

économiques et les fourneaux à la Rumford, suivi de deux mémoires sur la substitution de l'orge mondé et grué au riz (Paris, 1801).

- 11 [Joseph Berchoux], *Le Philosophie de Charenton*, p. 215.
- 12 See, for example, Polycarpe Poncelet, *Chimie du goût et de l'odorat, ou principes pour composer facilement, & à peu de frais, les Liqueurs à boire, & les Eaux de senteurs* (Paris, 1755), pp. viij-ix; Jean-Baptiste Lafon, *Dissertation sur la digestion, présentée et soutenue à l'École de Médecine de Paris, le 26 Fructidor an II* (Paris, an XI/1803), ch. 1; [Charles-Louis Cadet de Gassicourt] *Cours gastronomique, ou les diners de Manant-Ville, Ouvrage Anecdote, Philosophique et Littéraire; Seconde Édition dédée à la Société Epicurienne du Caveau moderne, séance au Rocher de Canaille; Par feu M. C***, ancien avocat au Parlement de Paris* (Paris, 1809), pp. 66-7.
- 13 Jean-Baptiste Gouriet, *L'Antigastromomie, ou l'homme de la ville sortant de table, poème en IV chœurs. Manuscrit trouvé dans un pâté, et augmenté de remarques importantes* (Paris, 1806), pp. 14-15.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 65 respectively. Note that nightmares were a classic symptom of the form of indigestion termed 'dyspepsie nidoreuse' by the medical student J.-B. Lebrun in a thesis, *Recherches sur la dyspepsie idiopathique, ou digestion laborieuse. Dissertation présentée et soutenue à l'École de Médecine de Paris, le 4 nivôse an XII* (Paris, an XII/1803), cf. pp. 13, 17.
- 15 Société philanthropique de Paris, *Comptes-rendus et rapports . . . 1814* (Paris, 1815), p. 16, according to Weiner, *The Citizen-Physician*, p. 159.
- 16 The general consensus seems to be that this work was written by Charles-Louis Cadet de Gassicourt. However, in 1809 he was far from dead, being engaged as military pharmacist on a Napoleonic campaign. The mystery will require further resolution.
- 17 Cadet de Gassicourt, *Cours gastronomique*, p. 18. 'Oxigenius' refers to the construction of a legend around the discoverer of oxygen, Antoine-Laurent, marquis de Lavoisier.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 175-6.
- 19 See, e.g., Antoine Coulomb, *Essai sur les aliments considérés comme cause de maladies; présenté et soutenu à l'École spéciale de médecine de Montpellier* (Montpellier, [1806]) p. 23; Guillaume-Camille Faure, *Considérations sur la digestion, présentées et soutenues à l'École de Médecine de Paris, le 28 Nivôse an XIII* (Paris, an XIII/1805), p. 15; Cadet de Gassicourt, *Cours gastronomique*, p. 295.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 286.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 295-6.
- 24 Quoted in Giles MacDonogh, *A Palace in Revolution: Grimod de La Reynière and the Almanach des Gourmands* (London and New York, 1987), p. 99.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
- 26 Jean-Paul Aron, *Essai sur la sensibilité alimentaire à Paris au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1967), pp. 10, 32, 40.

9 © FIONA FFOULKES

'Quality always distinguishes itself': Louis Hippolyte LeRoy and the luxury clothing industry in early nineteenth-century Paris

The First Consul enlarged France, LeRoy re-established the throne of Fashion on its most solid base, luxury.²

Louis Hippolyte LeRoy was the most celebrated milliner (*marchand de modes*) working in Paris in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.³ His reputation reached beyond France to the areas of Europe conquered by Napoleon, and ruled over by his relations, but also to those that were not — including Russia and Britain.⁴ Many of his clients were drawn from these different European monarchies and aristocracies, confirming his reputation for the production of high quality fashionable clothing.

During the eighteenth century French culture was regarded as a model for the elite groups of other European countries. The court of Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette at Versailles was known for the sumptuous decorations of the palace and the luxurious dress of their courtiers. After the Revolution of 1789 many of the nobles who had formed the elite, including the two brothers of Louis and his one surviving daughter, left France and established a court in exile in Britain. In 1792 the First Republic was declared and this was followed by the period known as the Terror from 1793 to 1794. For a time there was no court and luxurious display in dress was not only politically incorrect but also personally dangerous. The centre of power and public display moved to Paris, where there were opportunities to see and be seen around the shops and gardens of the Palais Royal, the Tuileries, at balls and the many theatres.

With the establishment of the more stable Directory government in 1795 there was a return to the use of luxurious ornament and display in dress by the five Directors and their circle, which included the hostesses Madame Tallien, Madame Recamier and Madame Bonaparte. Under Napoleon's rule as First Consul in 1799 and Emperor in 1804 this trend continued. He believed in the importance of the luxury trades to the economy of France as well as the power of conspicuous display to strengthen the public's awareness, at home and abroad, of the assurance and solidity of his new regime. The new elite was made up of military men, army contractors, returned *émigrés* and their wives and daughters. In 1802 Napoleon made formal dress (elaborate gowns for women, breeches for men) mandatory for receptions at the Tuileries, and the coronation in 1804 confirmed a new style of court dress that included the elaborate use of embroidery. The restored Bourbon courts of 1814 under Louis XVIII and Charles X in 1824 continued this use of luxury and incorporated many of Napoleon's elite.⁵ Against the context of change and continuity in France this chapter will examine the role of luxury in the garments and accessories that LeRoy supplied, the implications of this for his client base, and how it contributed to the way that LeRoy was able to market his business.

Historiography and sources

Recent work has seen a growth of interest in the activities of the milliner, because of attempts to understand the growth that took place in France in the eighteenth century in the production and consumption of fashionable clothing and accessories.⁶ According to Daniel Roche, the milliners of the eighteenth century promoted the move from the consumption of necessities to the consumption of luxuries and were central to the production and distribution of fashionable clothing. They also helped to create habits that embraced the idea of obsolescence which paved the way for changes that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century.⁷

Investigation into the growth of mass production and consumption has concentrated on the end of the nineteenth century as the most important period of change.⁸ This has been linked to the development of the department store and innovations such as the factory system of working, the introduction of the sewing machine and increases in communications, made possible by the telegraph and the railway. This has then been linked to an increase in consumption provided by an expanding middle class.⁹ The court's consumption of

luxury items has been considered mainly as important in providing a model for emulation by this socially ambitious middle class.¹⁰ It has also provided moral commentators ammunition to decry the terrible financial, medical, public and private consequences of expenditure on fine clothing.¹¹

The pre-mechanised period of the first half of the nineteenth century has not received much interest even from dress historians who have considered the luxury market for clothing mainly as the history of uniquely gifted individuals who created works of art in the form of garments and accessories that can now be viewed as part of design history.¹² Traditionally, particularly in British accounts, Worth has been seen as the first of this stream of designers who even today continue to produce luxury clothing in Paris.¹³ Therefore those that worked before the middle of the nineteenth century have been regarded as being of lesser status and the system of clothing production and distribution has been seen as inferior and parochial.

