

**'It is the Hat that Matters the Most':
Hats, Propriety, and Fashion in British Fiction, 1890-1930**

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Essential to both propriety and fashion, hats were a crucial aspect of British female dress and appearance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This article shows how British novelists of this period, ranging from mainstream to experimental, understood this importance. With appropriate contextualization, these literary depictions can illuminate how women wore and felt about their hats. Authors such as Frances Hodgson Burnett, Dorothy Whipple, and Virginia Woolf used these accessories to explore social respectability and convention, the pleasures and challenges of following fashion, and consumption strategies among women. Despite the era's significant social changes, remarkable continuity exists in these literary representations of hats.

KEYWORDS: hat, millinery, late nineteenth-century fashion, early twentieth-century fashion, British fiction, etiquette, propriety, social ritual

‘It is the hat that matters the most’, she would say, when they walked out together. Every hat that passed, she would examine; and the cloak and the dress and the way the woman held herself.¹

In this passage from her 1925 novel *Mrs Dalloway*, Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) describes how Rezia, the Italian milliner wife of the shell-shocked Septimus Warren Smith, observes women's hats as she walks through London with her husband. She appreciates hats of both shop girls and elegant French tourists, as long as they are worn well. Woolf's words underscore the crucial importance of hats in female appearance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This concern resonated throughout contemporary fashion and advice literature, as when a 1907 etiquette guide proclaimed, ‘No lady ought to be indifferent about her hat. It is to her face what the setting is to a jewel’.² During this period hats served an array of significant functions, as they protected, flattered, and sometimes betrayed their female wearers.

This article examines the ways in which British novelists used references to women's hats to explore issues of etiquette, character, and social change from 1890 to 1930. For many British women, social and political roles altered dramatically during this

period, as women won the vote and entered the workforce in increasing numbers, both in war and peace time. Fashion in dress changed significantly, moving from a silhouette with a defined waist and full skirt and sleeves to a columnar line with shorter hemlines.³ Styles of millinery shifted too, from hats that showcased trimmings including birds, feathers and flowers and perched on ample heads of hair to sleek cloches and romantic picture hats, often worn with newly-short hairstyles.⁴ Despite these transformations, the hat remained an essential accessory for every woman who could afford one throughout the period.⁵ The contemporary necessity and ubiquity of hats confirm their importance to female dress.

In this journal, Anne Buck pioneered the academic investigation of how dress and fashion work in fiction. As Buck argued, a novel can show ‘dress in action within the novelist’s world’.⁶ Recent scholarship has added substantially to this research, with several edited collections investigating the wide range of authors who use dress in their writing.⁷ Sarah Parker has detailed how scholars of English literature have focussed particularly on clothing in nineteenth-century literature, exploring the dramatic changes in shopping, popular consumption, and women’s social and economic roles during this period.⁸ Scholars such as Vike Martina Plock have also examined dress in the literature of the early to mid-twentieth century, often focusing on individual authors.⁹

Dress historians, however, need to use fictional references carefully. Lou Taylor cites Doris Langley Moore’s mid-twentieth century warning: ‘the novelists of any period, enlightening as they are, tend to fall into the conventions of that period, which to a large extent they themselves create’.¹⁰ Textual, visual and material sources should be used to contextualize evidence from novels, as this article does. Acknowledging this important caveat, fiction of the past can provide evocative evidence of how wearers experienced clothing.¹¹ Clair Hughes highlights this important value of fiction: ‘[R]eferences to dress for both reader and writer contribute to the “reality effect”’: they lend tangibility and

visibility to character and context'.¹² Both Hughes and Taylor underscore John Harvey's apposite observation that references to dress in fiction can be 'the complication of social life made visible'.¹³ To explore the complex meanings that hats held during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this article considers a variety of contemporary novels. This selection represents the range of the kinds of fiction written and read during these decades, from the popular romance novels of Elinor Glyn to the avant garde modernism of Virginia Woolf. The main body of the article will introduce and contextualize each author.

Contemporary millinery and etiquette guides provide necessary background about the making and wearing of hats. Oriole Cullen notes that etiquette books often devoted whole chapters to hats 'with the clear impression that a woman's choice of millinery figured prominently in the impression she made on others'.¹⁴ Both types of guide survive in substantial numbers, indicating the demand for practical advice about hat construction and wear. Text and images drawn from fashion journalism in elite women's magazines, such as *The Queen* and *Vogue*, furnish useful context about the fashionable ideals of the period. Objects surviving in museum collections, although often missing original trimmings due to removal or wear, reveal something of the reality of what women wore on their heads.

In examining fictional references to hats and headwear, mainly of middle-class and elite female characters, this article addresses three themes: the role played by hats in everyday female rituals and propriety, the way in which hats could (and could not be) a marker of women's fashion sense, and how hats figured in aspects of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century practices of consumption. It argues that continuities in representation exist across literary genres and styles.

WOMEN, PROPRIETY, AND EVERYDAY RITUAL

Hats during this period were crucial badges of respectability for both men and women. To illustrate this point, Madeleine Ginsburg quotes Robert Roberts's (1905-1974) memoir of his childhood in an early twentieth-century Salford slum: 'A man or woman, walking the street hatless, struck one as either "low", wretchedly poor, just plain eccentric or even faintly obscene'.¹⁵ For social calls, lunches, church, and shopping, women also wore their hats indoors, only removing them in their homes or with close friends and family members. Erving Goffman's division of social space into different 'regions', in which different behaviours are acceptable, provides a useful way in which to consider these social practices associated with hats. In his analysis, Goffman employs the 'perspective...of the theatrical performance', discussing the 'front region' and the 'back region' or 'backstage' in social life.¹⁶ Likewise, in their literary references to hats during this period, authors assumed that readers knew the regions where hats should and should not be worn. Rather than explicitly describing female characters passing between public outdoor and more private indoor spaces, authors often indicated or emphasised their movement by referring to the taking off or putting on of hats.

Dorothy Whipple (1893-1966) employed this strategy throughout her 1930 novel, *High Wages*. In her popular 'middlebrow' novels, Whipple often followed the personal growth of female characters.¹⁷ *High Wages* tells the story of the young Jane who opens a dress shop in a provincial town in the North of England just before World War I. When Jane arrives in the house over the shop where she finds her first job, the reader knows she is staying when she takes off her 'insignificant black hat'.¹⁸ Whipple suggests the fatigue, but also the obligation to a friend, that Jane feels after a long working day when she writes, 'Heavily Jane put on her hat and coat and accompanied Maggie to the Star Picture Palace'.¹⁹ When Jane is running her own business and receives news of profits from her

accountant, putting on her hat again signals her loyalty, this time to a friend who has invested in her company: 'She undoubled herself from the desk and put on her hat. Tired as she was, she must go and tell Mrs Briggs all Mr Robinson had said'.²⁰ The feminine routine of passing from 'back region' to 'front region' appears clearly in Whipple's brief, passing references to hats.

