Photographed at…Locating Fashion Imagery in the Cultural Landscape of Post-War Britain 1945–1962

Felice McDowell
Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
London College of Fashion
University of the Arts London
September 2013

Abstract

This thesis explores a history of fashion and art in post-war Britain. The historical analysis of this study focuses on how institutions and spaces of public culture – such as museums, galleries, exhibitions and art schools – were used as locations for editorial photo-spreads published in the British editions of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* between 1945 and 1962. Fashion magazines participate in the cultural production of art by depicting its institutions, its products and producers as fashionable. This thesis interrogates the ways in which the field of fashion, and fashion media in particular, thereby gives symbolic value to the field of art through its mediation. In its examination of the ways in which representations of art and fashion have been meaningfully constructed for a high fashion magazine readership, the thesis contributes to a further understanding of the relationship between fashion and art, and affords new insights into the cultural history of post-war Britain.

The theoretical framework of this study engages with Agnès Rocamora's model of 'fashion media discourse', which brings together the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. This thesis draws upon Foucault's work on 'discourse' and Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural production' in order to conduct an 'archaeology' of post-war British fashion media and its participation in the cultural production of art. This thesis has developed Rocamora's concept in its application to a specific historical study of fashion media. In doing so, this thesis contributes to a wider understanding of how the theoretical work of Foucault and Bourdieu can be applied in the scholarly research of fashion media and histories of fashion. This thesis contributes to the further knowledge of practices in history concerning methodologies of archival research and textual analysis.

Acknowledgments

To my supervisors, Agnès Rocamora and Alistair O'Neill, my deepest gratitude for all of your hard work, dedication and patience – thank you for fostering an exciting and challenging environment of learning throughout this study.

My thanks also to Professor Helen Thomas, for her advice and expertise as a member of my supervisory team during the first year of this research.

Thank you Marketa Uhlirova and Penny Martin, both of whom are truly inspirational.

To my colleagues at the London College of Fashion and to the wider network of research students at the University of the Arts London, thank you for your encouragement and support.

Thank you to the many librarians and archivists who have generously shared their time, knowledge, and collections with me.

And many thanks to the dedicated team of research administrators at the University of Arts London for your constant professionalism and readiness to help.

I extend my sincerest thanks to the many friends and family members who have shown me much kindness throughout the course of this journey, and a special thank you to my parents, Colette and Les, and to my sister, Celene.

Finally, thank you Daniel, for all of your unwavering support, attention and care.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The British fashion photographer David Bailey recalls early post-war Britain, and in particular the decade of the 1950s as 'grey', whilst the later and more celebrated decade of British culture and history, that of the 1960s, are remembered as an exciting and dynamic contrast of 'black and white' (Bailey cited in Harrison 1998: 58). Although 'grey' may appear a derogatory term it is also an apt word to describe a period in which the changes and processes associated with modernity continued to shift and shape British culture and society. The 'maelstrom of modern life' (Berman 1983: 16) – modernisation, modernism, and modernity – are processes washed in many shades of grey; they seep through the history of early post-war Britain, blurring the lines and boundaries between social context and fantasy, and between past and present.

The end of the Second World War (1945) and the years thereafter are often referred to as a particular period of modernity in British history. Christopher Breward and Caroline Evans observe that definitions of modernity are contradictory, this is because modernity is a 'category of historical interpretation' rather than a historical 'fact' (Breward and Evans 2005: 1-5; see Bronwen 2004; Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999; Gilbert, Matless and Short 2003; Nava 1997). Bronwen Edwards points out that in histories of modern Britain there are many different moments of modernity, 'contemporary commentators and historians have located British modernity at different times, evidenced in different ways in each instance' (Edwards 2004: 6); for example scholarly works that focus upon the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Berman 1983; Bowlby 2000; Nead 2000; Wilson 2001; Wilson 1991).

For scholars Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters, post-war Britain (1945–1964) offers an insight into a period of reconstruction and transformation in which 'multiple shifts in knowledge and in material culture' took place, and which involved 'the reorganisation of time and space' (Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999: 17). They continue to claim that 'The social project of modernity remains incomplete and open-ended. The study of its historical significance and its application to twentieth-century British history has really only just begun' (ibid: 21). In its focus on British fashion media published between the mid-1940s and the early 1960s (1945–1962) this thesis contributes to a growing body of critical literature that seeks to 'reshape dominant conceptions of post-war British history' (Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999: 3) and its visual culture (Tickner and Corbett 2012).

Research Question

The key research question of this thesis is: what kinds of symbolic value did high fashion periodicals bestow upon the field of art in post-war Britain? This question is addressed by way of a historical analysis that examines the British fashion magazines *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published between 1945 and1962. The historical analysis of this study

focuses on how institutions and spaces of public culture – such as museums, galleries, exhibitions and art schools – were used as locations for editorial photo-spreads published in these periodicals. In its analysis of how the field of art – that is its institutions, products, and producers – was positioned in the pages of high fashion magazines, the present study contributes to a further knowledge and understanding of the interrelated histories of fashion, art and culture in a period of British modernity.

In particular the thesis interrogates the way fashion gives value to art. Indeed, much of the literature on the relation between fashion and art (Bourdieu 1993c [1974]; Krause-Wahl 2009; Rocamora 2009; Townsend 2002) focuses on the idea that art is placed alongside fashion for the former to give value to the latter. The other side of the relation – the way fashion gives art some symbolic value – has been largely ignored. This thesis further investigates the way that the field of fashion, and fashion media in particular, gives symbolic value to art. Although this type of cultural production has been noted in studies of the contemporary art market (Graw 2009: 23), the longer history of this relationship has yet to be addressed.

The study of art and fashion, or fashion and art, is a relatively new field of enquiry. In a recent publication on the subject of fashion and art its authors point out that 'whilst there have been isolated essays over the last two decades that have dealt with links between fashion and art' they often amount to 'little more than a complaint' (Geczy and Karaminas 2012: 11). Therefore the crossovers that occur between 'the discourse of art history and theory and of fashion theory still remain largely expedient, cursory, and therefore superficial' (ibid; see Chapter 1 of this thesis).

This thesis brings to the foreground a history of fashion, modernity *and* art. The dynamic of foreground/background concerns both the composition of an image and what is either brought to the fore or placed at the back of historical explanation (Clark 1982: 12). J.A Walker claims that art and design historians concerned with the question of social processes:

> have to establish the relative autonomy of art and design within society as a whole. But this part/whole relationship immediately gives rise to the 'foreground/background' problem: how does 'foreground' (art, design) relate to 'background' (social context)?
>
> (Walker 1989: 131)

In rare instances fashion media has provided a social context to the historical examination of modern art (Clark 1990; Crow 1996) however, in these explanations fashion remains on the periphery of analysis and is arguably therefore a 'one-dimensional take on the consumption of art by fashion' (Söll 2009: 31). Yet, the scholarly study of fashion has offered numerous other versions of history, modernity and past events that have otherwise been overlooked due to the assumption that fashion is 'trivial' (Wilson 2003 [1983]: 10). Elizabeth Wilson argues that, indeed, 'Fashion […] is essential to the world of modernity, the world of spectacle and mass-communication. It is a kind of connective tissue of our cultural organism' (ibid: 12). Examining how fashion media used art as a

background for the advertising of fashion in post-war Britain, this study contributes to a further knowledge of an arena 'where art and fashion meet' (Geczy and Karaminas 2012: 4), and it also contributes to a wider knowledge of post-war Britain. A fashion image is a product of visual culture and it is 'one historical process among other acts, events, and structures – it is a series of actions in but also on history' (Clark 1982: 13). Fashion images represent 'actions in but also on history' (ibid); they are therefore informative historical resources that can tell us about the past, and in this instance about early post-war Britain and the subjects of fashion, art and modernity.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured into three key parts: Part I provides a review of academic literature relevant to this study; Part II outlines the framework of theory and method that the present study has employed in its historical practice; and Part III presents the results of the present study's research.