Research into patterns of consumption has focused on the spread of fashionable clothing and accessories from the elite to the middle and lower classes. This has led to the 'social emulation' theory that the lower classes copied the consumption practices of the elite class because there existed a universal desire for material things that was only held in check by a lack of spending power.¹⁴ This position has been challenged by writers such as Lorna Weatherill, Dick Hebdidge and Amanda Vickery, who consider that a much more complicated model to account for consumer behaviour is required.¹⁵ Emulation has a negative passive connotation but Hebdidge, considering twentieth-century street styles, prefers to consider the 'appropriation' of fashions and symbols which has a positive role in creating social solidarity amongst a particular group. This agrees with the views expressed by Douglas and Isherwood, who consider that the most important information that goods convey is not, as is often thought, about status but about personal identity.¹⁶ Gender differences in patterns of consumption have been revealed in the research undertaken by Daniel Roche. His work on inventories, of the belongings of people from the lower classes, has demonstrated that by the end of the eighteenth century women's wardrobes showed more variety than men's and had a higher monetary value. Although men were concerned with presenting an appearance too, Roche argues that women were taking the lead in this new consideration for fashion and personal identity.¹⁷

For other historians such as Amanda Vickery, it has been important to defend the female consumer against the historical charges

of frivolity and vanity as well as charges that women were solely motivated by a sense of competition with their own sex combined with a need to attract the male sex. This has led to a consideration of the role of fashion and taste in the manipulation of female consumption.¹⁸ This in turn has been linked to the proliferation of fashion journals that appeared in the late eighteenth century and included coloured plates of fashionable clothing and a text that discussed fashions.¹⁹

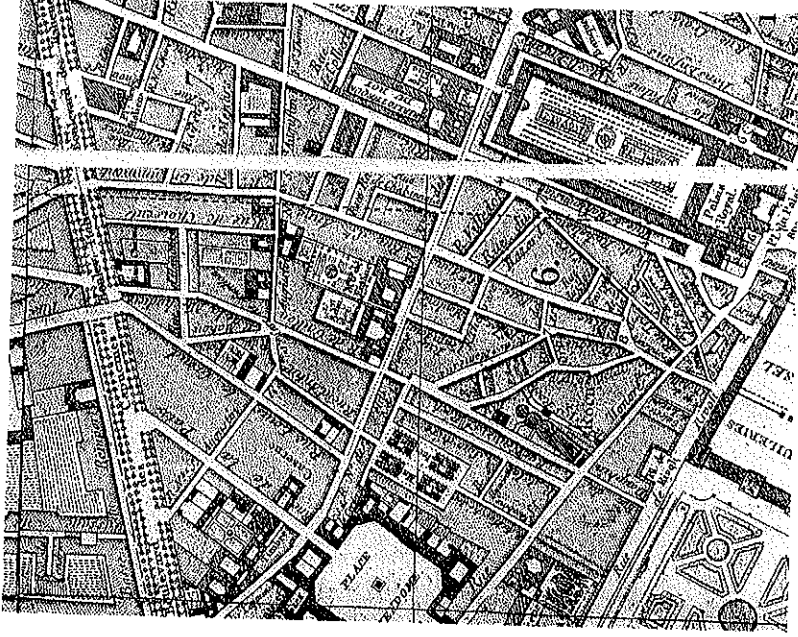
Jennifer Jones has examined the relationship between the fashion press, the construction of the feminine and the role of the milliner. It has been widely accepted that during the eighteenth century new fashions were set by the court at Versailles, particularly by the collaboration between Queen Marie Antoinette and her milliner, Rose Bertin. By examining the fashion press for the years after the Revolution, when there was no court and no 'one' clear female fashion leader, Jones is able to demonstrate that a much more complicated system was being formulated. According to Jones, the fashion journals established the importance and mystery of the creation of fashion, particularly concentrating on French female identity, and centring around both 'erecting a cult to the creativity of the *marchande de modes*' and at the same time making the reader feel that good taste rather than luxurious dressing was what was required to launch new fashions. Thus being distinguished as fashionable was not connected to quality or any particular class, and was achievable by everyone. The political ideals of the early 1790s were therefore able to be synthesised into this new critique of fashion.²⁰ It is against this background of historical debate that I will examine LeRoy's business.

The sources used for this analysis will include surviving textiles and garments, fashion journals and paintings, as well as two of LeRoy's account books.²¹ Written sources also include an obituary notice published in the new fashion journal *La Mode*, invoices sent to clients, letters, memoirs, notarial documents and records of business associations and disputes.²²

Maison LeRoy

LeRoy began his career during the old regime as a *perruquier/coiffeur* supplying headgear to the women at the court of Queen Marie Antoinette.

During the Revolution many of those who had produced luxury clothing found themselves without work, but LeRoy survived to advise the Convention on fashion and during the 1790s expanded his business to produce a wider range of clothing. He achieved this partly by



19 Map of Paris showing the location of Maison LeRoy. Plan Routier de la Ville de Paris, 1814

forming various partnerships, the first of which was in the form of a marriage on 29 prairial year 4 (May 1796) to a milliner from Orleans by the name of Françoise Renée Guyot.²³ By 1800 the business was based in the rue des Petits-Champs in the fashionable area west of Les Halles and LeRoy was listed as a milliner (*marchande de modes*) in the Paris directory. He was successful enough by 1802 to have moved to the more prestigious address of Maison Boutin, rue de la Loi (also known as rue de Richelieu) (Plate 19).²⁴ He had a new business partner by the name of Madame Raimbaud and they were working together at the time of the coronation (December 1804) of the Emperor Napoleon I and the Empress Josephine, when they produced her coronation robes. According to the wardrobe accounts of the Empress Josephine, the partnership ceased after 1805.²⁵

For the next fourteen years LeRoy continued to work from the Hôtel Boutin, adapting his business to meet the needs of the changing regimes. In 1821 the lease for the Hôtel Boutin expired and this may have confirmed LeRoy in his decision to retire. He had laid plans for this time and had been training his niece, Esther, to succeed him, whilst not totally losing control of the business.²⁶ The new establishment was called 'LeRoy nièce et Compagnie' and was based at 36 rue de Rivoli. In 1824, possibly because of involvement in clothing for Charles X's coronation, LeRoy applied to have their arrangement dissolved.²⁷ Esther continued to place an entry in the trade directory as a dressmaker (*couturière*) until 1841 when she was still using LeRoy's name to advertise the business, testifying to the enduring quality of his reputation.

Leroy nièce. seule succ. de la maison Leroy, robes et modes r. St Honoré, 332.²⁸

Esther was first entered in LeRoy's account book as an employee working in the shop (*au magasin*) in 1818.²⁹ Between the years 1811 and 1821 there were twenty-five employees listed, sometimes noting that they worked in different departments such as the shop (*magasin*), hats and accessories (*modes*), sewing – possibly repairs – (*couture*) and clothing workshop (*atelier de robes*). Others were listed as a salesman (*commis*) or merely 'in this house' (*ceans*).³⁰ A full range of garments and accessories were supplied to clients, including formal and informal clothing for indoor and outdoor wear. These also included corsets, hats, gloves, fans, bouquets, handkerchieves, stockings and shoes.