Virginia Woolf also alludes to female ritual by referring to hats, albeit in a very different prose style than Whipple. Woolf is now recognized as one of the most important figures in modernist literature and Randi Koppen argues that Woolf used clothing in her fiction to explore the 'modern projects of self-fashioning [and] visual proclamations of new aesthetics'.²¹ In *Mrs Dalloway*, the novel's main character is Clarissa Dalloway, a London society matron. The book, set during the course of one June day in 1923, begins with Clarissa walking through London doing errands. She returns to her home just before lunch and Woolf comments: 'Like a nun withdrawing...she went, upstairs...Women must put off their rich apparel. At midday they must disrobe. She pierced the pincushion and laid her feathered yellow hat on the bed'.²² In this passage, Woolf highlights the gendered nature of Clarissa's movement through social space, a theme that Goffman also explores. As Efrat Tseëlon notes, Goffman argues that 'gender patterns reflect a historical habit: the frequency of playing a certain role on the historical stage'.²³ Like Whipple, Woolf signals social custom and behaviour, especially ingrained in a conventional character like Clarissa, through this reference to hats.

Hats were removed when social rules relaxed. In *High Wages*, the friendly Mrs Briggs greets Jane saying, "I've been watching for you. Would you like to take your hat off? I know it's not the thing to ask people to do, but you and me don't need to bother about that, do we? Take off your hat and make yourself at home".²⁴ When Jane walks through the park with her friend Wilfrid on a summer evening, they sit down on a bench.

Whipple notes: 'Jane took off her hat, and moved her head from side to side with delight to feel the soft air on her forehead'.²⁵ These fictional examples suggest that the rules of decorum, including the convention that women's hats stayed on outdoors and during formal social calls, could potentially loosen among friends. Taking off one's hat shows how the boundaries between 'front regions' and 'back regions' could blur and change in certain contexts.

Authors also indicate social unease through references to their female characters' hats. In *Mrs Dalloway*, when Clarissa is on her morning walk, she runs into a childhood friend, Hugh Whitbread. Despite their long connection and Woolf's description of Clarissa as an attractive, well-dressed woman, Clarissa feels slightly uncomfortable talking with Hugh: '[she] felt very sisterly of course and oddly conscious at the same time of her hat. Not the right hat for the early morning, was it that?...she always felt a little skimpy beside Hugh; schoolgirlish'.²⁶

Woolf's diaries and letters reveal that clothing and appearance were a source of both pleasure and anxiety for her.²⁷ The year after *Mrs Dalloway* was published, she wrote in her diary:

This is the last day of June & finds me in black despair because Clive [Bell] laughed at my new hat, Vita [Sackville-West] pitied me, & I sank to the depths of gloom....I was wearing the hat without thinking whether it was good or bad...Clive suddenly said, or bawled rather, what an astonishing hat you're wearing!....Duncan [Grant] prim & acid as ever told me it was utterly impossible to do anything with a hat like that.²⁸

Woolf's personal self-consciousness regarding appearance thus manifested itself in her fiction.²⁹ Clarissa does not feel humiliated, as Woolf did, but she clearly feels social

discomfort due to her hat. The necessity of a hat meant that it could potentially unsettle or even betray its wearer, shaking confidence and equilibrium.

The importance of hats to female propriety is perhaps best indicated by authors' references to them when conventions and rules are upset, sometimes dramatically. Generally, writers most often notice and discuss dress when it causes physical or social discomfort. In the pre-World War I evening walk scene in *High Wages* described earlier, Wilfrid unexpectedly tries to kiss Jane. The hat she has removed appears again: 'The spell of the night broke harshly. Jane jumped to her feet. Her hat rolled away over the path. She stood in a panic'.³⁰ Whipple emphasises Jane's surprise and confusion through the errant hat.

Fashionable women's hats grew in size during the first decade of the twentieth century, reaching their maximum width in 1910-11. Stylish hats, such as those worn by the fashionable Heather Firbank (1888-1954), featured elaborate trimming, including feathers, flowers, and ribbons.³¹ A 1912 advertisement for 'Practical Millinery' available at J. Woodrow of Piccadilly shows some relatively restrained examples of pre-war hats (Figure 1). Although at this point in the novel, Jane would certainly have not acquired her hat on Piccadilly in London, this advertisement gives some idea of the shape and trimming that Whipple hoped to evoke. The substantial size, round shape, and limited decoration of these hats mean that, under similar circumstances, many could indeed have rolled away.

In his 1909 novel *Ann Veronica*, H G Wells (1866-1946) also explores the connections between propriety and women's hats. Best known for his popular science fiction, Wells also wrote several novels in which he addressed the social and sexual mores of early twentieth-century England.³² The book's protagonist, modelled on Cambridge undergraduate Amber Reeves (1887-1981), is a young woman who studies biology at university in London and becomes involved with the women's suffrage movement. Wells

had an affair with Reeves and some contemporaries objected to the book as the egocentric rationalization of his objectionable behaviour.³³ Although Wells' conduct deserves to be criticized, he did portray his heroine with sympathy and some subtlety. In a chilling scene, Ann Veronica is sexually attacked by Ramage, a man whom she considers a friend, but who actually wants to make her his mistress. When the assault is interrupted, Ann Veronica escapes, dishevelled, but with her hat: "I am going," she said grimly, with three hairpins in her mouth. She took her hat from the peg in the corner and began to put it on. He regarded that perennial miracle of pinning with wrathful eyes'.³⁴ Contemporary fashionable hats and hairstyles required time, care and skill to arrange. This feminine work could only happen in a 'back region' where, Goffman asserts, 'costumes and other parts of personal front may be adjusted or scrutinized for flaws' before women entered public spaces.³⁵ By referring to their female characters' hats in tense, hatless moments, authors such as Wells and Whipple signal the upset and the attempted restoration of respectable female codes of conduct.

