode, que le prophète s'est écrié: Mannequin des mannequins, et tout n'est que mannequin!" Grandville in *Un autre monde*, p. 70.

⁸¹ "Ce qui a tué les froufrous de l'été, sa pimpante allure et sa grâce, et ce qui menace tout entier l'art de la mode, c'est le Mannequin. Le Mannequin, cette hideuse machine à forme humaine, qui se dresse le long des salles du Louvre, du Bon Marché, du Printemps, aux devantures au coin des rues, sur les trottoirs, avec sa carcasse grise bouffie de son, avec un numéro gribouillé à l'encre, à la place de son coeur." Hepp in "Le mannequin," p. 231.

⁸² W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, B. Hanssen, ed., London: Continuum, 2006, p. 106.

⁸³ Schwartz, p. 118. The mannequin serves this role in the writings of Walter Benjamin, the photographs of Eugène Atget, and as creative muse for the artworks of Giorgio de Chirico, Max Ernst, Hans Bellmer, and Marcel Duchamp, amongst others. For more on the uncanny, the doll, and the mannequin specifically in relationship to twentieth-century fashion, see C. Evans, "Deathliness," Chapter 7 of *Fashion at the Edge*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 163-88.

⁸⁴ As a woman of relatively modest height, I love the fact that a "full-sized" version of double this height (160cm) would represent my actual stature rather than that of the tall, elongated fashion model of today.

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Dr. Alison Matthews David is an Associate Professor in the School of Fashion, Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University).

She was awarded a doctorate from Stanford University, has published extensively on nineteenth-century dress and material culture, and co-edits the new open-access journal *Fashion Studies* with Dr. Ben Barry. Her most recent research project, *Fashion Victims*, looked at how clothing physically harmed the health of its makers and wearers by transmitting contagious disease, leaching chemical toxins, and causing accidents, including entanglement and fire. The book was published by Bloomsbury Academic in 2015 and also took the form of a co-curated exhibition with Senior Curator Elizabeth Semmelhack at the Bata Shoe Museum in Toronto (June 2014–April 2018). That research led her to continue her historical sleuthing and her current book and exhibition project, *Unravelling Crime: A Forensic History of Fashion*, investigates the theme of crime and clothing as weapon, evidence, and disguise.

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