The review of literature is divided into two chapters. The first addresses the use of fashion imagery in histories of fashion and art. In doing so it gathers together a range of academic work that has provided an image of post-war Britain through the use and analysis of fashion imagery of this period. Here I identify the gaps in current academic literature and knowledge concerning the subject of fashion, fashion media and art in histories of post-war Britain. These gaps often occur due to a lack of scholarly attention to either fashion imagery or magazines, as types of historical evidence that can afford their 'own kind of insight' (Jordanova 2006: 166) into a historical period and theme. In the second chapter of this review I address the scholarly study of fashion media. I outline the gaps that remain in this body of work, demonstrating how the present study of mid-twentieth century British fashion magazines contributes to the academic study of fashion media (Barthes 1990 [1967]; Jobling 1999; Rocamora 2009)

In Part II, chapters 3–6 discuss the framework of theory and method that this thesis employs. The historical analysis of this study engages with Agnès Rocamora's model of 'fashion media discourse' (2009). In chapter 3 I discuss Michel Foucault's notion of 'discourse' and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural production' as a framework from which to conduct a Foucauldian archaeology of post-war British fashion media discourse. Chapter 4 outlines how I have developed this framework in order to conduct a historical study of fashion media. Here I address how this has enabled me to answer my key research question, which concerns the symbolic values produced by fashion media discourse.

Chapters 5–6 discuss the framework that has been applied in the methodologies employed throughout the research. This discussion concerns two key arenas: firstly, the processes of discourse analysis that take place in the space of the archive (Chapter 5), secondly, the writing of history (Chapter 6). Here I discuss how theory has informed my historical practice and how this thesis contributes to the further knowledge of practices in

history, and to a wider understanding of how the theoretical work of Foucault and Bourdieu can be applied.

Part III is composed of six chapters (Chapters 7–12), each of which responds to the key research question of the thesis and therefore presents the results of my research. The findings of this research show a myriad of meeting points between art, fashion and post-war British modernity. This thesis contributes to furthering knowledge regarding this period by exploring the specific site of the magazine and thus providing a different perspective on these interconnected histories in post-war Britain.

Part III of this thesis presents a less than simple historical landscape. Rather it shows some of the complexities of this space and in doing so illuminates one of its occupants – the post-war model of modern British womanhood. By bringing together an analysis of textual space – the fashion magazine – and the representation of cultural space – public buildings such as museums, art galleries, parks and art schools – I examine how space, place, fashion and modernity encircle one another (Chapter 2). This thesis thereby makes a contribution to a growing body of knowledge that concerns histories of fashion, modernity and space (Breward 2004: 11).

Chapters 7 and 8 address how emergent ideals of post-war modernity and public culture were mediated in the high fashion press throughout the immediate post-war years. Chapter 7: Editorial…'Cocktail Party Receipt' examines how The Contemporary Arts Society and the newly formed Institute for Contemporary Arts were promoted in conjunction with 'New Look' style fashion. This also brings to the fore the ways in which fashion media acted as a type of modern patron to the arts.

In Chapter 8: Advertising…'At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park' I discuss how the first open-air exhibition of contemporary sculpture, held in post-war London, was branded as fashionable by the fashion press and their advertisers. This addresses a wider discourse concerning the ways in which modern art was fashion-branded (Rocamora 2009) by both editorial and advertising pages in high fashion periodicals.

Chapters 9 and 10 address notions of temporality in the post-war field of British fashion and the ways they have bestowed symbolic value upon cultural events and modern architecture. In Chapter 9: Seasonal…'Dressed for the Festival' I examine how the 1951 Festival of Britain was represented as part of the fashionable London Season. This is followed by Chapter 10: Dress…'Photographed at the Royal Festival Hall', which focuses on the ordering of dress in the discourse of fashion media. Here I examine the way that layouts propagate a certain way to dress according to time and space, and how this is enacted in the newly built post-war cultural space of the Royal Festival Hall throughout a number of different editorial photo-spreads published in 1952.

Chapters 11 and 12 discuss the construction of 'authorship', in the production of fashion media discourse in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In Chapter 11: Location…'Clothes in a Setting' I address the position of the fashion photographer and

his role as a tastemaker in fashion, art and design. Here I focus on the example of *Vogue* photographer Anthony Denney who was involved in creating fashions in lifestyles and tastes through his work for *Vogue* and mass production furniture company G-Plan.

In Chapter 12 I examine the position of the photographic fashion model. Here I analyse how the model girl was located in Royal College of Art's newly opened Kensington Gore site for a *Harper's* 1962 'Young Outlook' fashion story. The chapter addresses the status of the model girl and how this bestows a symbolic value upon this site. This chapter also discusses how the figure of the model girl was part of a wider cultural discourse concerned with defining who and what the modern model British girl was, and what she could be, be she a fashion model, or art school student.

The findings of these research chapters contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between fashion and art and they provide a new account of modernity in post-war Britain. In its analysis of the British periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* (published 1945–1962) this thesis contributes to a wider understanding of 'fashion media discourse' (Rocamora 2009) as a theoretical and methodological framework that can be employed in historical practice and analysis.

.

Part I: A Picture of Fashion

Part I of this thesis reviews a range of literature that has emerged from a number of key areas of academic study: namely histories of fashion, art and photography, cultural studies, media studies and studies of fashion. The purpose of this review is to firstly address how fashion imagery and media have been engaged according to a number of disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives. Secondly, it examines how post-war British fashion imagery has been located and utilised in the re-telling of this period throughout these various strands of scholarly enquiry.

As part of a wider discourse on fashion, fashion images 'can highlight tensions concerning what is valued in culture' (Arnold 2009a: 34). This has been a key reason why examples of mass fashion media have been noted, either in passing, or analysed in more depth, within a number of different historical and cultural studies. The chapters that comprise Part I address how fashion media have been valued and used in studies on fashion, art and culture in post-war Britain and other related texts. Chapter 1 focuses on studies of fashion, fashion photography and art history and looks at how fashion images and media have been used as sources. I examine this further by questioning what images of post-war British fashion, art and culture thus emerge. Chapter 2 addresses how fashion imagery has been looked at in studies that seek to contextualise different kinds of space: the textual space of the magazine and the way that geographical space is represented in fashion media.

These two chapters present a diversity of disciplinary and interdisciplinary backgrounds that foreground the key arenas of scholarly research that this thesis engages with, and contributes to. By engaging in historical narratives from the point of the fashion image a different 'picture of the past flits by' (Benjamin 1999b [1940]: 247). It is by trying to shed light on this picture that this thesis contributes to the continual interrogation of 'dominant narratives of post-war history' (Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999: 4). The outcome of the present research provides new points of departure to a variety of key arenas of enquiry. Throughout the discussion of the literature reviewed for Part I of this study I highlight critical aspects that have also informed my own examination of this type of visual historical resource. In Part II these key points are reintroduced as core elements regarding the theoretical framework and methodology of this project.

1. An Image of Post-War Britain in Histories of Fashion and Art

In his nineteenth-century essay 'The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays' (1863) Charles Baudelaire outlines the potential use of fashion imagery (in terms of both its function – 'to use it'; and its value – 'its usefulness') for the writing of history. According to Baudelaire the fashion plate not only provides a visual description of costume and dress, it can also represent 'the philosophic thought with which that age was most preoccupied or concerned' (Baudelaire 1995 [1863]: 2). Baudelaire's argument that fashion plates can be used in order to understand a culture's history remains a basic premise for many writers and scholars who have subsequently drawn upon fashion illustrations, and latterly fashion photographs, in order to either understand or illustrate studies of culture, society and dress.

The fashion image has provided a type of 'record' or visual document to a variety of academic studies that situate themselves in a contemporary epoch (for example studies that employ the methods of sociology, anthropology, or cultural studies), and those that are historically orientated (for example dress history, fashion history, fashion photography history, design history, and art history). The purpose of this first chapter is to establish how post-war British fashion media and imagery has been 'used' in the histories of fashion, fashion photography and art history. In doing so I explore what gaps remain in these forms of knowledge and point to how this thesis fills these gaps.

This chapter is divided into two key areas of discussion; firstly studies of fashion and fashion photography, and secondly histories of art. In the first section I address how fashion imagery and mass media have been utilised as historical evidence in the study and analysis of fashion, and how imagery produced and published in the fashion media of post-war Britain has been used in studies of fashion and dress, and in histories of fashion photography.