One of the most vivid sets of references to hats in *Ann Veronica* occurs when the heroine takes part in a demonstration in support of women's suffrage that culminates in her arrest. Wells relates the moment when the protest becomes violent: 'The affair passed at one leap from a spree to a nightmare of violence and disgust. Her hair got loose, her hat came over one eye and she had no free arm to replace it. She felt she must suffocate if these men did not put her down...'³⁶ Throughout this scene, Ann Veronica notices a 'little old lady in a bonnet' participating enthusiastically.³⁷ This woman is arrested as well and Ann Veronica: 'had a horrible glimpse of the once nice little old lady being also borne stationward, still faintly battling and very muddy—one lock of greyish hair straggling over her neck, her face scared, white, but triumphant. Her bonnet dropped off and was trampled

into the gutter. A little Cockney recovered it, and made ridiculous attempts to get it to her and replace it'.³⁸

In this scene, the concern that both participants and spectators have for keeping women's hats on their wearers' heads dramatically underscores the importance of these objects as signifiers of feminine respectability. Many women involved with the female suffrage movement consciously adhered to the standards of middle-class fashion, in large part because they were engaging in the kind of radical political action that many of their contemporaries considered 'unfeminine'.³⁹ Wendy Parkins argues that these campaigners used this sartorial strategy to 'dr[a]w attention to female specificity as grounds for inclusion rather than exclusion from the political domain'.⁴⁰ In a 1911 photograph of women's suffrage supporters, tailor-made suits, gloves, and firmly-pinned, well-trimmed hats confirm the respectable appearance of the demonstrators (Figure 2). Some women involved in the women's suffrage movement at the time disparaged Wells for his unflattering portrayal of suffragettes in the novel. Wells contended that he was not against women's suffrage, although he admitted to criticizing some of the cause's more radical activists.⁴¹ Compared to many of his contemporaries, however, Wells wrote sympathetically about very recent events, insisting on the femininity of his female characters through their efforts to retain their hats and therefore their dignity.

Although writing with different aims and representing very different female characters, Woolf, Whipple, and Wells all used hats to explore 'the complication of social life' for women.⁴² As an everyday accessory for all women, the hat's presence or absence signalled formality or intimacy. Through references to hats, authors showed how women moved through space between 'front regions' and 'back regions', in Goffman's terms. The ordinariness of hats also meant that they could serve as powerful indices of both expectations and violations of female routine and propriety.

FASHIONABLE MILLINERY

Extraordinary, rather than ordinary, hats also appeared in novels by late nineteenth and early twentieth century authors. Hats were of particular importance in women's dress, largely because of their ability to emphasise beauty of the face and neck, as well as their role in creating a fashionable silhouette.⁴³ Hats, especially new hats, were often meant to be remarkable and Oriole Cullen underscores '[t]he morale-boosting properties of purchasing a new hat'.⁴⁴ In *Mrs Dalloway*, as Rezia struggles with her husband's shell-shock induced psychological distance, Woolf narrates, 'She put on her lace collar. She put on her new hat and he never noticed'.⁴⁵ Woolf emphasises Septimus's trauma by noting his inability to act in ways in which a husband would be expected to behave by contemporaries.

In her fiction, Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849-1924) discusses hats, some very noteworthy, worn by women across the social spectrum. Although best-remembered for her popular children's fiction, Burnett also wrote more than twenty novels for adults. She enjoyed dress throughout her life and in her fiction she was intensely aware of and interested in the importance of clothing and appearances.⁴⁶ In her 1901 novel *The Making of a Marchioness*, Burnett mounted 'an effective indictment of Edwardian society', according to Gillian Avery.⁴⁷ Exploring the gradations and hypocrisies of social class, Burnett tells the story of Emily Fox-Seton, a well-born but penniless young woman.⁴⁸ In the book, Emily's aristocratic employer, Lady Maria, instructs her to join her at her country house. Emily, an accomplished shopper of sales, dresses appropriately and respectably for the train journey. Burnett notes that she is wearing a 'new sailor-hat' and that '[s]he looked nice and taugt and fresh, but notably inexpensive'.⁴⁹ Madeleine Ginsburg confirms the ubiquity of the sailor, or boater, hat in the late nineteenth century,

worn by women ranging ‘from Gibson girl to governess’.⁵⁰ Made of sturdy straw with straight sides and brims, sailor hats were usually plainly trimmed.⁵¹ These hats survive in museum collections, further demonstrating their popularity. A black-and-white sailor hat of about 1900 in the Snowhill Manor collection suggests Emily’s simple, but smart, appearance (Figure 3).

Emily’s straightened financial circumstances dictate her simple choice of headwear. Travelling to Lady Maria’s house, Emily meets an American mother and daughter on their way to the same house party. The daughter, Cora, is dressed very differently from Emily. Noting that Cora is pretty and slim, Burnett continues: ‘Her large picture-hat of pale-blue straw, with its big gauze bow and crushed roses, had a slightly exaggerated Parisian air. “It is a little too picturesque,” Emily thought; “but how lovely she looks in it! I suppose it was so becoming she could not help buying it. I’m sure it’s Virot”’.⁵² It emerges that mother and daughter have been in Paris for several months, spending a substantial amount of time (and money) shopping at the famous couture salons of Paquin, Doucet, and Virot.⁵³

Madame Virot (1826-1911) was one of the most famous Paris milliners of the late nineteenth century, who collaborated with the House of Worth in the 1890s and had her own atelier on the Rue de la Paix.⁵⁴ The elegant Chicagoan Mrs Augustus Newland Eddy (1850-1909) recommended Virot to a friend planning to visit Paris and Mrs Louis Comfort Tiffany’s (1851-1904) Virot hat survives in the collection of the Museum of the City of New York, showing that wealthy Americans patronised this milliner in fact as well as fiction.⁵⁵ Madeleine Ginsburg notes that Virot’s hats ‘were the darlings of the smart set in the fictional pages of Ouida [1839-1908] and Edith Wharton [1862-1937]’, indicating that Burnett was not alone among contemporary novelists in her name-dropping.⁵⁶ A hat surviving in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection is dated later than *The Making of a Marchioness*, but it suggests that gauze and roses may have characterized Virot’s work

from this period (Figure 4). By referring explicitly to Viot, Burnett demonstrates to her readers not only that Cora is operating at the highest levels of international fashion, but also that she is perhaps a little too fashionable for a visit to an English country house. In this passage, Burnett also shows that Emily can read and understand these signals. In this world of appearances, Emily's knowledge is power and indicates her ability to participate in the world of elite fashion, at least (initially) as an observer.