Fashion and marketing

LeRoy, as a *coiffeur* and as a milliner, led fashion and did not follow it.³¹

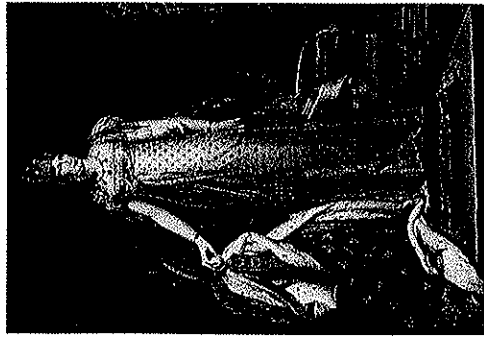
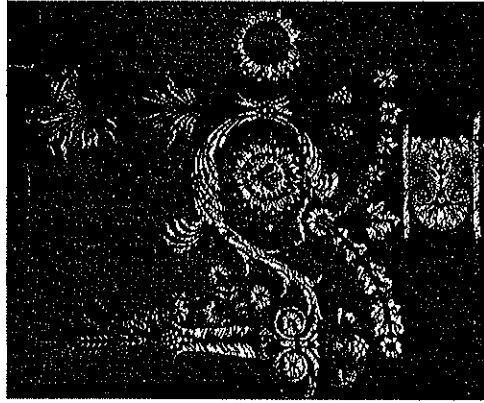
The kind of clothes available in the early nineteenth century demonstrated progression both in terms of fit and the quality of construction.³² A greater variety of fabrics were also in use, from heavy velvets and satins to fine woollen cashmeres, sheer cotton muslins and silk gauzes. LeRoy used the highest quality fabrics and trimmings to produce his garments, which he normally supplied himself to the customer.³³

During the Convention and the Directory LeRoy continued to be known for his headgear such as *toques* (a brimless hat based on the Roman helmet), whilst also producing clothing (Plate 20). At the time of the Directory his major innovation was to reintroduce the use of gold embroidery on garments.³⁴ This demonstrated acute sensitivity, on



20 Sheet of caricatures by J.B. Isabey

LeRoy's part, to the changing attitude towards the use of luxury, as this kind of embroidery had been associated with the old regime, and therefore had been an anathema during the Revolution and the rule of the Convention.³⁵ For the clients of Napoleon's court LeRoy continued to use all kinds of materials for embroidery, including silver and gold plate, cut steel and precious stones (Plates 21 and 22). This made these outfits, necessary as court dress, extremely expensive and, according to the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Napoleon reintroduced a form of sumptuary law to save his courtiers from too much expense. This limited the amount of embroidery on the border of a gown to four inches for those under the rank of a princess.³⁶ When LeRoy supplied court dress it was an opportunity for him to control the complete *toilette* which apart from the gown and train would include the *coiffure*, *chenusque* (a fan-shaped standing collar), gloves, a fan and a bouquet. Napoleonic court dress had been established by the garments worn by Josephine and the other high-ranking women at the coronation of 1804. After instructions by Napoleon, this had been outlined by the artist Isabey and translated into clothing by LeRoy. For Louis XVIII's court LeRoy developed a different kind of embroidery, added lappets (*barbes*) to the

21 Gérard, *The Empress Marie Louise*

22 Sample of gold embroidery with the Napoleonic imperial emblem of the bee

coiffure and changed the design of the sleeve (*sabots*).³⁷ As these were not radical changes (not a return to the wide hoops of the old regime, still worn at the British court), it also provided a sense of continuity and stability during a time of change. Apart from court dress the use of very costly and ornate embroidery and lace was particularly evident on court commissions of full dress for masqué balls and weddings.

Several of the gowns supplied for the wedding gift (*corbeille de mariage*) of Catherine of Württemberg in 1807 were commended for their novelty. One was a gown of pink satin embroidered in steel and the other two were of crêpe with appliquéd painted velvet flowers.³⁸ Other innovations concerned daywear, and Auger cites the occasion when LeRoy cut up an expensive cashmere shawl to create a cloak for the Empress Josephine. Portraits and fashion plates of the period show that many varieties of coats and gowns were eventually created from the cashmere shawl. LeRoy also invented the apron gown (*robe à tablier*) and examples are evident in the Empress Josephine's accounts. The names for garments, accessories and colours demonstrate the impact of new fashions, derived from sources such as other cultures, historical characters and dress, and military campaigns. Some examples are colours such as 'Marie Louise' blue, 'earth of Egypt' and 'Spanish tobacco' and gowns and trimmings 'à la Sevigné', 'Cossack', 'Arab', 'Gothic' and

'Queen Matilda': Headgear included the 'Napoleon', 'Jockey', 'Cossack' and 'Polish'. Other new fashions that LeRoy invented show subtler nuances unrecognisable as 'fashions' today, such as straw hats trimmed with feathers of the same colour (*chapeaux de paille*) and reversible satin ribbons faced in a contrasting colour (*ruban double face*).³⁹ According to Auger, even in retirement LeRoy never stopped thinking about new fashions and even talked about bringing back the small side hoops (*demi-paniers*) that he had known in his youth.⁴⁰ Contemporary reports about LeRoy reveal a man who believed in his own pre-eminence in the profession of millinery, and this is demonstrated by the following quotation: 'being recognised as the manufacturer with the best taste in Europe there was no-one in a position to judge him'.⁴¹ The same documents have recorded LeRoy's opinion about the qualities needed to create his products: they depended on taste, fashion and imagination. He saw his role as that of an artist and arbiter of taste but surviving documents also reveal a man with considerable business acumen.⁴²

The financial rewards from his commercial enterprise were evident from the comfortable lifestyle that he and his family were able to lead. As well as having a home in central Paris, where his clients also lived and shopped, he kept a fleet of carriages and was described by contemporaries as an extremely well-dressed, elegant man with an arrogant air.⁴³ His appearance and his lifestyle emphasised his status as a supplier to the courts of France and Europe. His history of close contact with the French court, dating back to the time of the old regime, gave him a reputation for knowing court secrets and this served to further enhance his celebrity and attract new clients.⁴⁴ The vignette at the top of LeRoy's business stationery shows that he advertised himself as milliner to the Empress (*Marchand de Modes de sa Majesté l'Impératrice*) and that he supplied all kinds of the highest quality lace and embroideries as well as court dress and presentation dress (Plate 23).

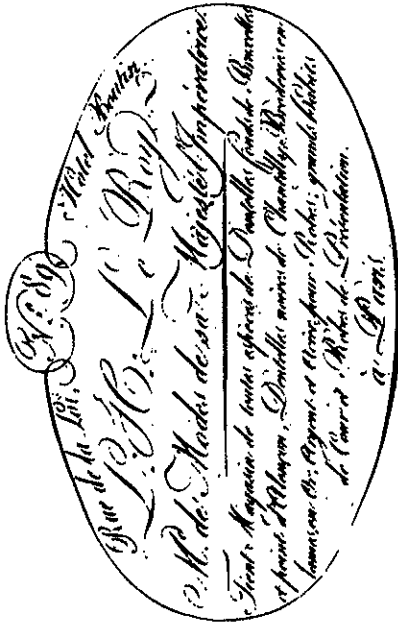
LeRoy also advertised his business in the Paris trade directory. Two examples demonstrate how he adapted the entry to suit the changing regimes with reference to the Empress Marie-Louise in 1814 and the Duchesse d'Angoulême in 1817: both 'first ladies' of France during the years referred to.

1814

marchand de modes. de S. M. L' Impératrice et Reine, rue Richelieu, 89.

1817

marchand de modes, et robes de la cour, de Madame et des cours étrangères, rue Richelieu, 69.