The second part of this chapter considers how studies from the disciplinary frame of the history of art have incorporated fashion media and editorial images into their analysis and interpretation of twentieth-century art and culture. In this context fashion media has provided art historians with other ways of looking at how art was socially reproduced. This is followed by an examination of recent art historical studies that address wider visual cultures of post-war Britain. Whilst images and texts emanating from mass media, such as fashion photography and photo-spreads, are more readily referenced I continue to address notable absences regarding the history of fashion and its mediation.

Fashion Media and Histories of Fashion

This first section discusses how images originating from fashion media have been 'used' in the telling and re-telling of post-war British history in studies of fashion and photography. The 'use' of fashion images in either of these key areas of historical study indicates the 'value' that this type of visual document has for history writing. In both

areas of study these types of visual documentation have been used as records of something that has taken place and as forms of representation: that is, 'the use of language and images to create meaning about the world around us' (Sturken and Cartwright 2001: 12).

As a concept fashion has been described in a variety of ways that concern notions of continuous transition and evanescence, it is a 'short-lived enthusiasm – a vogue, craze or fad' (Walker 1989: 171), it is the 'genre that best embodies the refreshing capacity of ephemerality' (Attfield 2000: 81). In common usage fashion often refers to a hierarchal system of taste and dress that is created and maintained by various figures such as designers, media, retailers and 'personalities of the moment' (ibid), however, conceivably, anything (object, person, practice) can have its moment of fashionableness.

The scholarly study of fashion is fairly recent to the academy (O'Neill 2008a). Grouped under the title of 'fashion studies' it is claimed that this somewhat porous disciplinary field has emerged from a range of research interests and methods such as anthropology, ethnography, sociology, cultural studies and art history (Geczy and Karaminas 2012: 6), and to this list one can add media studies and histories of photography. The study of fashion does not, however, represent a unified whole and divisions remain between 'studies of fashion (as a system, idea or aesthetic) and studies of dress (as in the meanings given to particular practices of clothing and adornment)' (Entwistle 2000: 3).

What constitutes 'fashion studies' as a distinct discipline in contemporary academia is an ongoing debate (see Breward 1998; Granta 2012; Lifter and Lynge-Jorlén 2011; McNeil 2013; Pecorari 2010; Riberio 1998). The scholarly study of fashion has been most typically associated with the object of dress, or more precisely *fashionable* dress, however as an arena of study the analysis of fashion engages with not just one type of material object but concerns a wide range of materials and methods of analysis, for example representations, objects, practice, and memory or lived experience (Granata 2012: 74). Whether or not we wear what we see, fashion and dress are often encountered through imagery and visual culture. Fashion images and media are a specific type of document and research material that inform both a contemporary and historical understanding of this phenomena.

Records and Representations of Post-War British Fashion and Dress

Throughout studies of post-war British fashion and dress of the 1940s and 1950s a number of images appear and reappear throughout various scholarly and popular accounts. These include the inter and post-war Utility suit (see Breward 2003; Wilson 2003 [1985]; Wilson and Taylor 1989); the Parisian New Look (see Hopkins 1963; Pearson 1963; Kynaston 2007: 257–260; Waddell 2001) and emerging subcultural styles such as those embodied by 'teddy boys' (for example Breward 2004: 125–148; Hebdige 1979). In a number of social histories that concern modern post-war Britain similar

images also emerge. The impact of both the inter-war and post-war government's clothes rationing and Utility schemes and subsequently the phenomena of Christian Dior's 'New Look' lines from 1947 onwards were subjects of investigation for the social survey group Mass Observation (M.O. SxMOA1/3/103; M.O. SxMOA1/1/14/3/1). Harry Hopkins' social history of Britain from the 1940s to the early 1960s is entitled *The New Look* (1963), as is Pearson Phillip's contribution to the collected essays publication *Age of Austerity* (1963). In more recent social histories written on this period the reception of the New Look is also noted in terms of its cultural influence (Kynaston 2007: 257–260).

In the late 1990s, dress historian Peter McNeil called 'for more detailed research' to take place in studies of inter-war and post-war 1940s fashion and dress: research that would objectively 'assess the impact and reception of the New Look in its various international manifestations' (McNeil 1993: 293), rather than simply reproducing various myths regarding this particular fashion 'moment'. Since McNeil made this comment various histories of post-war British fashion have addressed this area of research in a number of contexts. These include Angela Partington's essay on 'Popular Fashion and Working-Class Fashion' (1993), Amy de la Haye's *The Cutting Edge: 50 Years of British Fashion 1947-1997* (1997), the Victoria and Albert museum's (V&A) exhibition and catalogue, *The Golden Age of Couture: Paris and London 1947–1957* (Wilcox 2007), and the *Englishness of English Dress* project which took a dress collection housed at the London College of Fashion as a starting point from which to question how different notions of national identity have been constructed and practiced in relation to fashion and dress from the post-war years onwards (see Breward, Conekin and Cox 2002).

These recent studies of post-war British fashion have evidently moved beyond a reliance on chronological and stylistic accounts of dress, which have been criticised for tending towards 'description as opposed to analysis or explanation' (Entwistle 2000:79), by re-addressing this period of fashion within wider cultural contexts. Yet, there remain significant gaps in the study of post-war British fashion between the late 1940s and early 1960s. By and large the aforementioned studies are either exhibition catalogues that have accompanied exhibitions of dress or texts in which the author's focus has also been on material dress rather than on its image (with the exception of Breward's (2007) contribution to *The Golden Age of Couture* catalogue – discussed in the following section). The significance of mass media culture in the production of fashion during this period is often noted and its visual matter is regularly used as types of documentary sources, but without further interrogation into their own textual context such examples remain on the periphery of investigation and discussion.

The writing of history largely relies upon the interrogation of 'object, documents and other kinds of evidence surviving from the past' (Walker 1989: 74), and this material is the basis for the historian's reconstruction of the past. Images of dress (in paintings, fashion plates, photographs and photo-spreads) 'are not neutral descriptions' (Entwistle 2000: 80) and therefore cannot be considered as purely reflective documents in

themselves. Whilst images bring into question the 'true' or 'false' nature of their 'evidence' for the study of dress (Taylor 2002: 162), they are also recognised historical sources that concern notions of cultural and social identity that can be fruitfully employed in the analysis of dress and fashion history (see Ribeiro 1998; Taylor 2002).

In her study of fashion and modernity *Adorned In Dreams* Wilson draws attention to the constructive, rather than merely illustrative, properties of the fashion image. Referring to journalism, advertising and photography Wilson claims that 'Since the late nineteenth century, word and image have increasingly propagated style. Images of desire are constantly in circulation; increasingly it has been the images as well as the artefact that the individual has purchased' (Wilson 2003 [1985]: 157). In this sense fashion imagery is a type of representation.

Christopher Breward (1998) refers to Wilson's comments in terms of how a cultural studies approach to the representation of fashion and dress, particularly images and text produced within fashion journalism and popular culture, has contributed to the study of fashionable dress. Breward argues that the image, or representation, of fashion not only constitutes a type of visual documentation of fashion and dress, it also 'plays a constitutive part' (Breward 1998: 307) within the production and consumption of modern fashion. Women's magazines, the conduits of most historically situated fashion pictures, provide the historian of fashion with 'a useful source of evidence, a barometer of social, stylistic and economic change' for addressing modern fashion (Breward 1995: 196). For Breward the fashion image can thus be held up as a 'constructed image' to be further scrutinised in terms of 'a representational system' (Breward 1995: 199). An image of fashion thus represents not only an object – the material dress – but it is also a form of representation where ideas concerning notions of cultural and social identity are disseminated.

In histories of fashion and dress mass media have come to be recognised as an important factor in how fashion has been produced and consumed. Breward argues that throughout modernity 'the field of fashion depended on the well-established power of graphic communication and the potential of visual reproduction as mediums for translating its raw materials into garments and products seen, sold, discussed, and perhaps even worn' (Breward 2003: 115). The critical analysis of post-war British fashion imagery as representations of fashion and dress warrant further investigation into how they mediated material garments through particular representational systems. This thesis contributes to the history of post-war British fashion by scrutinising how fashion images produced and published in the high fashion periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* reproduced images of fashion, dress and desire utilising a host of backdrops connected to contemporaneous ideas and ideals surrounding post-war British culture, identity and art.