Burnett's reference to Viot is one of the few references to named fashionable milliners this research has discovered in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British fiction. Another reference, this time to Parisian milliner Caroline Reboux (1837-1927), appears in the popular 1924 novel *The Green Hat* by Michael Arlen (1895-1956). This novel brought notoriety and wealth to Arlen, the son of Armenian parents and an elegant participant in contemporary London's café society. As M R Bellasis and Rebecca Mills note, the book 'was acclaimed, attacked, parodied, and read, to the most fabulous degree of best-sellerdom', largely due to the moral ambiguity and fast-paced, seedy social lives of many of its characters.⁵⁷ Although not praised by modern scholars for its literary merits, the book epitomized the chaotic modernity of the 1920s for many contemporaries.⁵⁸

Arlen's book tells the story of the enigmatic Iris Storm (née March), who first appears to the unnamed narrator wearing a green hat. This hat appears again and again throughout the novel, representing the character of Iris herself. Iris also wears several other hats in the novel and Arlen describes one in particular:

Now there were two red camellias painted on the left side of the crown of her hat—women at that time didn't wear bowler hats, or, as they prefer to call them *cloche* hats—which was of the same colour as the sun, of straw, and with a narrow stiff brim. The two red camellias looked just as waxen and artificial as two real red camellias would look, and so it must have cost a

power of money, that hat. She would have flown like the wind to Reboux in Paris, saying to herself: 'I am in love. I must have a hat', and so she had bought that hat.⁵⁹

Caroline Reboux was one of the most important Parisian milliners of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, known for the chic simplicity of her designs.⁶⁰ Underscoring the contemporary cachet of Reboux, as well as the potential power of her hats, Christina Probert quotes French *Vogue* of 1924: 'Go to Reboux looking tired, dejected, and you'll return happy and delighted—the ugly become beautiful, or at least that is the illusion, which is half the battle'.⁶¹ As Burnett does with Cora's Virot hat in *The Making of a Marchioness*, Arlen is indicating to his readers that Iris is among the fashionable elite. She epitomizes the modern woman, moving easily between the fashion centres of London and Paris and wearing the most desirable, chic clothes.

The decoration of Iris's hat reinforces its value. Artificial flowers were expensive, hand-made objects, well-established for use on hats and headdresses by the mid-nineteenth century.⁶² Visual, textual, and material sources confirm the importance of flowers in elite millinery in the 1920s.⁶³ *Vogue* reported in March 1922 that 'The most striking note in the new millinery is the revival of the use of flowers', a development that had 'the backing of some of the most influential milliners in Paris'.⁶⁴ A fashion illustration that accompanied this article shows different examples of flowers used in Parisian millinery (Figure 5). Flowers do not decorate the Reboux hat featured, but its inclusion in the image reinforces her place among the leading milliners of Paris. In this illustration, *Vogue* describes the hat designed by Maria Guy as having 'a very high crown running into a little, flaring brim', a silhouette that appears similar to the hat described by Arlen.⁶⁵ These contemporary images and words demonstrates that Arlen was aware of fashionable millinery and used this knowledge to create Iris's hat for his readers.

This passage also helps modern readers cast a critical, humorous eye on the clichés that are often repeated about fashions of the 1920s, serving as a reminder that the cloche was not worn at the very beginning of the decade. Fiona Clark asserts that the cloche was in fact ‘the extreme point of a millinery fashion which had been evolving over a remarkably long period’.⁶⁶ Bell-shaped hats had appeared before World War I, but these became progressively more closely-fitting.⁶⁷ The term ‘cloche’ eventually came to refer to almost any tight-fitting hat.⁶⁸ Arlen’s distinction between Iris’s Reboux hat and the cloche is also notable because Reboux objected to the cloche when it became popular, maintaining that the style would finish the millinery trade.⁶⁹ Arlen praises Iris’s elegance throughout the book, but he gently mocks fashion in general in this passage, by conflating fashionable cloches with boring men’s bowler hats and emphasising how expensive a real-looking fake flower would be.

Iris Storm is impossibly chic. In the early 1920s, Arlen had been a lover of the socialite Nancy Cunard (1896-1965) and she provided the main source of inspiration for the character of Iris.⁷⁰ Cunard was famously beautiful and known for her inventive, sophisticated clothes.⁷¹ In Arlen’s novel, one important aspect of Iris’s unattainable style is the way in which she wears her clothes and hats. At the very beginning of the novel, Arlen describes her green hat: ‘It was bright green, of a sort of felt, and bravely worn: being, no doubt, one of those that women who have many hats affect *pour le sport*’.⁷² A little later, Iris is preparing to leave (despite the narrator’s wish that she would stay): ‘She was going now, there was no doubt about it. The texture of her face was grave, she was busy with the angle of her green hat’.⁷³ As discussed earlier, authors often narrate the process of feminine leave taking with references to putting on and adjusting their hats and Arlen is no exception. In this passage Arlen also alludes to the necessary work, undertaken in a private ‘back region’, that fashionable femininity involves. Although Iris is the epitome of chic,

this is underpinned by her careful attention to her appearance, in this case wearing her hat at the fashionably correct angle of the moment.

Other authors, including Virginia Woolf in the quotation that began this article, also noted the skill required to be fashionable by referring to the wearing of hats. Contemporary millinery guides also underscored the importance of wearing hats in the right way.

'Madame Rosée' in her 1895 *Handbook of Millinery* warned that hats 'however smart they may be in themselves, if they are *worn badly* the smartness vanishes'.⁷⁴ Elinor Glyn (1864-1943), in her popular 1905 romance novel *The Vicissitudes of Evangeline*, distinguishes female characters through their ability to wear hats well. Glyn herself cut a fashionable figure, often wearing clothes made by her sister, the London couturier Lucile (Lady Duff Gordon) (1863-1935).⁷⁵ Glyn's interest in fashion, and the debts this incurred, was one of the reasons for her literary prolificacy.⁷⁶

The novel's heroine, Evangeline, is confident of her ability to create a fashionable appearance, observing: 'I have certainly nothing to live on...but I am extremely pretty, and I know how to do my hair, and put on my hats, and those things'.⁷⁷ Evangeline recognises this talent in other women as well, commenting that another female character, Lady Verningham 'has lovely clothes, and an exquisite figure, and her hat on the right way'.⁷⁸ In the first decade of the twentieth century, the angle at which a hat was worn was crucial. Georgine de Courtais notes that by 1904, fashionable, heavily-trimmed hats 'were set at all angles' and that '[a]n extreme forward tilt was very fashionable', as a contemporary advertisement from the *Ladies' Field* shows (Figure 6).⁷⁹ As Amy J. Reeve cautioned in her 1903 *Practical Home Millinery*, 'A hat which is not worn at the right angle will prove anything but becoming'.⁸⁰ These references to the adjustments possible when wearing hats underscore Glyn's understanding of the importance of this skill as a part of overall success

in creating the period's correct fashionable appearance. Evangeline's proficiency in fashionable hat-wearing is an asset money cannot buy.