23 The heading of LeRoy's invoice, 1807

Guides to France were available in other countries. In England, in 1814, LeRoy's name was entered in *A New Picture of Paris* as supplier to the late Empress (Josephine), stressing his high status in relation to the other suppliers listed.⁴⁵ His business premises at Maison Boutin, rue de Richelieu, also helped to promote his reputation as a person of wealth and taste who could be relied upon to provide his clients with the kind of elegant surroundings in which they would feel comfortable. The clients were waited upon by servants in livery of light blue with collars and piped decoration of black velvet. LeRoy organised exhibitions of his garments, for which he issued invitation cards to selected people, whilst footmen stood guard at the front entrance of the Maison; emphasising the importance and exclusiveness of the occasion.⁴⁶ Once these garments had been sold they would be seen within a circle of other potential clients.

These clients were also recorded in paintings by artists such as Gérard and Isabey and possibly in fashion plates; although recent work on fashion journals has shown how difficult it is to credit particular fashion plates to particular makers at this period. The text accompanying the plates often simply made reference to 'modistes' and did not name individual makers, thereby retaining the role of 'conveyor of fashion changes and arbiter of taste' to themselves.⁴⁷

A high-ranking client such as an empress, whose actions and appearance were followed by the fashion press and general newspapers of France and abroad, was a way to advertise and promote LeRoy's reputation as the leading arbiter of fashion and taste.

Clients and modes of consumption

I counted amongst my clientele two empresses and all the crowned heads of Europe . . . The coronation started my fortune.⁴⁸

LeRoy's assertion that his clients included all the crowned heads of Europe may have been a slight exaggeration, but surviving records do demonstrate some justification for his claim. The coronation of Napoleon and Josephine as Emperor and Empress in December 1804 was an extremely high profile event that was reported in the world's press.⁴⁹ It may have been this event and the new ornate form of court dress that first brought his clothes to the attention of potential clients from other countries.

Sources for an examination of LeRoy's clients include memoirs, invoices and wardrobe accounts; however, his two surviving account books offer the most comprehensive information over a ten-year period. Between 1812 and 1821 there were approximately 603 different clients' accounts and approximately half of those were for people who were connected to the French or foreign courts.⁵⁰ There were 162 French titles and 85 foreign titles. Of the foreign titles 33 were British, 19 were Russian and 20 were German or Austrian.⁵¹ The largest number of clients were without titles and consisted of 294 French commoners and 42 foreign commoners, making 336 in all. The British accounted for the largest group of foreigners without titles: 23 were British, six were Italian, six were German, four were Russian, one was Dutch, one was Irish and one was possibly American.⁵² Most of the clients were female, but approximately 59 were male though mainly they made purchases for female friends or family.⁵³ Many of the purchases that clients made were over one year only, but some clients made purchases over at least ten years, such as the Empress Josephine, the Empress Marie Louise and Princess Pauline Borghese.⁵⁴

During Napoleon's empire the highest ranking French clients were the Emperor Napoleon himself, the Empress Josephine and the Empress Marie Louise. The Emperor Napoleon manipulated the consumption of his courtiers so that they presented what he considered to be the correct appearance. He discouraged what he saw as the indecent display of women's fashions in the Directory period, whilst making clear his approval of those women at court receptions whom he thought dressed well. He also encouraged habits of rapid replacement of garments by reprimanding those who appeared too often in the same outfit.⁵⁵

LeRoy's most important client was Napoleon's wife, Josephine. According to Auger, at some time during 1796 LeRoy deliberately targeted Josephine and won her custom at the expense of other suppliers.⁵⁶ She looked upon LeRoy as her protégé and continued to purchase clothes from him as Empress and after the divorce from Napoleon in 1809, until her sudden death in 1814. Contemporaries have described Josephine as not physically beautiful but as a very attractive, graceful person who knew how to dress with taste.⁵⁷ As the wife of a man who rose from General-in-Chief of the French army to First Consul and then Emperor, she had a position to uphold when appearing in public at his side or representing him alone. In her own right she gained a reputation for good manners, diplomacy and charitable behaviour – often trying to mediate between the old aristocracy and Napoleon. Josephine's purchases from LeRoy included court dress, masquerade dress and all kinds of daywear, hats and accessories. Her personal preference was for simplicity, but her purchases from LeRoy often reflected the presentation of a 'public' appearance (Plate 24).

In her memoirs Madame Remusat said that Josephine was always aware of her background setting, such as the interior decoration of palace apartments, and that she selected her clothes accordingly.⁵⁸ The life of her garments demonstrates continual change. Many items were worn only briefly and then either remade as something different or given away to members of her family and the ladies of her household, who therefore indirectly became LeRoy's clients.⁵⁹

Josephine's expenditure on clothes from LeRoy, after 1804, was between 7,000 and 10,000 francs per month, though this pattern could be distorted by extra purchases.⁶⁰ For example, in February 1807 her purchases came to 24,882 francs.⁶¹ In 1809 Josephine's wardrobe expenses consisted of about twenty suppliers who ranged from jewellers to lace merchants and laundresses. LeRoy's supplies accounted for between 30 and 60 per cent of this monthly expenditure.⁶² After the divorce from Napoleon in December 1809 Josephine continued to make purchases, but they reflected her reduced income and loss of public duties. She died in 1814 at a time when she was being fêted by the Allied leaders and her daughter's (Hortense, Queen of Holland) account shows purchases of suitable mourning clothes.⁶³ LeRoy's business was unaffected as he had already become supplier to Napoleon's second Empress in 1810.⁶⁴

Marie Louise was the daughter of Francis I of Austria and the niece of Queen Marie Antoinette who at the age of 18 was married to the 42-year-old Emperor Napoleon. LeRoy supplied a large part of her trousseau, including the wedding dress, costing 12,000 francs, which



24 Gérard, *The Empress Josephine*, 1808

was of white satin embroidered with jewels and spangles.⁶⁵ It was worn with the same gold embroidered crimson velvet train lined in ermine that LeRoy had supplied for Josephine to wear at the coronation. Like Josephine, Marie Louise spent large sums of money every month on clothes both for herself and for her family in Austria, including her stepmother the Empress of Austria.⁶⁶ She continued to patronise LeRoy after the wedding and her name is entered in the account books until 1821, by which time she was living in her new position as the Duchess of Parma.

In terms of rank and the quantity of regular purchases from LeRoy, during and after Napoleon's empire, the female members of Napoleon's family were very important customers. At different times they ruled over parts of the Italian states such as Tuscany and Naples, Spain, the German states and Holland, but they were encouraged by Napoleon to preside over courts that owed their luxurious appearances to French suppliers.⁶⁷ Purchases and payments could be made by an intermediary such as a lady-in-waiting.⁶⁸

Other high-ranking clients included the wives to seventeen out of Napoleon's twenty-six marshals as well as those who had been newly ennobled and given high political positions. One example was the Duchess de Bassano, the wife of the Emperor's most important minister, who was known as one of the most elegant hostesses at Napoleon's court. She appears in LeRoy's account books in 1812 already owing 11,806 francs for purchases in 1811.⁶⁹ She continued to make purchases until 1819 and these ranged from court dresses to riding habits. In 1813 she also purchased a striped gown for her daughter and even a white satin bonnet trimmed with white roses for her daughter's governess.⁷⁰ The pattern of other family members, and particularly a new generation, being introduced to LeRoy as clients is repeated throughout the account books. This included not only sisters and daughters but also the husband and father of the family. One example is the Rovigo family, who made purchases between 1812 and 1820. The Duc de Rovigo, whom Napoleon appointed Minister of Police between 1810 and 1814, made purchases between 1812 and 1813. The Duchesse de Rovigo made regular purchases between 1812 and 1820 for herself and for her four daughters, one of whom eventually, between 1818 and 1819, had her own account.⁷¹ Despite their identification with Napoleon's regime, like many others they were eventually accepted at the court of Louis XVIII.