Fashion Photography and Culture

In the study of fashion Jennifer Craik claims that:

> Fashion photography has constituted both techniques of self-formation […] As well as constituting a record of fashion moments, fashion photography has become the main source of knowledge about clothes and bodies in a practical way and in processes of historical accounting.
>
> (Craik 1993: 93)

In this way fashion images have also 'served as an index of changing ideas about fashion and gender, and about body-habitus relations' (Craik 1993: 93). In a number of accounts that address gendered identities fashion imagery has been used as a primary source in discussions regarding ideas concerning 'techniques of self-formation', often in conjunction with the work of psychoanalysis (see Craik 1993; Evans and Thornton 1989; Jobling 1999; Nixon 1997; Rabine 1994).

Fashion photography as a topic of study has also significantly and recently emerged from the history and study of photography. In her essay 'A Heady Relationship: Fashion Photography and the Museum 1979 to the Present' Val Williams points out that this particular strand of scholarly discourse has largely arisen because of fashion photography's inclusion within Western cultural institutions (Williams 2008: 197). The exhibition of fashion photography arguably enables it to be seen, understood and appreciated in new and different ways (see Bright 2005; Sontag 1977). However immersed in the rhetoric of fine art that is associated with the institution of the museum and gallery, histories of photography can also resemble traditional narratives of art history in that they 'contribute consciously or unconsciously to the general formalist project' (Batchen 1999: 4; see also Crimp 2000).

In this context the object of study under scrutiny in histories of fashion photography has tended to be the photographer and not necessarily the image. Addressing the visual culture of couture produced for both the American and British editions of *Vogue* and *Harper's* between the 1940s and 1950s, Breward points out that the 'standard literature on fashion photography' has been characterised 'through the art-historical prism of authorship and style' (Breward 2007: 176). Attributed to the singular creative figure of the photographer, the history of fashion photography then offers a series of eminent figures placed within time periods of styles and various works, with the fashion photographer positioned as the artist's equivalent. The photographic print is framed as something other than what it was made for, and becomes further disassociated from how it is seen in the pages of a magazine.

In the body of literature that address large-scale histories of Western fashion photography such as Nancy Hall-Duncan's *History of Fashion Photography* (1977; in conjunction with the staging of its exhibition at the International Museum of Photography, New York) and Martin Harrison's *Shots of Style* (1985) and *Appearances* (1991) (both produced in association with exhibitions staged at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) examples of British fashion photography of the 1940s and 1950s are

lacking. In both Hall-Duncan's and Harrison's histories the post-war era is dominated by the production of fashion imagery in America, and British fashion photographers Cecil Beaton and Norman Parkinson are included in this canon based upon their shared 'international reputation' and status (Harrison 1991: 197).

In a number of recent photography exhibitions fashion photography produced in post-war Britain, prior to the more renowned mid- to late 1960s, has been reconsidered in a variety of wider contexts that include photojournalism (Harrison 1998) and large-scale photographic histories of Britain and modernity (Williams and Bright 2007). Other recent work on fashion imagery produced from within this period, largely published in cultural studies texts, articles and essays, has moved towards more critical models of analysis. In these instances the figure of photographer is incorporated into an analysis but does not rely upon him or her solely for the meaning and validity of any one image.

Theoretical aspects of cultural studies that are employed (stated or otherwise) enable fashion imagery to be examined outside of the more readily available explanations that tend to place fashion pictures at the receiving end of certain one-way relationships: that of fashion photography *and* 'art' photography; of fashion photograph *and* the practice of documentary photography; of the fashion photograph *and* the photographer (see Beard 2002; Braybon 2008; Breward 2007; Conekin 2010; Martin 2002; O'Neill 2008b; 2012a; Radner 2000; Ribeiro 2009).

Key articles on post-war histories of British fashion photography that take a cultural studies approach include Hilary Radner's essay 'On the Move: Fashion photography and the Single Girl in the 1960s' (Radner 2000); Penny Martin's contribution to *The Englishness of English Dress*, 'English-style Photography' (Martin 2002); Becky Conekin's 'From Haughty to Nice: How British Fashion Images Changed from the 1950s to the 1960s' (Conekin 2010); and Breward's ' Intoxicated on Images: The Visual Culture of Couture' (2007). Throughout these texts fashion imagery tends to take the foreground or constitute a central point of discussion from which to consider, or re-consider, certain tensions and debates within culture and society, whether that concerns femininity, consumption and notions of the self (Radner 2000), nationalism and identification (Martin 2002) the working lives of models (Conekin 2010) or the 'system' of fashion in terms of 'industrial endeavour' in the image-making in culture of couture (Breward 2007: 176).

Radner argues that 'Retrospectively, fashion photography constitutes a historical document that offers us evidence of the practice and ideals of a given period' (Radner 2000: 128). However, by employing a theoretical framework it can also be looked at in terms of it acting as 'a vehicle for circulating new patterns of consumption tied to evolving notions of the self' (ibid). This thesis contributes to the further knowledge of post-war British fashion photography by examining how it actively engaged with expectations and aspiration of culture at that time, which in this instance concerns the representation of fashion and art. This enables a wider discussion to take place about

what kinds of information and knowledge can be afforded by fashion photography and how its many stories are an integral part of the larger history of culture and modernity that took place throughout the post Second World War era.

Fashion Media and Art Historical Perspectives

In this section I address how studies emanating from the discipline of art history have engaged with fashion imagery and media. The discussion and analysis of art, culture and mass media stems from early twentieth-century essays by figures such as Walter Benjamin, whose 1936 essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1999a [1936]) has been particularly influential to many studies that address the relationship between the 'original' artwork and its reproduction via photographic images.

Benjamin's key arguments were subsequently the foundation for John Berger's 1972 BBC television series and publication *Ways of Seeing*. Berger focused upon the relationship between the conventions of historical European oil painting and the visual language of 'publicity images' (or advertising) produced in early 1970s Britain. Within the canon of art history Berger's discussion of art and advertising, or high and low culture, and how they can be looked at in relation to one another has come to signify a point of departure within the history of art history.

Coinciding with Berger's exploration of art and contemporary mass media it has been noted by a number of writers that in Western academic institutions from the 1970s onwards a self-consciously 'new' art history and way of thinking about this subject began to establish itself. It is claimed that the subject underwent an increasing shift away from analysis that previously concentrated upon notions of connoisseurship, authorship and appreciation (Breward 1998: 301; Bryson, Ann Holly, Moxey 1994: xv–xxix; Walker 2001: 1–5; Wolff 1992; 1993: 26–30).

From the interdisciplinary field of cultural studies emerged new ways 'of thinking about the study of both popular culture and the seemingly mundane uses of images in our daily lives' (Sturken and Cartwright 2001: 2–3). Within studies of art history this has led to a wider incorporation of visual cultures, thus 'the art historian's object of study expanded' (Walker 2001: 2), and this has come to include images of mass media and fashion ephemera. In the context of post-war Western modern art the rare instances when fashion imagery and media have been incorporated into an analysis has primarily been done so in order to contextualise an artwork, artist or theoretical argument.

A Context for the Study of Modern Art

In his article 'Dangerous Liaisons: Art, Fashion and Individualism' for the journal *Fashion Theory* (Radford 1998; see also Bok Kim 1998) Robert Radford argued that 'Fashion has, almost since its first recognition, been represented as art's other' (Radford 1998: 152). Whilst pop art and conceptual takes on post-modernism cultivated within a predominantly Western art culture have evidently played between these boundaries (see

Berman 1983: 31–32; Krause-Wahl 2009; Whiting 1997), Radford situates art and fashion in a binary relationship whereby art represents values of truth, endurance and authenticity and its opposite fashion represents artificiality, commercial frivolity, and the ephemeral.

Radford singles out Cecil Beaton's fashion shoot for American *Vogue* in 1951 as an example of how modernist art was positioned in relation to a fashion system. In this instance a series of abstract expressionist paintings by Jackson Pollock featured as a background in an editorial fashion spread. According to Radford it was not until 1990 and thereafter that critical texts on this photo-spread emerged from within art history that were 'able to examine the issues raised by the event in more objective cultural terms' (ibid: 155; see also Troy 2012), notably from T.J. Clark, Richard Martin, and later Thomas Crow.