In contrast, characters who do not conform to established fashions are ridiculed. In one of the pre-war scenes in *High Wages*, Jane prepares for a ball, dressing her hair. Whipple notes,

She arranged her hair with care. Then with a sigh of pleasure at coming to it at last, she removed from its paper wrappings the crown and finish of her toilet—a little ostrich feather about two and a half inches long. This she affixed to a string of artificial pearls and bound it round her brow....That feather, she thought, just made all the difference. It took the home-made look from her dress....her spirits soared to dizzy heights.⁸¹

Before World War I, Eastern-inspired styles, associated with the work of French couturier Paul Poiret (1879-1944), were fashionable and by the 1920s bandeaux and turbans decorated with feathers or jewels were established as popular evening headdresses.⁸² In March 1912, *The Queen* showed a single vertical feather attached to a string of pearls as an evening headdress (Figure 7). In her description of Jane's headdress, Whipple thus underscores her heroine's efforts to follow very current fashions. Unfortunately for Jane, others in her provincial town are unaware of these developments in high fashion and the rich, pretty Sylvia mocks Jane's 'funny little feather'.⁸³

As scores of *Punch* cartoons demonstrate, hats have frequently been the subject of more general ridicule in the popular press, which often emphasised the frequent changes in size, shape, and trim. In 1890, for example, a cartoonist poked fun at the flattened shapes of fashionable headwear by showing a pretty young woman asking her uncle to sit on her hat (Figure 8). This mockery of millinery appeared in humorous fiction as well. George (1847-1912) and Weedon Grossmith (1854-1919) published their satirical 1892 novel *The*

Diary of a Nobody in serial form in *Punch*, written by George and illustrated by Weedon, not long after this cartoon appeared. The novel was an immediate success for its humour, but as Tony Joseph notes, it ‘was also a sharp analysis of social insecurity’.⁸⁴ Mr Pooter, the book’s hero, makes several references to his wife Carrie’s efforts to keep up with fashion. He is particularly sceptical about the efforts of the dressmaker Mrs James, noting at one point: ‘Mrs James is making a positive fool of Carrie....She also had on a hat as big as a kitchen coal-scuttle, and the same shape’.⁸⁵ References such as this underscore how, as an aspect of women’s fashion that was perhaps the quickest to change, hats were an easy target for satirists.

Fiction that ranged from romance to satire demonstrates how hats served as an importance index of female fashion knowledge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hats from Paris, particularly from famous milliners such as Madame Virot and Caroline Reboux, represented the fashionable pinnacle in fiction. Burnett, Arlen, Glyn, Whipple, and Grossmith all acknowledged the importance of fashionable hats to their female characters and the efforts women made to follow fashions in millinery, regardless of financial circumstances. Exemplifying Anne Buck’s phrase ‘dress in action’, these fictional examples also confirm the difficulty and importance of wearing hats well, a skill that allowed women to be supremely fashionable.⁸⁶

PRACTICES OF CONSUMPTION

Novels also contain revealing references to some everyday practices of female consumption and use of hats, particularly the practices of trimming, making, and remaking. Colin McDowell states that ‘[f]or the vast majority of women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, millinery was a do-it-yourself experience’, an assertion that resonates in contemporary fiction.⁸⁷ Madeleine Ginsburg notes that ‘shop catalogues

include[d] shapes and trimmings as well as ready-trimmed hats, and continued to do so until the 1920s'.⁸⁸ Many of the millinery guides published during this period addressed domestic hat-makers as part of their readership, indicating that home milliners were a recognised market.⁸⁹

Economy was the primary reason that women engaged in domestic millinery. Hats were expensive and their everyday wear, along with the quick changes in millinery fashions, meant that they needed to be replaced or updated relatively frequently. In her 1903 *Practical Home Millinery*, Amy J. Reeve presents the benefits of learning home millinery succinctly when she asks, 'What satisfaction is greater than that of finding oneself able to copy an expensive model at one-third the cost of the original?'⁹⁰

Early in *The Handbook of Millinery*, published in 1897, the author ('Madame Rosée') also refers to the expense of hats, as well as to the difficulties that can be encountered when trimming them:

We purchase our trimmings, but, after much toil and loss of patience and spoiling of the materials, our bow answers neither to the description of smart nor upstanding; the loops flop, the whole bow is lumpy, and we sew and sew and only make matters worse; that attempt at millinery is so terribly home made to look at it is a continual grief to us; yet we cannot afford to throw it away, and we must needs wear it as it is.⁹¹

Rosée includes this vignette to convince readers of the worth of her book and the cover confirms the book's utility by showing a smart young woman holding an elaborately-trimmed, fashionable hat (Figure 9). In reality, the irritations listed were probably common experiences among domestic hat-makers. The home millinery guides include detailed instructions, accompanied by numerous diagrams, about making, renovating, and cleaning hats, along with directions about trimmings that include feathers,

flowers, and bows.⁹² Millinery, particularly involving complicated shaping and trimming, could be difficult and frustrating. Nonetheless, for many women, economic necessity compelled some domestic activity in this sphere.

Some novelists simply mention home millinery in passing, as George Grossmith does in *The Diary of a Nobody*. In preparation for a trip to the seaside, Pooter notes that one evening Carrie ‘trimmed herself a little sailor-hat’.⁹³ As discussed earlier, sailor hats were popular in the late nineteenth century among women across the social spectrum. Grossmith’s brief reference underscores the ubiquity of this style and practice.

Several authors, however, also present female skill in domestic hat-making as evidence of female ingenuity and even virtue.⁹⁴ In a scene from *High Wages* set just before World War I, Jane has carefully altered her hat. Dorothy Whipple notes: ‘She had bought the hat for two-and-eleven in the Market House; but no one would guess that. It was transformed according to *Vogue*’.⁹⁵ British *Vogue* did not begin publication until 1916, so if this was not a mistake on Whipple’s part when she was writing in the late 1920s, Jane would have been looking at an imported copy of American *Vogue*. In any event, in her reference to Jane’s activity, Whipple indicates her heroine’s resourcefulness and her attempt to participate in the world of high fashion with limited means. Jane’s successful conversion of her hat, using her contemporary fashion knowledge, also signals her increasing participation in the world of fashion as a professional as well as a consumer. For Jane, this skill helps her social and economic ascent over the course of the novel.