There exists an intriguing suggestion by the Irish poet Thomas Moore, in his satirical poem *The Fudge Family in Paris*, that after the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, in 1814 and 1815, LeRoy became unfashionable due to his identification with Napoleon's court.⁷² This requires further investigation, but Louis XVIII did give orders in 1814 that LeRoy was to remain supplier to the imperial court. LeRoy's account books show that the highest ranking women at the Restoration court were his clients. They were the Duchesse d'Angoulême (only surviving child of Queen Marie Antoinette), the Duchesse de Berry, who became the leading hostess of the younger faction, and the Duchesse d'Orléans (later to be Queen of the French).

LeRoy's account for the Duchesse d'Angoulême began in May 1814 when preparations were being made for the ceremonial entry into Paris.⁷³ She purchased everything required from a taffeta corset, at the modest price of 40 francs, to a gown of tulle with embroidered silver spots (priced at 1,166 francs), headgear, gloves and a bouquet of roses and lilies.⁷⁴ There is a predominance of white in these purchases which was traditionally the colour associated with the Bourbons, as was the lily. The court dress included in the same order lists a pair of lappets that formed part of the new official head-dress. Her purchases continued until the limit of the account book in 1821 amounting to between 15,000 francs and 20,000 francs per month.⁷⁵ She had little personal interest in clothes but acknowledged that she was obliged to present an appearance that was appropriate to her rank.⁷⁶ The Duc de Berry (younger son of the Comte d'Artois and nephew to Louis XVIII), was concerned that his wife Marie-Caroline was being overshadowed by the duchess's fine appearance and he was instrumental in persuading his wife to patronise LeRoy for her clothes.⁷⁷

Apart from court functions, Captain Gronow has said in his memoirs that there were sixteen main families that held receptions during the Restoration period. Ten of these families had members who were LeRoy's clients: the Beaufremonts, the Chabots, the Choiseuls, the Crillons, the Gonthauts, the Grammonts, the Mailliés, the Montmorencies, the Talleyrands and the La Tour du Pins.⁷⁸ Some of the old nobility such as the Comtesse Choisi and the Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre certainly made purchases only after the Restoration.⁷⁹ There were other high-ranking foreign clients who were not linked to the French regimes and these demonstrate the extent of LeRoy's reputation.

Although Britain became the centre of anti-Napoleonic activity in Europe, this had not prevented a continuing interest in French fashions. In 1814 the British were able to visit France once more. The highest ranking clients who made purchases from LeRoy, included the Duchess of Bedford, the Duchess of Devonshire, the Duchess of Wellington and the Marchioness of Lansdowne.⁸⁰ The Duchess of Wellington made only modest purchases between 1814 and 1815, but these nevertheless included the required court dress which was of tulle embroidered in silver.⁸¹ Other celebrated society hostesses included Lady Stuart and Lady Jersey, who in 1817 purchased a range of items including a lace trimmed corset, several gowns, headgear and a fichu amounting to 775.77 francs.⁸² After the British clients the largest group consisted of Russians.

The Russian clients included the Empress and the Tsar's sister Catherine, the Grand Duchess, who made purchases in 1816 when she was going to be married for the second time. The most expensive item, at 7,500 francs, was a court dress of gold and silver with a mosaic design. These purchases were sent to her in two cartons, by courier as far as Strasbourg, at a cost of 86 francs, including customs duty.⁸³ Other high-ranking clients included the Princess Grassalkovich, Countess Kotchoubey, wife of a Russian minister, the Countess Tolstoy and Countess Bochoz.⁸⁴

The Polish aristocrat and mistress of Napoleon, Countess Marie Walewska, made regular purchases between 1812 and 1816.⁸⁵ According to her biographer, the Countess had arrived in Paris as a young unsophisticated woman and she had then learned from LeRoy how to dress and even apply make-up.⁸⁶ Her individual purchases were not very expensive but demonstrate complete outfits. For example, in July 1815 she purchased two white robes, one of crêpe, trimmed with satin, crêpe and blonde lace, and one of taffeta edged in satin. The accessories were a white straw hat trimmed with white, periwinkle blue and camellia satin ribbon and three white roses, together with matching boots of periwinkle blue.⁸⁷

Other European aristocrats included the Prince of Monaco, Princess Metternich, the Princess of Lichtenstein and Princess Esterhazy, who spent some years in London as the Austrian ambassador.⁸⁸ Apart from the aristocracy of Europe there were those who were connected to the aristocracy and the court, such as ladies-in-waiting like Madame Remusat and Madame de Montmorency. Madame Campan, who educated the female children of the elite, was also a client.⁸⁹ Then there were the wealthy middle-class clients, many of whom at the moment remain obscure. They do, however, include Madame Gros Davillier, (*negotiant*), the banker Mr Douaud, Mr Delaroche (*médecin*), Dr Hyde at the hotel de Paris and Mr Colin, notary living at the place Vendôme.⁹⁰ The theatrical profession provided clients, such as the acclaimed Italian singer Madame Grassini, Monsieur Derivise of the Opéra and the actresses Mademoiselle Mars of the Théâtre Français, who purchased daywear.⁹¹ Madame Clothilde of the Théâtre Impérial at the Opéra purchased day clothes including cotton percale dresses, a red velvet *toque*, for which she supplied an aigrette, and in 1815 a Neapolitan costume of red, black and green trimmed with gold.⁹² Examples show that clients made purchases that ranged from a few hats to the complete *toilette*.

Conclusion

Apart from a brief period after the Revolution, there was always a court with an elite that was encouraged by the monarch to purchase elaborate dress. Although court dress did not make up the majority of garments purchased from LeRoy, it was important to his business in two ways. These items were very expensive to the customer and profitable to LeRoy, and they were high profile garments that could be powerful marketing tools.⁹³ They helped to promote LeRoy's reputation as a fashion leader and arbiter of taste and this may have stimulated those of lesser rank and financial means to make some kind of purchase from him, however small. Accessories and daywear did not carry the same restrictions of rank and pocket. As about half of LeRoy's clients were untitled, a future study of their purchases would help in an understanding of consumer habits in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁹⁴

Notes

Many thanks to Richmond Parish Lands Charity, the Pasold Research Fund, Winchester School of Art and the University of Southampton for financial assistance towards this research, and for the advice and support of Professor Colin Jones, Professor Lou Taylor and my supervisor, Dr Lesley Ellis Miller.