In these later instances the fashion imagery of US *Vogue* and Beaton was addressed in order to contextualise aspects of art history and theory. The inclusion of an editorial fashion spread within the serious discussion of modern painting is arguably part of the aforementioned self-consciously established 'new' art historical thinking. From a Marxist, or socio-historical perspective, that seeks to expose 'the ideological nature' of art (Wolff 1993: 49) art historians Clark and Crow both posit the Beaton/Pollock fashion spread as a representation of ideological proportions. As a form of social production, or in this case reproduction, the fashion spread serves to illuminate each of their discussions regarding American modernism and its contradictions.

For Crow the large format of the abstract canvas 'would always carry the meaning of stage and backdrop […] from which none among this generation […of painters] could break free, and Beaton was there to record the cruel bargain entailed in that dependence' (Crow 1996: 48). Similarly, Clark dryly notes that Pollock's paintings 'have seemed the appropriate background to a ball gown and bolero, to the black-tie-do at the local museum, to the serious business of making money' (Clark 1990: 219). Both these perspectives are keen to demonstrate how the foreground (the art object) relates to background (social context), however neither Crow nor Clark take into account the systematic representation of art within this type of high fashion media at the time, the context of the issue in which the spread was published, or the wider context of fashion media publishing of this period.

In relation to some of these contextual issues it is also problematic that in these accounts the issue of gender is avoided. In Radford's *Fashion Theory* article there is no mention of the familiar, if not obvious, trope of the 'feminisation' of fashion and consumption, as opposed to a 'masculine' conception of art and creative productivity. The fact that the fashion photo-spread was produced to be read by an intended female readership of middle to upper-middle class American women also appears not to have been factored into either Clark's or Crow's interpretation of the Beaton fashion photographs.

In his essay 'Mass Culture As Woman: Modernism's Other' Andreas Huyssen points out that for modernist art critics, such as Clement Greenberg (which Crow, Clark and others seek to interrogate), 'mass culture remained the other of modernism', and even though no longer imagined 'as primarily feminine' the feminine as 'other' remained part of the old paradigm that constructed 'their conceptualization of modernism' (Huyssen 1986: 200-201). Paradoxically, by largely denying that the fashion spread itself was in anyway created for a gendered audience, these more recent critical takes on the modernist project succeed in continuing to perpetuate some of these most basic modernist myths.

In a recent issue of *Fashion Theory* art historian Änne Söll (2009) readdresses the Beaton/Pollock spread, with the specific aim of enriching the 'understanding of this complex constellation of factors over against Clark's one dimensional take on the consumption of art by fashion' (Söll 2009: 31). By providing a contextual reading of these images 'within the parameters of the magazine itself', Söll sought to answer her key question: what is 'the relationship between America's avant-garde and *Vogue*, the fashion magazine that set the tone for America's upper-class women of the eastern coast?' (ibid). Söll argues that 'In Beaton's photos, art and fashion share the same social space: the stage as a site of femininity in perfect form; art and fashion, thus, create a fashionable form of "American" society' (ibid: 41). In this particular instance the Pollock 'drip' paintings were photographed in situ at the Betty Parsons Gallery, a commercial art gallery in New York. The paintings, and their exhibition space form a background for the display of fashion apparel. The images speak of underlying tensions that existed then were then not only between commerce and creativity, but also between American fashion and visions of post-war femininity.

Visual Cultures of Post-War Britain

In scholarly work concerning post-war Britain the co-existing relationship between art and fashion (prior to the 1960s) is very much under-explored. Histories of post-war British art have readily acknowledged how emerging groups of artists from the mid-1950s onwards engaged with aspects of mass and commercial culture, otherwise referred to as popular culture, particularly with reference to the work of the Independent Group, and the subsequent 1956 Whitechapel art gallery exhibition *This Is Tomorrow* (see Garlake 1998; Harrison 2002; Massey 1995; Mellor 1993). With a few exceptions (O'Neill 2009; Walker 1993), the representation of art within forms of popular culture has rarely been addressed. And the discussion of art's representation within fashion media during this period is fleeting at best.

The occasional comment regarding the ways in which forms of modern art have appeared in British fashion magazines is often not contextualised with the same rigour as other kinds of historical sources (see Bird 2008: 159; Calvocoressi 1982: 147; Garlake 1998: 123). By not clearly referring to the source materials of fashion images upon which

certain historical arguments and claims are being made, these practices simply replicate assumptions or endorse pre-conceived prejudices.

The lack of studies that acknowledge post-war British art's engagement with fashion media can be seen as part of a wider absence of scholarly work being conducted into this period. This has been recently readdressed by a number of art historians in the special edition of the Association of Art Historians journal *Art History*: 'British Art and the Cultural Field' (2012). Here the editors Lisa Tickner and David Peters Corbett note that 'the rich history of the years between 1939 and 1969 remained relatively under-explored' (Tickner and Corbett 2012: 207). Notably, many of the articles in this volume deal with the historiography of British art through a variety of approaches that analyse art in relation to other subjects of study such as architecture and photography, nation and immigration, austerity and Americanisation; and aspects of the cultural field including policy-making, exhibitions, criticism and the market (ibid: 208).

Tickner's own contribution to the journal 'Pop Art, Mass Culture and the Export Drive', examines aspects of 1960s British culture by employing Bourdieu's notion of cultural production and 'field' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]). Tickner addresses how the field of culture in late 1960s Britain was a dynamic space in terms of 'public and personal economies of meaning and value' (Tickner 2012: 409). In Tickner's analysis agents and institutions such as the Board of Trade, fashion designer Mary Quant, and a variety of other artists, musicians and performers were involved in a programme of cultural events that aimed to promote British creativity and productivity.

One of the key players in this field of cultural production, that Tickner introduces, is the independent British export magazine the *Ambassador* (see also Breward & Wilcox 2012). The promotion of the arts and textiles, and at times textiles designed by artists, is attributed to the title's owners and lead editorial team, Hans and Elsbeth Juda. Although the inclusion of this periodical is only briefly mentioned in the article, two images taken from the magazine have been reproduced to illustrate it. The images taken from the *Ambassador's* 1964 editorial fashion spread 'Fab Pop Fash…For the Young', are presented as somehow self-evident: a young woman is playfully held up by two casually dressed young men in front of large painted canvases, presumably from the school of pop art. In this instance the context of these fashion images are not further discussed.

In contrast, the V&A's recent monograph of this periodical and its archive reproduce and the accompanying text indicates that the image originates from a fashion story on British ready-to-wear collections (Thomas 2012: 82). The spread shows garments designed by RCA graduates Tuffin & Foale, and Jean Muir; a young woman called 'Queenie', the wife of Australian artist Brett Whiteley, is modelling these clothes. The shoot took place at the Robert Rauschenberg exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery.

The other element, which could be called its fashion detail, evident in this reproduced image, points to another way that works of art, in this case British Pop Art,

were bestowed with different values and meanings within a field of culture. Details such as the actual garments featured, the model by whom they are worn, and the style of the image, are all central elements that warrant serious discussion if the image is to be used as a type of historical or representational evidence within a critical argument.

The main issues that arise across these various texts are that of use, value and perspective. The fashion image appears to be useful within certain art histories because it provides a type of record or representation that can be informative regarding consumer culture within certain moments of social history and can also enable an analysis to reflect upon themes of identity, gender and masquerade, particularly with regard to the position and status of the 'artist' within Western modernity (see also Krause-Wahl 2009; Whiting 1997). However, the approach taken to these types of record can reveal a sometimes phobic and problematic reaction to fashion and mass media, for instance sweeping claims regarding fashion media are made, visual sources are not referenced correctly, or not at all. All of which suggest that, arguably, an art historical perspective can sometimes preclude a rigorous, critical, and thoroughly questioning investigation of this type of visual resource.