In *The Making of a Marchioness* of 1901, the heroine Emily carefully attends to her hats. As she explains to Jane, her landlady’s daughter, when she has returned from the summer sales: “‘I saw a really nice little tan toque—one of those soft straw ones—for three and eleven. And just a twist of blue chiffon and a wing would make it look quite *good*’”. She was clever with her fingers, and often did excellent things with a bit of chiffon and a

wing...'⁹⁶ Fiona Clark notes that in the final decades of the nineteenth century, the toque 'became established...as the safe and tasteful choice for all but the most dressy occasions', confirming Emily's knowledgeable, but cautious, engagement with fashion.⁹⁷ Frances Hodgson Burnett's reference to the price of Emily's hat reveals that, along with her ingenuity, this fictional character also had a larger budget for millinery than her counterpart Jane in *High Wages* more than a decade later.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Burnett represents Emily's skill with hats as an element of her feminine humility and virtue, but also as a necessary talent to enable her to appear appropriately dressed among the social elite with which she associates.

In *Mrs Dalloway*, Rezia has trained as a milliner in Italy and continues to make hats professionally in London, often in her home. Septimus watches her making a hat for a neighbour's daughter: 'Now she put down her scissors; now she turned to take something from the table. A little stir, a little crinkling, a little tapping built up something on the table there, where she sat sewing....' Eventually Septimus helps Rezia with the hat's design:

What had she got in her work-box? She had ribbons and beads, tassels, artificial flowers. She tumbled them out on the table. He began putting odd colours together—for though he had no fingers, could not even do up a parcel, he had a wonderful eye, and often he was right, sometimes absurd, of course, but sometimes wonderfully right. "She shall have a beautiful hat!" he murmured...⁹⁹

As Randi Koppen notes, Septimus's helping Rezia with the making of this hat provides him with 'a moment of pride and happiness'.¹⁰⁰ Throughout the scene, Virginia Woolf contrasts the normality of Rezia's work with Septimus's psychological suffering and tenuous grip on reality, but at least the activity helps tether him to the material world.

Woolf exploits the ordinariness of female hat-making to emphasise Septimus's mental fragility and his compromised physical and psychological masculinity.¹⁰¹

Elinor Glyn also mentions hat-trimming in *The Vicissitudes of Evangeline* of 1905. When Evangeline is visiting the industrious Lady Katherine Montgomerie, her hostess assumes that after dinner she will join her and her daughters in doing fancy work. As Evangeline narrates, however:

I was obliged to tell her I never did any. 'But I...I can trim hats,' I said. It really seemed so awful not to be able to do anything like them, I felt I must say this as a kind of defence for myself. However she seemed to think that hardly a lady's employment. 'How clever of you!' Kirstie exclaimed. 'I wish I could; but don't you find that intermittent? You can't trim them all the time. Don't you feel the want of constant employment?'¹⁰²

Glyn contrasts the conventional fancy work of the Montgomeries with Evangeline's more frivolous hat-trimming, but the author's sympathy is firmly with her heroine. She slyly undercuts the relentless, clichéd labour of Evangeline's boring companions by emphasising her heroine's high spirits and fashionable skill. Whipple's Jane and Burnett's Emily are more explicitly virtuous than Evangeline, but they all successfully display fashionable femininity by trimming their hats.

Although fashionable hats produced at home may have been difficult to achieve in reality, authors often present female characters who succeed at this practice in fiction, thus contributing to the 'reality effect' in their novels'.¹⁰³ Grossmith, Whipple, Burnett, Woolf, and Glyn all represent hat-making and trimming as a characteristically female activity undertaken in the domestic sphere. It also allows these characters to demonstrate creativity and overcome financial obstacles in their obligatory adherence to fashion, thus proving their virtue and resourcefulness.

CONCLUSION

In the wide range of novels discussed, all authors used hats to illustrate daily rituals of behaviour and to show how their characters did or did not conform to conventional feminine codes of conduct. Hats and how they were worn could also show whether a female character was fashionable or unfashionable. Authors described aspects of consumption, particularly the making and trimming of hats, as well. With appropriate context, these fictional examples provide a window into how writers and readers may have felt and thought about making, altering, buying, and wearing hats. It is clear that these accessories could be both ordinary and extraordinary objects. As fictional representations, they exemplify Anne Buck's 'dress in action'.

Despite these authors' differing literary styles and genres, all are united in using hats as indices of their female characters' attitudes towards self-presentation, social position, and propriety. For these authors, hats furnish material evidence of the challenges that women faced in a period of social and political turmoil. Although the appearance of women's hats changed significantly during this period, their place on respectable women's heads remained a constant.

¹ Virginia Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway* (London: Penguin, 1992), pp. 95-96.

² M. H. E., *A Manual of Etiquette for Ladies and Gentlemen* (London: Routledge, 1907), p. 148.

³ Valerie Mendes and Amy de la Haye, *20th Century Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), pp. 10, 48.

⁴ Fiona Clark, *Hats* (London: Batsford, 1982), pp. 37, 52 ; Georgine de Courtais, *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles in England from AD 600 to the Present Day* (London: Batsford, 1973), pp. 136, 150, 152; Madeleine Ginsburg, *The Hat: Trends and Traditions* (London: Studio Editions, 1990), pp. 97, 114, 116.

⁵ Oriole Cullen, *Hats: An Anthology by Stephen Jones* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), p. 146; Lou Taylor, 'A celebration of hats', in *Art UK*, Public Catalogue Foundation, 9 March 2016 <<http://www.artuk.org>> [accessed 18 July 2016] (para. 2).

⁶ Anne Buck, 'Clothes in Fact and Fiction, 1825-1865', *Costume*, 17 (1983), 89-104 (p. 89).

⁷ See Katherine Joslin and Daneen Wardrop, eds., *Crossings in Text and Textile* (Lebanon, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2015); Cynthia Kuhn and Cindy Carlson, eds., *Styling Texts: Dress and Fashion in Literature* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007); Peter McNeil, Vicki Karaminas, Cathy Cole, eds., *Fashion in Fiction: Text and Clothing in Literature, Film and Television* (Oxford: Berg, 2009). Cristina

Giorcelli and Paula Rabinowitz, eds., *Exchanging Clothes: Habits of Being 2* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012) also includes chapters on dress and fashion in literature.

⁸ Sarah Parker, 'Fashion and Dress Culture', *Literature Compass*, 11/8 (2014), 583-591. See Rosy Aindow, *Dress and Identity in British Literary Culture, 1870-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Cristina Giorcelli and Paula Rabinowitz, eds., *Fashioning the Nineteenth Century: Habits of Being 3* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Christine Bayles Kortsch, *Dress Culture in Late Victorian Women's Fiction: Literacy, Textiles, and Activism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Krista Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008).

⁹ See Vike Martina Plock, "'I Just Took It Straight from Vogue': Fashion, Femininity, and Literary Modernity in Rosamond Lehmann's *Invitation to the Waltz*", *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 59:1 (2013), 83-106 and Vike Martina Plock, 'Sartorial Connections: Fashion, Clothes and Character in Elizabeth Bowen's *To the North*', *Modernism/Modernity*, 19:2 (2012), 287-302. Scholarly references to dress in the work of Jean Rhys, Edith Wharton, and Virginia Woolf will be addressed below.