- 1 Sir John Vanburgh, *The Confederacy*, Act II, Scene I (London, 1705).
- 2 H. Auger, 'Notice Sur L.H. LeRoy', *La Mode* (1829), p. 311.
- 3 The workers' statistics for 1807 provided by the prefect of police, record 2,500 milliners and 12,000 dressmakers at a time when the population of Paris was 580,600: D. Roche, *La Culture des apparences* (Paris, 1989; English translation, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 285–6). *The Almanach du Commerce*, which required an entry to be paid for, in 1809 lists 113 milliners (*marchands de modes*) and 10 dressmakers (*couturières*). The category of workers known as milliners developed from the corporation of mercers in 1776. At this time they sold many kinds of headgear and trimmings as well as decorating the gowns that the dressmakers stitched. During the late eighteenth century the milliner became the higher status occupation and eventually stitched and decorated the gowns and other items of clothing. During the first half of the nineteenth century the terminology for the clothing trades imperfectly described the occupation.
- 4 There is also some evidence that LeRoy's clothing was known in America. Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was married twice and his first wife was Elizabeth Patterson, an American. They were married in Baltimore in 1803 and her biographer has written that Jerome ordered Parisian *soixètes* for his bride from LeRoy. According to contemporary accounts her French fashions shocked society: C. Bourguignon-Frasseto, *Betsy Bonaparte* (Paris, 1988). In 1817 a Madame Petterson is listed in 'Grand Livre de Compte de LeRoy',

- no. 4, f. 271 and a Miss Patersonn is listed in f. 413, also for 1817: Bibliothèque nationale, FR NA 5931.
- 5 For further information on the structure of the courts and their finances see P. Mansel, *The Court of France 1789–1830* (Cambridge, 1988); idem, *The Eagle in Splendour: Napoleon I and His Court* (London, 1987); idem, *Louis XVIII* (London, 1981).
 - 6 For studies that examine the role of the eighteenth-century milliner, see J.M. Jones, 'The Taste for Fashion and Frivolity: Gender, Clothing and the Commercial Culture of the Old Regime', Princeton University, PhD dissertation, 1991; P.A. Parmal, 'Fashion and the Growing Importance of the Marchande de Modes in Mid-Eighteenth Century France', *Cosmétique: The Journal of the Costume Society*, 31 (1991), pp. 68–77; N. Pellegrin, *Marchande de modes, les vêtements de la liberté, abécédaire des pratiques vestimentaires de 1780 à 1800* (Aix-en-Provence, 1989), and Roche, *La Culture des apparences*.
 - 7 D. Roche provides an overview of the whole clothing system and its social meaning in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He argues that there was a 'clothing revolution' in the late eighteenth century that involved 'fashion' and fast-moving consumption: *La Culture des apparences*. See also idem, *Histoire des Choses Banales: Naissance de la Consommation XVIIIe–XIXe* (Paris, 1997). C. Fairchild examines the importance of what she calls the 'consumer revolution' in France against the traditional view that London provided the model for Europe. She examines the production and consumption of 'populuxe' items (cheap copies of luxury goods), guild controls and the importance of the milliner and their innovations in retailing: C. Fairchild, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth Century Paris', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993).
 - 8 P. Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie, une histoire du vêtement au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1981; English translation, *A History of the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1994)); R. Williams, *Dream Worlds, Mass Consumption in Late 19th Century France* (Berkeley, 1982); J. Coffin, *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trades, 1750–1915* (Princeton, 1996).
 - 9 See A. Daumard, *Les Bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France depuis 1815* (Paris, 1987); P. Pilleam, ed., *Themes in Modern European History 1780–1830* (London, 1995); and idem, *The Middle Class in Europe, 1789–1914* (London, 1990).
 - 10 See N. McKendrick, 'The Commercialisation of Fashion', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, eds, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1983).
 - 11 For a consideration of arguments about 'luxury' see Roche, *La Culture des apparences*. See also engravings such as 'La Mère à la Mode – La Mère Telle Que Toutes Devraient Être', c. 1800 and Anonyme, 'Luxe et Indigence', c. 1818.
 - 12 For the continuation of this approach see the series of twentieth-century designer monographs, *Fashion Memoirs* (London and Paris, 1996).
 - 13 D. de Marly, *The History of Haute Couture* (London, 1980); idem, *Worth, Father of Haute Couture* (London, 1980); F. Boucher, *Histoire du Costume en Occident, de l'Antiquité à Nos Jours* (Paris, 1967). For an acknowledgment of LeRoy's position in the hierarchy of historical 'designers', see H. Bouchot, *La Toilettée à la Cour de Napoléon* (Paris, 1895); P. Seguy, *Histoire des modes sous*
- 1 Empire (Paris, 1988); and F. Foulkes, 'Louis Hippolyte LeRoy 1763–1829: Grandfather of Haute Couture', Winchester School of Art, unpublished MA dissertation, 1995.
 - 14 McKendrick, 'The Commercialisation of Fashion'.
 - 15 L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760* (London, 1988); D. Hebdidge, *Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle, Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things* (Paris, 1988); A. Vickery, 'Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751–81', in Brewer and Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, pp. 274–301.
 - 16 M. Douglas and B. Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (Glasgow, 1979).
 - 17 D. Roche, *Le Peuple de Paris* (Paris, 1981; English translation, *The People of Paris* (Oxford, 1987)).
 - 18 Regarding the importance of fashion, see McKendrick, 'The Commercialisation of Fashion', and Roche, *La Culture des apparences*, and regarding fashion and its adoption by distinct social groups see Perrot, *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie*, p. 174. For contemporary Irish comments on the importance of fashion to French society, see *Lady Morgan in France*, ed. E. Suddaby and P.J. Yarrow (Exeter, 1971).
 - 19 There were no fashion journals published in Paris between spring 1783 and March 1797, when the *Journal des Dames* was published. In September 1797 the *Journal des Dames et des Modes* commenced and continued to publish until 1839.
 - 20 J.M. Jones, 'Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France', *French Historical Studies*, 18 (1994), pp. 939–67.
 - 21 Grand Livre de Compte no. 4 (1812–21); Grand Livre de Compte no. 5 (1818–21).
 - 22 Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy', pp. 280–321; (1830), pp. 145–62 and 348–55.
 - 23 Inventaire Après Décès de L.H. LeRoy, Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), Minutier Central, ET/CXVII/1138, 25 March 1829.
 - 24 From 1793 until 1806 the street was known as Rue de la Loi: J. Hillairet, *Dictionnaire Historique des Rues de Paris* (Paris, 1963 and 1972).
 - 25 *Recettes et Dépenses de l'Impératrice Joséphine*, 1804–9, Musée de Malmaison.
 - 26 L.H. LeRoy, *La Mode* (1830), p. 352.
 - 27 In 1824 LeRoy had a business association with Esther Gabrielle LeRoy (wife of Lazare Auger), Mademoiselle Genevieve Victoire Brunet and Madame Jeanne Agathe Morial (widow of Monsteur Jean Jacques Pillon). The three women were living at 36 rue de Rivoli: Archives de Paris, D32 U3 9 and D2 U3 1819. When LeRoy died in 1829 the documents showed that he had been in a business association for the sale of fashionable goods (*commerce de nouveautés*) with Madame Agathe Jeanne Morial (widow, Pillon), who lived at and worked from 36 rue de Rivoli, AN, Minutier Central, ET/CXVII/1138.
 - 28 *Almanach du Commerce*, 1841.
 - 29 Grand Livre no. 5, f. 67, 1818–21, salary 400 francs p.a. Esther married Lazare Auger, who was Hippolyte Auger's brother (the writer of LeRoy's obituary notice).
 - 30 It is not possible to be sure of the exact number of people that LeRoy employed, as according to Roche many of those employed in the dressmaking trades were paid by the hour or day to carry out the work at home and may not