In her analysis of the aforementioned Beaton/Pollock spread Söll points out that in the American high fashion media 'Paintings and sculptures appear in the magazine's photos beginning around 1930 in various contexts' and moreover, works of art 'constitute part of a setting for fashion; that is, the models pose in a museum or art gallery, in short, in places, where works of art are viewed' (Söll: 40). This is the case also for British high fashion magazines published throughout the early post-war period. In these instances conflicting and contradictory ideals regarding fashion and dress, social roles, position and class were constructed alongside certain cultural markers, such as pieces of sculpture and modern painting.

By locating fashion shoots at institutions of public culture and sites of high art the fashion media was participating in the cultural production of 'art'. As forms of historical documentation images such as these also provide comment upon how forms of high culture formed part of an idealised visual culture for the readers of these magazines, and were thereby projected as part of a wider landscape of modern British fashion. This thesis contributes to the history of art and culture in post-war Britain by not using fashion pictures as simply illustrative examples to decorate an already seemingly foregone critique and conclusion, rather the present study looks to fashion photo-spreads, imagery and media, as a starting point for further historical explanation regarding this period and the interconnected relationship between fashion and art.

2. Locating Images of Fashion in…

As Chapter 1 has showed the imagery and text of fashion media has been utilised in a number of disciplinary perspectives that contribute to the history of post-war Britain. Histories of fashion, photography and art have all made use of post-war British fashion media as a type of document; however, the immediate context of fashion media as a historical source in its own right has thus far warranted limited scholarly enquiry.

The way in which images of fashion have been located in different epistemological spaces of various historical studies is akin to the way literary and social historians of the nineteenth century and earlier have often turned to periodicals 'for evidence of the past' (Beetham 1996: 6); in this way magazines are treated 'as repositories from which […] "facts", expressions of ideas and ideology' are removed (ibid). In her own study of women's magazines (1800–1914) Margaret Beetham argues that the magazine can be treated as a text in itself (Beetham 1996: 6); 'the magazine as "text" interacts with the culture which produced it and which it produces. It is a place where meanings are contested and made' (ibid: 5). The fashion magazine is a textual space within which images of social spaces are positioned to be read and understood according to particular frameworks that are informed and structured by wider social and cultural practices. In this thesis concerns regarding different kinds of space have therefore emerged in its historical analysis of post-war British fashion imagery and media

The purpose of this second chapter is to examine academic literature that specifically engages in an analysis of fashion media in terms of its textual space, and its representation of social and cultural space, and to point out the gaps that remain in the study of post-war British fashion media. The following discussion is divided into two key parts: firstly, I address Roland Barthes' influential study *The Fashion System* (1990 [1967]) and consider how images of post-war culture factored within Barthes' reading of fashion media; secondly, I examine subsequent literature that has concentrated on the study of fashion magazines and the 'reading' of double-page spreads. Here I also address how the fashion media has been utilised as a map of fashion and modernity throughout a number of cultural and historical studies. The concluding part to this chapter outlines how this thesis presents a different history of post-war Britain by examining how fashion *and* art were brought together in the space of the editorial photo-spread.

The Fashion System

Roland Barthes' study *The Fashion System* (1990 [1967]) is widely regarded as the first key theoretical text that critically examined the fashion magazine and its construction of fashion discourse. In spite of its neglect of fashion imagery and exclusion of a historical understanding regarding the development of fashion and design – Walker succinctly puts it 'Anyone who turns to this book expecting to find out what 1950s Parisian fashion looked like is in for a disappointment' (Walker 1989: 147) – the book's theoretical

introduction to fashion *as* discourse has provided the foundation for many subsequent critical discussions of fashion photography and media (Breward 2007; Evans & Thornton 1989: 78-79; Harrison 1991; Jobling 1999; Lehmann 2002; Rocamora 2009; Shinkle 2008; Zahm 2002;).

Barthes' interest in fashion media is evident in his earlier influential work which examined popular visual culture and mass media as forms of myth, cultural ideology and representation (Barthes 2000a [1957]). Prior to *The Fashion System*, discussions of fashion are broached in shorter essays such as 'Novel and Children' (Barthes 2000b [1957]), and 'Ornamental Cookery' (Barthes 2000c [1957]), both of which draw upon examples from the French fashion magazine *Elle*. A number of other short essays and journal articles on different aspects of fashion have since been read as precursors to Barthes' later seminal work *Système de la Mode* (*The Fashion System*) (see Barthes 2006).

The Fashion System examines fashion discourse through the study or 'reading' of widely available forms of fashion print media. The project (1957–1963) examined a selection of French fashion magazines, primarily *Elle* and *Le Jardin des Modes*, as well as titles such as *Vogue* and *L'Echo de la Mode*, and weekly fashion page supplements printed in newspapers, published between 1958 and1959 (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 10–11). Barthes claimed that 'in the West, Fashion tends to become a mass phenomenon, precisely insofar as it is consumed by means of a mass-circulation press whence the importance and, as it were, the autonomy of written fashion' (ibid: 290). It was within these texts that Barthes locates a 'system' of signification, which he argues gives clothing meaning at that time.

This study of fashion discourse introduced a way to theorise fashion that is not necessarily bound to an object that supposedly constitutes 'fashion', for example dress. Instead it questions how objects, such as dress, are represented *as* fashion in mass media texts (Stafford 2006: 121). However, by employing a structural model of semiology in its analysis of fashion discourse, it is 'written clothing' – the fashion copy that accompanies images of garments within the pages of a magazine – that was the locus of analysis. An analysis of image-clothing – that which illustrates written clothing – or more precisely the fashion photograph itself is thus not attempted (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 3–4).

These limitations have been extensively critiqued in a number of other studies (Culler 1975; Jobling 1999; König 2006), and while this present study does not follow Barthes' methodological approach to 'reading' fashion media, his text does offer 'useful conceptual tools for engaging with fashion as written in the media' (Rocamora 2009: 60). Barthes' study is also a specific reading of fashion media that also provides a type of socio-historical record.

In this first part of Chapter 2 I establish how images of culture factored in Barthes' reading of fashion media. Both 'The Rhetorical System' and the 'Appendixes' of *The Fashion System* make key points concerning how culture, fashion discourse and imagery

were meaningful to one another within the pages of 1950s Parisian fashion media. I approach these observations in dialogue with the research that has been conducted for the present study and address how it offers new points of departure in its own examination of fashion media and images of culture.

The Rhetorical System

Much of the discussion in the latter section of *The Fashion System* 'The Rhetorical System' goes beyond categorising the rules and functions of 'written fashion' and begins to address 'its meanings and values' (Rocamora 2009: 60). Here the analysis of 'signs' makes a series of implicit, although not explicit, references to the visual components which contribute to the representation of fashion within this system, for example when discussing 'The body as signified' Barthes addresses the body of the model within fashion discourse. Based on his reading of contemporaneous fashion magazines Barthes claims that the model, or 'cover girl', is becoming less 'abstracted'. He observes that:

> more and more we see the body photographed 'in situation', i.e., to unite with the pure representation of structure a rhetoric of gestures and poses meant to give a spectacularly empirical version of the body (the cover girl travelling, by the fireside, etc): more and more, the event threatens the structure.
>
> (Barthes (1990 [1967]: 259)

This particular observation has been cited several other times in writings on the subject of fashion photography and its histories (see Harrison 1991; Jobling 1999). It has been argued that this comment describes what was then a stylistic change occurring within fashion photography, which is relevant to wider cultural and social changes within which it was taking place. In its own rhetoric, imagery is never entirely absent from *The Fashion System.*

According to Barthes, in the rhetorical system of fashion discourse 'we broach the general level of connotation' (Barthes (1990 [1967]: 225). Here the relationship between chain-related entities of a 'signifier (the garment), a signified (the "world"), and a sign (the union of the two)' (ibid) are each equated with the connotative aspect of fashion's rhetorical system. Barthes claims that this relation is entirely 'autonomous' as all elements that are relevant to the 'Rhetoric of Fashion' do not gain significance through a chain of meaning or analysis 'as would be the case in language' (ibid). Whilst a 'system', as such, still presents itself in the rhetorical system the overall schema of order does not follow a numerical or hierarchical order.