¹⁰ Doris Langley Moore, *The Woman in Fashion* (London: Batsford, 1949), p.16, qtd in Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 98.

¹¹ Lou Taylor, *Study of Dress History*, p. 98.

¹² Clair Hughes, *Dressed in Fiction* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), p. 2.

¹³ John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Reaktion: London, 1995), p. 17, qtd in Taylor, *Study of Dress History*, p. 92. Hughes quotes Harvey's comment that clothes in fiction are 'values made visible' (*Dressed in Fiction*, p. 2).

¹⁴ Cullen, *Hats*, p. 65; de Courtais, *Headdress and Hairstyles*, p. 102.

¹⁵ Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 104. This reference is to Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), pp. 23-24.

¹⁶ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 1959 (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 9, 109, 114.

¹⁷ Nicola Humble, *The Feminine Middlebrow Novel 1920s to 1950s: Class, Domesticity, and Bohemianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 49-50. See also Nicola Beauman, *A Very Great Profession: The Woman's Novel 1914-1939*, 1983 (London: Persephone Books, 2008), p. 385 and Nicola Beauman, 'Whipple, Dorothy (1893-1966)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 10 September 2015] (para. 3 of 5).

¹⁸ Dorothy Whipple, *High Wages* (London: Persephone Books, 2009), pp. 8, 15.

¹⁹ Whipple, *High Wages*, p. 51.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²¹ Randi Koppen, *Virginia Woolf, Fashion and Literary Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 35.

²² Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, p. 33.

²³ Efrat Tseëlon, *The Masque of Femininity* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), p. 5.

²⁴ Whipple, *High Wages*, p. 81.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁶ Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, p. 6.

²⁷ Koppen, *Virginia Woolf, Fashion and Literary Modernity*, p. 9; Lisa Cohen, "'Frock Consciousness': Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion", *Fashion Theory*, 3:2, p. 150.

²⁸ Virginia Woolf, *Diaries: Volume III 1925-1930*, ed. Anne Olivier Bell (London: Hogarth Press, 1980), qtd in Judith Watt, ed., *The Penguin Book of Twentieth-century Fashion Writing* (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp. 14-15.

²⁹ Woolf's 1927 story, 'The New Dress', is a portrayal of excruciating clothing-related embarrassment. For a discussion of this story, Woolf, and self-consciousness, see Lisa Cohen, "'Frock Consciousness'", pp. 152-55.

³⁰ Whipple, *High Wages*, p. 139.

³¹ Cassie Davies-Strodder, Jenny Lister, and Lou Taylor, *London Society Fashion 1905-1925: The Wardrobe of Heather Firbank* (London: V&A Publishing, 2015), pp. 57-60. See also Clark, *Hats*, pp. 46-50 and de Courtais, *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles*, pp. 142, 144.

³² Patrick Parrinder, 'Wells, Herbert George (1866-1946)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, January 2011 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 15 September 2015] (paras. 10, 11, and 17 of 23).

³³ Margaret Drabble, 'Introduction', H G Wells, *Ann Veronica* (London: Penguin, 2005) xx-xxiv.

³⁴ Wells, *Ann Veronica*, p. 167.

³⁵ Goffman, *Presentation of Self*, p. 115.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

³⁷ As Wells understood, bonnets were considered old-fashioned and mainly worn by older women from the late nineteenth century. See Clark, *Hats*, p. 37; de Courtais, *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles*, p. 136.

- ³⁸ Ibid., p. 194.
- ³⁹ Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14* (London: Chatto & Windus), p. 184.
- ⁴⁰ Wendy Parkins, “‘The Epidemic of Purple, White, and Green’: Fashion and the Suffragette Movement in Britain 1908-14”, in *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender and Citizenship*, ed. by Wendy Parkins (Oxford: Berg, 2002), p. 105.
- ⁴¹ Drabble, ‘Introduction’, pp. xxv-xxvi.
- ⁴² Harvey, *Men in Black*, p. 17, qtd in Taylor, *Study of Dress History*, p. 92.
- ⁴³ Cullen, *Hats*, p. 102. In her 1915 essay ‘The Hat’, the American feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) attacked the ‘peculiar insanity’ of women’s hats. Her diatribe rested on the contemporary assumptions that a woman’s hat must be “‘stylish’”, ‘new’, and “‘different’”. See Charlotte Perkins Gilman, ‘The Hat’, in *The Dress of Women: A Critical Introduction to the Symbolism and Sociology of Women*, ed. by Michael R. Hill and Mary Jo Deegan (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2002), pp. 67, 63, and *passim*.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 91. To illustrate her point, Cullen discusses a scene in Jean Rhys’ novel *Good Morning, Midnight* in which a self-doubting character relies on her milliner’s advice as she purchases a new hat. For a fuller discussion of fashion in Rhys’s fiction, see Maroula Joannou, “‘All Right, I’ll Do Anything for Good Clothes’”: Jean Rhys and Fashion’, *Women: A Cultural Review*, 23:4, 463-89.
- ⁴⁵ Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, p. 25.
- ⁴⁶ Avery, ‘Burnett, Frances Hodgson’, (para. 6 of 6); Sarah Levitt, *Fashion in Photographs 1880-1900* (London: Batsford, 1981), p. 76.
- ⁴⁷ Gillian Avery, ‘Burnett, Frances Hodgson (1849-1924)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 17 September 2015] (para. 3 of 6).
- ⁴⁸ In her examination of fashion in the fiction of the American author Edith Wharton, Katherine Joslin discusses Lily Bart, the heroine of *The House of Mirth*, another well-born woman with fashion sense, but no money. Unlike Burnett’s novel, Lily’s story does not have a happy ending. See Katherine Joslin, *Edith Wharton and the Making of Fashion* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), pp. 1, 72, 76-77.
- ⁴⁹ Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Making of a Marchioness* (London: Persephone Books, 2001), p. 20.
- ⁵⁰ Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 98.
- ⁵¹ de Courtais, *Women’s Headdress and Hairstyles*, p. 138; Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 97.
- ⁵² Burnett, *Making of a Marchioness*, p. 21.
- ⁵³ Ibid., p. 22.
- ⁵⁴ Colin McDowell, *Hats: Status, Style, and Glamour* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), p. 150; ‘Hat, Madame Vivot’, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, <<http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/the-collection-online/search/157031>> [accessed 24 August 2015].
- ⁵⁵ Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 100; Joslin, *Edith Wharton*, p. 74.
- ⁵⁶ Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 100. See also Joslin’s discussion of Vivot: *Edith Wharton*, pp. 73-75.
- ⁵⁷ M R Bellasis, rev. Rebecca Mills, ‘Arlen, Michael (1895-1956)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2005 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 18 September 2015] (para. 1 of 3). See also David Ayers, *English Literature of the 1920s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 158-59.
- ⁵⁸ Bellasis and Mills, ‘Arlen, Michael’, (para. 1 of 3); Ayers, *English Literature*, p. 158.
- ⁵⁹ Michael Arlen, *The Green Hat* (London: Capuchin Classics, 2008), p. 208.
- ⁶⁰ Cullen, *Hats*, p. 120; Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 115; Susie Hopkins, *The Century of Hats: Headturning Style of the Twentieth Century* (London: Aurum, 1999), p. 39.
- ⁶¹ Christina Probert, *Hats in Vogue since 1910* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), p. 7.
- ⁶² Alison Matthews David, *Fashion Victims: The Dangers of Dress Past and Present* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2015), pp. 90-92. Matthews David discusses the dangers of nineteenth-century artificial flowers, particularly to their makers.
- ⁶³ de Courtais, *Women’s Headdress and Hairstyles*, p. 152.
- ⁶⁴ ‘Ribbons and Feathers appear in High Places’, *Vogue*, early March 1922, p. 31.
- ⁶⁵ *Vogue*, early March 1922, p. 34.
- ⁶⁶ Clark, *Hats*, p. 52.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 114; Probert, *Hats in Vogue*, p. 20.
- ⁶⁹ Hopkins, *The Century of Hats*, p. 42; Probert, *Hats in Vogue*, p. 20.
- ⁷⁰ Harry Keyishian, *Michael Arlen* (Boston: Twayne, 1973), pp. 15, 55; Judith Mackrell, *Flappers* (London: Pan Books, 2014), pp. 275-78.
- ⁷¹ Mackrell, *Flappers*, pp. 280, 285.
- ⁷² Arlen, *Green Hat*, p. 11.