- have been officially recorded: Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, and Grand Livres nos 4 and 5.
- 31 Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1829), p. 312.
- 32 The one-piece chemise dress of the 1780s was a technical advance from the earlier eighteenth-century form of dress that consisted of a petticoat, gown and stomacher that had to be pinned or stitched together when worn, over the chemise and corset. It normally had gathering to achieve a fit over the bust. By the early 1800s this dress had developed into a simpler, smaller shape and a closer fit was achieved by different methods, including shaped pattern pieces and bust darts. The shape of the skirt was achieved by the cutting of side panels and controlled gathering. The opening was often at the centre back and was fastened by either hooks and eyes, buttons or laces. The use of linings, the development of finer sewing thread and increased skill in needlework helped to achieve a high quality of construction.
- 33 Normally LeRoy supplied the fabrics and other raw materials. The Empress Josephine supplied some fabrics and trimmings, but this may have been a reflection both of her particular interest and her unique status as patron of French manufacturers.
- 34 Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1829), p. 286.
- 35 'Although the barbarous practice of covering one's clothing with precious metals has been abolished, taste still reigns in France': *Journal de la Mode et du Gout*, April 1791, quoted in Jones, 'Repackaging Rousseau', p. 966; and 'luxury went out, but is now within reach of all citizens, since it resides in the comfort, propriety and elegance of form', in *Le Cabinet des Modes*, 21 September 1790, quoted in Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, p. 148.
- 36 Duchesse d'Abbrantès, *At the Court of Napoleon: Memoirs of the Duchesse D'Abbrantès* (Gloucester, 1991), p. 251. For a study of the use of embroidery on LeRoy's garments see F. Foulkes, 'All That Glitters ... LeRoy and Embroidery', *Text: For the Study of Textile Art Design & History*, 24 (1996), pp. 17-21.
- 37 Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1830), p. 152.
- 38 Documents relating to the *corbeille de mariage* de Catherine de Wurtemberg, AN, 07/31.
- 39 Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1830), p. 320.
- 40 *Ibid.* (1830), p. 355.
- 41 LeRoy's opinions about his profession were recorded by Napoleon's civil service because LeRoy attempted to justify his refusal to have his products evaluated during the *estimation* that Napoleon insisted upon: documents relating to the *corbeille de mariage* de Catherine de Wurtemberg, AN, 07/31.
- 42 Two examples reveal LeRoy's concern for the financial side of his business. The first is a letter from LeRoy to Madame Lavalette, who controlled the Empress Josephine's wardrobe. In this letter LeRoy discussed several orders that were under way and asked for his expressions of admiration to be passed on to the Empress. However, this is then followed by a reminder that purchases have reached the maximum of 7,000 francs per month, imposed by Napoleon, and this must be dealt with as soon as possible (16 May 1809): Documents relating to the Empress Josephine, The Victoria and Albert Museum, 86.UU. 1, 2. The second example is a judgement of the 'Premiere Chambre de la Cour Royale de Paris' that was published in the *Gazette des Tribunaux* for 8 November 1826 which found against Madame Amelin and in favour of LeRoy. Madame Amelin

- was ordered to pay 3,155 francs to LeRoy for goods supplied twenty-five years before in year IX (September 1800-1).
- 43 A play written by M. de Jouy had a character based on LeRoy played by the actor Hippolyte of the Vaudeville: Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1830), p. 316. LeRoy owned a house in the prestigious rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, where he bought number 41 in 1821 for 135,000 francs: AN, Minutier Central, RE/CXVIII/18. Before this in 1818 he had sold a house in the Bois de Boulogne, 7 rue Montmorency: AN, Minutier Central, ET/VII/621. He may have sold this house in order to purchase a country estate at Franconville, Val D'Oise, north of Paris. Perhaps the ultimate evidence of his status is that after his death he was buried in the new and expensive cemetery, later known as 'Père Lachaise'. His widow spent 1,000 francs on suitable mourning clothes for the domestic staff: AN, Inventaire Après Décès.
- 44 Important news about the court was sometimes thought to emanate from him. See the letter from the Empress Josephine to her daughter Hortense regarding the possibility of Prince Eugene's wedding: B. Chevallier and C. Pincemaille, *L'Impératrice Joséphine* (Paris, 1988), p. 311.
- 45 E. Planta, *A New Picture of Paris* (London, 1814).
- 46 Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1829), pp. 315-16; Auger said that the sumptuous use of bronze and glass created a fairy-tale quality in the salons which was an important innovation soon copied by other lesser *boutiques*: *ibid.*, p. 315. For a further discussion of the experience of purchasing between merchant and client, see C. Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets* (London, 1996).
- 47 For more information about fashion journals, see M. Ginsburg, *An Introduction to Fashion Illustration* (London, 1980); Musée de la Mode et du Costume, *Modes & Révolutions 1780-1804* (Paris, 1989); R. Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la Gravure de Mode Française des Origines à 1815* (Paris, 1983); *idem*, *La Gravure de Mode Féminine en France* (Paris, 1983). For a discussion of the origins of the drawings and designs in fashion plates see Musée Galliera, *Le Dessin Sous Toutes ses Coutures* (Paris, 1995); Jones, 'Repackaging Rousseau'.
- 48 H. Auger, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1891).
- 49 Auger referred to the coronation of Napoleon as a ceremony that sanctioned a government of luxury: Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1829), p. 314.
- 50 The client number is approximate because sometimes it is not clear whether the same client is referred to or a relation of the client. Also many purchases without an account are commissions for other people. The number of clients is therefore likely to be an underestimation.
- 51 Other foreign titles were as follows: seven from Italy, one from Poland, one from Sweden, one from Monaco, one from Holland and two from Spain. These included French nationals, such as Hortense who became Queen of Holland. I am referring to the American Elizabeth Patterson, once the wife of Jerome Bonaparte. See note 4.
- 53 The accounts of male clients require more examination; however one example of an outfit purchased for himself is as follows: Marshal MacDonald, Duc de Carante, purchased a Neapolitan masquerade costume in 1818: Grand Livre, 5, f. 15.
- 54 This loyalty was not restricted to French clients. The British aristocrat Lady Ailesbury made purchases between 1814 and 1819: Grand Livre, 4, ff. 381, 382 and 432.