'The Rhetorical System' is defined by Barthes as a combination of three 'smaller rhetorical systems', which are: the 'poetics of clothing'; the world as representation; and the 'reason' of fashion (ibid). It is under 'The poetics of Clothing' that Barthes observes how 'Culture' is utilised within fashion discourse as a system of rhetorical reference, meaning and value. Under the sub-heading attributed to this part of the 'system' '*Cognitive models: "culture"'*, Barthes claims that:

> A certain number of objects or styles dignified by culture thus give their name to

> the garment […] to place a dress under the 'sign' Manet is more to display a certain culture than it is to name a form (this duplicity is proper to connotation) […] art (paintings, sculpture, literature, film), the richest of inspirational themes, marked in the rhetoric of Fashion by total eclecticism, provided the references themselves are familiar (*the new Tangra line, Watteau's déshabillés, Picasso's colors*).
>
> (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 240)

In the rhetoric of high culture Barthes also notes that 'Haute Couture itself can constitute a cultural model, the chief designers serving as kinds of signifieds (*Chanel-style, the Chanel look*)' (ibid: footnote 9).

Barthes' observations regarding how 'signs' of culture are represented within fashion media offers an insight into how forms of high culture taken from the world of art and literature appeared as 'inspirational themes' for fashion. This thesis examines a similar juxtaposition of elements, yet it addresses these elements from a different perspective, it asks: what occurs if the 'sign' of culture is both a word and an image? Taking the aforementioned example of '*Picasso's colors*', what other meanings and values are produced if this text was the graphic accompaniment to a photographic image of a fashion model wearing particular clothes and posed in front of a painting by Picasso? By 'considering text and image in tandem' (Jobling 1999: 9) the system of culture that Barthes assigns to fashion discourse is both a more complex proposition, and a richer resource for the analysis of history and culture.

Appendices

For Barthes' the main reason he presents as a case for not analysing the textual *and* visual elements of representation within the fashion magazine concerns the method of his study. In an earlier version of the 'Preface' to *The Fashion System* he states:

> There was still one formidable ambiguity: the occasions where photographed (or drawn) clothing and then clothing commented upon in a written text were mixed in the same magazine and often on the same page. These two systems obviously do not have the same substance […] So we had to sacrifice one of the structures because in keeping both we could not hope to obtain homogenous units.
>
> (Barthes 2006 [c.1963]: 80)

The problem or ambiguity would appear to be that fashion photography presents more than a 'system' of image-clothing; it creates a complex 'world' of possible myths and meanings that are beyond the methodology of semiology that Barthes has employed in this instance.

By focusing upon the written text of fashion Barthes avoids what he deems to be the ambiguity of 'image-clothing', and as noted earlier, this omission has received criticism from subsequent studies of fashion media and imagery. It is in a short appendix to *The Fashion System* that Barthes addresses fashion photography as a functioning part

of fashion discourse. Here he observes that in the imagery of fashion:

> the world is usually photographed as a décor, a background or a scene, in short, as a theatre. The theatre of Fashion is always thematic: an idea (or, more precisely, a word) it varies through a series of examples or analogies.
>
> (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 301)

Whether photographed in one of the three styles of fashion imagery identified by Barthes, 'objective, literal'; 'romantic'; or 'mockery' (ibid: 302), 'culture' as a 'cognitive model' forms different backdrops to which a view of fashion is brought to the foreground.

Interestingly, in Barthes' analysis of the cognitive model of culture, his reading of this schematic model is interspersed with that of the model girl (both fashion model and reader) whom is presumably the ideal participant in this projected process of acquiring worldly knowledge of culture. For Barthes representations of 'worldly' culture in his fashion system are:

> Ultimately, academic: history, geography, art, natural history, the divisions of a high- school girl's learning: the models of Fashion proposes pell-mell are borrowed from the intellectual baggage of a young girl who is "on the go and in the know" (as Fashion would say), who would take courses at the Ecole du Louvre, visit a few exhibitions and museums when she travels, and would have read a few well-known novels. Moreover, the sociocultural model thus constituted and signified can be entirely projective; nothing requires that it coincides with the actual status of the women who read Fashion magazines; it is even likely that it simply represents a reasonable degree of social advancement.
>
> (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 241)

Culture, within the discourse of fashion media, is used to project particular cultural ideals, meanings and values that will possibly have varying degrees of relevance to the various readers of a fashion magazine. But to move beyond an otherwise generalised view of how culture relates to fashion requires closer inspection, if one is to begin to examine how instances of fashion discourse make sense, and therefore construct an understanding of culture and high art.

What can it mean when this type of 'social advancement' or 'intellectual baggage' are not just the words which make sense of the image but also form part of fashion's image? According to Barthes the discourse of fashion imagery 'dissolves the myth' of innocent meanings 'at the moment it produces them'; fashion photography and 'its culture, for the false nature of things' therefore 'does not suppress meaning; it points to it with its finger' (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 303). In the high fashion media of post-war Britain museums, galleries, temporary exhibitions and expositions, the studios of artists and educational institutions are all stages that were trodden upon in their capacity to act as theatres for fashion. Whilst 'culture' does bestow certain kinds of signification, or 'rhetorical value', upon fashion (ibid: 240) this thesis considers how these meanings and values are filtered through the discourse of fashion media and thus poses the question: how was culture also given value by fashion by being an appropriate backdrop for photographing fashion? The thesis contributes to a knowledge of fashion discourse in its examination of how forms of high culture were used as location backdrops for fashion

shoots and how they formed different theatres for fashion within the body of the magazine.

The Fashion Magazine

Studies into the field of print media, as Tim Holmes points out, have been mostly characterised by the work of feminist scholars who have approached this type of text explicitly in terms of gendered mediations of society and culture (Holmes 2008: x). Although the concept of fashion is often implicitly gendered as 'feminine' in the scholarly analysis of twentieth-century print media, fashion magazines are largely not placed in the same category as women's magazines. In what has been credited as the first large-scale academic study of the women's press in Britain Cynthia White's *Women's Magazines 1693-1968* (1970; see also White 1977), a woman's magazine is defined as 'a magazine, periodical or journal which is produced primarily for women and, not withstanding a large male readership, is addressed to a female audience' (White 1977: 30).

In White's work, fashion titles such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* are primarily distinguished as 'fashion' journals, and then secondarily as 'women's' titles. Subsequent studies on print media have tended to maintain this distinction and thus concentrate upon studies of the woman's magazine in relation to a continued project of feminist-orientated study (see Ferguson 1983; Gough-Yates 2003; Hermes 1995; White 1970; White 1977; Winship 1987). Similarly in more 'industry-led' histories of the women's press in Britain (Holmes 2008: xi) post-war *Vogue* and *Harper's* are marked out from the wider field of the women's magazine publishing industry at that time (Braithwaite and Barrell 1988: 48; see also Braithwaite 1995). As periodicals they were known as the 'glossies' due to both the materiality of their pages and coverage of high fashion (ibid).

Whilst 'The line between [women's magazines and fashion magazines is…] very thin and often blurred' (Rocamora 2009: 61), in comparison to the study of women's magazines the number of scholarly studies devoted to the subject of fashion magazines remains small. In her own study of the French fashion media *Fashioning the City: Paris, Fashion and the Media* (2009), Agnès Rocamora points out that there is a 'lack of attention, in academic studies of fashion, to the field of fashion journalism' (Rocamora 2009: 61). Key texts that have examined this particular area of fashion as a focus of investigation have largely appeared as articles for journals such as *Fashion Theory* (see Beard 2003; Borrelli 1997; Conekin 2006; Edwards 2006; Reed 2006; Rocamora 2006) and the journal *Photography & Culture* (Braybon 2008; Conekin 2010; O'Neill 2008b; 2012a). Studies that have specifically addressed fashion media include the aforementioned study by Roland Barthes *The Fashion System* (1990 [1967]) *Système de la Mode*), Paul Jobling's *Fashion Spreads: word and image in fashion photography since 1980* (1999), Rocamora's *Fashioning The City: Paris, Fashion and the Media* (2009), Rebecca Arnold's *The American Look: Fashion, Sportswear and the Image of Women in*

1930s and 1940s New York (2009a), and Ane Lynge-Jorlén's PhD thesis *Between Edge and Elite: Niche Fashion Magazines, Producers and Readers* (2009; see also 2012).