- ⁷³ Ibid., p. 41.
- ⁷⁴ Madame Rosée, *The Handbook of Millinery* (London: L. Upcott Gill, [1895]), p. 50.
- ⁷⁵ Valerie D. Mendes, '...most bewitching gowns...' 1890-1905', in *Lucile Ltd: London, Paris, New York and Chicago, 1890s-1930s*, Valerie D. Mendes and Amy de la Haye (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), pp. 18-20. See also Meredith Etherington-Smith and Jeremy Pilcher, *The 'It' Girls: Lucy, Lady Duff Gordon, the Couturière 'Lucile' and Elinor Glyn, Romantic Novelist* (London: Hamilton, 1986).
- ⁷⁶ JoAnn E. Castagna, 'Glyn, Elinor (1864-1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, January 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 22 September 2015] (paras. 2, 4 of 6).
- ⁷⁷ Elinor Glyn, *The Vicissitudes of Evangeline*, Barbara Cartland, ed. (London: Corgi Books, 1977), p. 1.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 66.
- ⁷⁹ de Courtais, *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles*, p. 142.
- ⁸⁰ Amy J. Reeve, *Practical Home Millinery* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, 1903), p. 81. Reeve suggests that bandeaux could be placed underneath hats to ensure the correct angle.
- ⁸¹ Whipple, *High Wages*, p. 99.
- ⁸² Mendes and de la Haye, *20th Century Fashion*, p. 32; Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 104.
- ⁸³ Whipple, *High Wages*, p. 105.
- ⁸⁴ Tony Joseph, 'Grossmith, George (1847-1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, January 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 7 October 2015] (para. 11 of 17).
- ⁸⁵ George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 86.
- ⁸⁶ Buck, 'Clothes in Fact and Fiction', p. 89.
- ⁸⁷ McDowell, *Hats*, p. 63. Millinery was also considered an acceptable occupation (if necessary) for 'ladies' during this period. See Annesley Kenealy, 'Careers for Women. IV. Lady Milliners', *The Lady's Realm: A Selection from the Monthly Issues: November 1904 to April 1905* (London: Arrow Books, 1972), pp. 22-29 and Clark, *Hats*, pp. 79, 81.
- ⁸⁸ Ginsburg, *The Hat*, p. 94.
- ⁸⁹ Both 'Madame Rosée' and Amy J. Reeve note that they hope to help domestic hat-makers. See Rosée, *Handbook of Millinery*, p. 7 and Reeve, *Practical Home Millinery*, p. vi.
- ⁹⁰ Reeve, *Practical Home Millinery*, p. vi.
- ⁹¹ Rosée, *Handbook of Millinery*, p. 6.
- ⁹² Along with Rosée, *Handbook of Millinery* and Reeve, *Practical Home Millinery*, see also Jessica Ortner, *Practical Millinery* (London and New York: Wittaker & Co., 1897) and Clare Hill, *Millinery Theoretical and Practical* (London: Methuen & Co., 1900).
- ⁹³ Grossmith, *Diary of a Nobody*, p. 68.
- ⁹⁴ As Katherine Joslin discusses, in *The House of Mirth* Lily Bart's plan to open a millinery shop fails because, despite her sense of style, she is unable to master the skills required to make hats well. See Joslin, *Edith Wharton*, pp. 77-78. This example contrasts with the millinery successes of Jane in *High Wages* and Emily in *The Making of a Marchioness*.
- ⁹⁵ Whipple, *High Wages*, p. 69.
- ⁹⁶ Burnett, *Making of a Marchioness*, p. 17.
- ⁹⁷ Clark, *Hats*, p. 37.
- ⁹⁸ To compare, Annesley Kenealy reported in 1904 that 'a perfectly charming garden-party hat was ticketed at 5s. 6d., while many lovely specimens of high-class millinery were marked down to 15s. 6d. and one guinea' at Lady Rachel Byng's millinery shop. See Kenealy, 'Careers for Women', p. 25.
- ⁹⁹ Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, pp. 155, 157.
- ¹⁰⁰ Koppen, *Virginia Woolf*, p. 76.
- ¹⁰¹ Septimus's pleasure in hat-making may have implied emasculation, because of the conventional association of this activity with female work. For example, the effeminate Jacques Silvert in *Monsieur Vénus* by the French novelist Rachilde (1860-1953) makes artificial flowers. See Diana Holmes, *French Women's Writing, 1848-1994* (London: The Athlone Press, 1996), pp. 79-80.
- ¹⁰² Glyn, *Vicissitudes of Evangeline*, p. 47.
- ¹⁰³ Hughes, *Dressed in Fiction*, p. 2.

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