- 55 Napoleon was supplied with several velvet and beaver hats by LeRoy, purchased by the Empress Josephine. Invoice January 1809, Documents – Empress Josephine. LeRoy also carried out repairs to Napoleon's imperial mantle, at the time of preparations for his second marriage, in March 1810: AN, 0/2/33. Napoleon's attention to appearances was also referred to by Mademoiselle Avrillon in her memoirs and quoted by P. Seguy, *Histoire des modes sous l'Empire* (Paris, 1988), p. 141. In 1807 Napoleon sent presents of a Sevres dinner service to Tsar Alexander of Russia together with a cartoon of LeRoy's dresses for the Tsar's mistress, Elizabeth Antonovna. He is reported as saying, 'I chose them myself. You know I have a good understanding of fashion': C. Sutherland, *Marie Walewska* (London, 1986), p. 112.
- 56 According to Auger, LeRoy deliberately ousted Madame Germond from her position as Josephine's milliner: 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1829) p. 313.
- 57 The Empress Josephine retained a reputation for her stylish and fashionable appearance, as is shown by the following publication: Anon, *Court and Camp of Buonaparte* (London, 1831): 'All the fashions emanated from her, and everything she put on appeared elegant', p. 118.
- 58 Madame de Remusat, *Mémoires*, 2 vols (Paris, 1880). See also Froulkes, *LeRoy and Embroidery*; and *Soieries de Lyon. Commandes Impériales, Musée Historique des Tissus* (Avignon, 1982).
- 59 Documents relating to the Empress Josephine, Victoria and Albert Museum.
- 60 Napoleon attempted to impose a limit of 7,000 francs per month on Josephine's expenditure at Maison LeRoy; however, it was never really adhered to: *Recettes et Dépenses*.
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 Queen Hortense, *Grand Livre de Compte*, 4, ff. 11, 38, 60, 74, 102, 135, 148, 192, 230, 323, 324, 1813–17; 5, f. 81, 1818–19.
- 64 There is, however, evidence of the close relationship that developed between LeRoy, his family and the Empress, and Auger related that after her death LeRoy's busts and paintings of her were for a long time draped in funeral crepe and together treated like a shrine: Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1829), p. 153.
- 65 AN, 0/2/1217.
- 66 Between April and November 1810, she purchased goods from LeRoy to the value of 104,502 francs, 75 centimes: F. Masson, *Private Diaries of Empress Marie Louise* (London, 1922). *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 1, 239, 441, 442, 467 and 476, 1812–18; *Grand Livre*, 5, ff. 50, 51, 96, 124, 1818–21.
- 67 Some family members married into the aristocracy of other countries, such as Pauline Bonaparte, who married the Italian Prince Borghese, and Prince Eugene (Josephine's son who was adopted by Napoleon), who married the daughter of the king of Bavaria.
- 68 One example is Elisa Bonaparte, Princess of Piombino and Grand Duchess of Tuscany, who employed her lady-in-waiting Madame Laplace (who also had her own account) to send garments to her.
- 69 *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 5, 43, 50, 115, 142, 201, 400, 412, 1812–16 and *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 66, 1818–19.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 Duc de Rovigo, *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 44, 1812–13. Duchesse de Rovigo, including purchases for Mademoiselle Hortense, Leontine, Pauline and Marie, ff. 44, 90, 130, 163, 177, 205, 389, 423, 453 and 471, 1812–18. Mademoiselle Hortense Rovigo, f. 196, 1818–19.
- 72 'That, by Pa's strict command, I no longer employ That, enchanting *cousinière*, Madam LE ROI But am forc'd, dear, to have VICTORINE, who – deuce take her! It seems is, at present, the king's mantua-maker – I mean of his party – and, though much the smartest, LE ROI is condemn'd as a rank Bonepartist.
- T. Brown, *The Fudge Family in Paris* (London, 1818), pp. 135–6.
- 73 *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 286.
- 74 *Ibid.*
- 75 *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 325; *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 1.
- 76 See Auger, 'Notice sur L.H. LeRoy' (1830), pp. 150–4.
- 77 *Ibid.*, pp. 155–8.
- 78 J. Raymond, *The Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow* (London, 1964), p. 100.
- 79 *Grand Livre*, 4, Madame Choisy, ff. 285 and 357 (1814–15) and Comtesse Choisy, ff. 444 and 445 (1815–16). Madame Clermont-Tonnere, ff. 288 and 314 (1814–16) and Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnere, *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 13 (1818–21).
- 80 Respectively, *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 273 (1816–18), f. 434 (1815), f. 383 (1814–15) and f. 307 (1814).
- 81 The Duke of Wellington was the British Ambassador to France at this time.
- 82 Respectively, *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 116, 193 and 276 (1813–15) and f. 467 (1817).
- 83 *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 338, 339, 340 (1814), ff. 367, 439, 450 (1814–16).
- 84 *Ibid.*, ff. respectively, 372 and 435 (1814–17) and *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 57 (1819); *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 224 (1818); *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 478 (1818); *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 150 (1813).
- 85 *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 3, 20, 144, 226, 326, 396 (1812–16).
- 86 Sutherland, *Marie Walewska*, pp. 112–13.
- 87 *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 3–396.
- 88 *Ibid.*, respectively, f. 22 (1814); f. 281 (1814); f. 311 (1814); ff. 100, 171 (1813, 1816) and *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 82 (1819); see also Princess Schawwsemburg's account: she made purchases for Princess Esterhazy.
- 89 *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 114 (1812–13).
- 90 *Ibid.*, ff. respectively, 76, 210, 240, 353, 466 (1813–19); f. 236 (1813–14); *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 88 (1820); *Grand Livre*, 4, f. 405 (1816) and f. 252 (1814–15).
- 91 *Ibid.*, ff. respectively, 380, (1815–16); 264 (1814); *Grand Livre*, 5, f. 26 (1818); *Grand Livre*, 4, ff. 159 and 395 (1813–16).
- 92 *Ibid.*, ff. 159 and 395.
- 93 According to Napoleon's civil service, LeRoy's profit margin was higher than other milliners due to his reputation.
- 94 I am continuing to examine these questions about the importance of the milliner to the Parisian clothing system during my research for a PhD thesis being undertaken at the University of Southampton. The title of my thesis is 'Dressing Royalty: The Luxury Clothing Industry for Women in Paris 1795–1848'.

*Consumers
and luxury*

CONSUMER CULTURE
IN EUROPE 1650-1850

EDITED BY
MAXINE BERG AND HELEN CLIFFORD

Manchester University Press
MANCHESTER AND NEW YORK

distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press

Copyright © Manchester University Press 1999

While copyright in the volume as a whole is vested in Manchester University Press, copyright in individual chapters belongs to their respective authors, and no chapter may be reproduced wholly or in part without the express permission in writing of both author and publisher.

Published by Manchester University Press
Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9NR, UK
and Room 400, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA
<http://www.man.ac.uk/map>

Distributed exclusively in the USA by
St. Martin's Press, Inc., 175 Fifth Avenue, New York,
NY 10010, USA

Distributed exclusively in Canada by
UBC Press, University of British Columbia, 6344 Memorial Road,
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library
Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data applied for

ISBN 0 7190 5273 4 *hardback*
0 7190 5274 2 *paperback*

First published 1999

05 04 03 02 01 00 99 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Typeset in 11/13pt Goudy
by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong
Printed in Great Britain
by Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

CONTENTS ©©

List of illustrations	page vii
List of contributors	x
Preface	xii

Introduction	1
MAXINE BERG AND HELEN CLIFFORD	

PART ONE Luxury and necessity

1 Adam Smith's accommodation of 'altogether endless' desires	18
NEIL DE MARCHI	
2 Sans-culottes, <i>sans café</i> , <i>sans tabac</i> : shifting realms of necessity and luxury in eighteenth-century France	37
COLIN JONES AND REBECCA SPANG	
3 New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England	63
MAXINE BERG	

PART TWO Novelty and imitation

4 In the name of the tulip. Why speculation?	88
MARINA BIANCHI	
5 Colours and colour making in the eighteenth century	103
SARAH LOWENGARD	

PART THREE Public and private

6 Jewellery in eighteenth-century England	120
MARCIA POINTON	
7 A commerce with things: the value of precious metalwork in early modern England	147
HELEN CLIFFORD	