Studies of Fashion Media and History

The studies of fashion media introduced above have emerged from the cultural and historical studies departments of Western academia since the 1980s. This line of enquiry has often been conducted in a dialogue between various key academic works that have addressed women's magazines. The latter arena of study has had a slightly longer and more varied history since the late 1960s. Similar to studies of women's magazines within the body of work on fashion media there are also discernible distinctions between those that have analysed more recently published and contemporaneous forms of fashion media (Barthes (1990 [1967]; Jobling 1999; Lynge-Jorlén 2009; Rocamora 2009), and those which have addressed historical periods that may also be beyond the living memory and experience of its researcher (Arnold 2009a).

The difference between studies of fashion media situated in either a historical period or in the more recent past significantly affects the research questions one may ask of their object of study, the kind of analytical framework which they can apply to this material, and the methodologies that are appropriate and available to said researcher. Studies of fashion and women's magazines situated in contemporary or recent historical periods can conduct fieldwork, utilise methods of ethnography, anthropology and sociology in accordance with the research questions that they pose.

In studies of contemporary culture, the history of something is often evoked as a precursor, appearing as an introduction to the object of study as it exists in the present. A historical study addresses a particular period of time that has passed and this forms the nucleus of their enquiries. Recent and ongoing studies that examine specific titles from post-war British fashion media include Alice Beard's analysis of *Nova* magazine published between 1965 and 1975 (Beard 2002; 2008), Anne Braybon's case study on *Town* magazine between 1952 and 1969 (Braybon 2008) and the V&A publication *The Ambassador Magazine: Promoting Post-war British Textiles and Fashion* 1945-1970 (Breward and Wilcox 2012).

In these studies the fashion magazine is a site of historical enquiry. As a site it enables aspects of social and cultural history to be re-addressed through the examination of personal, professional, and various other interconnected histories. These histories shaped a periodical at the time of its production and continue to frame our historical understanding of a particular publication. One way this has been realised has been through the combination of textual analysis and interviewing people whom were participants in the production of the periodical (see Beard 2002 & Braybon 2008).

This thesis takes a textual analysis approach for its historical analysis of post-war British fashion magazines *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. Other historically situated studies of British women's magazines that include discussions of fashion and culture, which also

utilise textual analysis, largely concern the study of the modern women's press from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries (see Ballaster et al 1991; Beetham 1996; Beetham and Boardman 2001; Breward 1994). Although criticised in other studies of women's media (for example see Ferguson 1983; Hermes 1995), scholars such as Margaret Beetham point out that 'Unlike cultural critics of the contemporary I am not able to interview readers directly and therefore am in danger of assuming that I can construct the historical reader from the text' (Beetham 1996: 11).

In dealing with this particular 'issue' of textual analysis, Beetham and others (see Ballaster et al 1991), offer a useful framework from which different 'readings' of the text can take place from a variety of critical positions. In short this seeks to take into account a network of different 'historical readers' of the woman's magazine, each of which interconnects and overlaps in the critical analysis of the text. In Ballaster et al's study *Women's Worlds* (1991) Ballaster, Beetham, alongside Elizabeth Frazer and Sandra Hebron outline how their particular project does not seek to offer 'a narrative history of the women's magazines' (Ballaster et al 1991: 5), such as those offered by the aforementioned texts by White (1970) and also Braithwaite and Barrell (1988), rather this tension between the past and the present in the realm of woman's magazines is made explicit.

Breward's analysis of the late nineteenth-century London-based woman's magazine *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (1994) makes a number of similar points to those raised by Ballaster et al (1991) and Beetham (1996). Breward approaches *Myra's Journal* as a site from which to explore 'the wider context of the late nineteenth-century debate on acceptable forms of femininity and the related problem of fashion consumption' (Breward 1994: 71). This is primarily done by the close examination of the use and development of graphic images (fashion plates and engravings) published in correspondence with the journal's text.

In comparison to the aforementioned historical accounts, in Breward's essay visual representations play a larger part in the overall textual analysis of this particular late nineteenth-century woman's journal. In this instance the 'reading' of image and text offers a different perspective of this archival material. The history of image and text is part of a periodical's 'continuity and change' (Ballaster et al 1991: 5), or as Breward puts it, the periodical can present 'a sense of establishment and continuity', that can be seen to underlie 'the relevance of the late nineteenth-century fashion journal to more current debates on consumption, gender, and representation' (Breward 1994: 89).

Historical studies of women's magazines are relevant to the study of fashion magazines as they foreground important debates regarding how an understanding of this genre can be reached. The researcher may also raise questions as to how certain aspects of that history can be analysed. The present study acknowledges the genre of fashion magazines as distinct from women's magazines (see Rocamora 2009: 61); however an understanding of other historically situated studies of the women's press (which have also

provided textual accounts of visual representations) offers a foundation from which to answer questions concerning the ways in which fashion magazines can be 'read' and contextualised within the realm of historical study. This thesis contributes to the knowledge and study of fashion media by examining the fashion periodical as a historical text. Historical accounts of magazines draw upon notions of 'both continuity and change' (Ballaster et al 1991: 5); in the pages of magazine literature the past and the present continue to correspond and collide with one another, enabling ever 'new' readings of the past to take place.

Reading the Double-Page Spread

It is acknowledged that modern Western fashion has developed along with of the growth in media and communication industries (Breward 2003: 15). However, as the first part of this discussion has shown, the fashion magazine has not been widely addressed as an object of academic study. In his account of design history Walker notes that the advertisements and editorial matter of magazines are themselves also 'particularly rich objects of study for design historians because not only do they promote and depict designed goods but are themselves instances of design' (Walker 1989: 178). This approach to the analysis of designed objects through the imagery of contemporary mass media imagery is applied in the work of figures such as Adrian Forty and his social history of design (Forty 2005 [1986]) and Dick Hebdige's essays on twentieth-century popular culture such as 'Object as Image: the Italian Scooter Cycle' (1988).

In these histories of design, fashion and fashion media, in terms of both object and image, occupy a position of discussion in their wider conceptualisations of design, history and culture, which also enable their authors to include arguments concerning gender and the selling of design to a female audience through mass media (see also Partington 1989). The relationship between an object and its image is complex, as Hebdige has argued: 'the circulation of the Image precedes the selling of the Thing' (Hebdige 1988: 95). In this sense the 'Image' and the 'Object' navigate around one another, the object exists as an image, and the image is also a designed object.

The fashion magazine is both an object of design and is made up of a continuous flow of images that have been designed to mediate and sell other objects of design. This series of images are also objects of design (see Ambrose and Harris 2005; Foges 1999; Rothstein 2007). Histories of magazine design (Owen 1991) and graphic design (Jobling and Crowley 1996) demonstrate that these commercial art forms, far from being seamless and continuous, significantly change and alter according to the particularities of socio-historical contexts, which magazines and graphic design both reproduce and represent (Jobling and Crowley 1996: 1).

Fashion images taken from magazines have proliferated as illustrative asides throughout various popular and scholarly accounts of Western modernity, yet their original context and form, that is the double-page spread, is often unacknowledged. In

their own analysis of fashion images Caroline Evans and Mina Thornton argue that certain qualities can be lost when:

> pictures are anthologized, or reproduced in a book like this, without captions, details about the clothes, a setting of the glossy magazine, with its own protocols and hierarchies […] separated from caption, text, the paraphernalia of the magazine, are cut off from their only anchor, isolated from their context.
>
> (Evans and Thornton 1989: 82)

Photography historian and auctioneer Philippe Garner has similarly noted the importance of the fashion photograph's published context in order to gain an understanding of the medium. Whilst acknowledging the potential 'power' and beauty of individual prints, Garner claims 'that the medium through which to study and appreciate fashion photographs is the magazine – for this was the original point of interface between the photographers and their intended audience' (Garner 2008: 48).

In addition to the work on fashion spreads by Jobling, which specifically argued that 'we can only gain a fuller understanding of the symbolism in spreads […] by considering text and image in tandem' (Jobling 1999: 9), a small number of other studies into fashion representations and media have sought to engage with the ways in which images work within their published contexts (see Beard 2002; Breward 1994; Brooks 1997 [1980]; Stein 1992 [1985]; Richoux-Bérard and Bonnet 2004).

The work of scholars such as Rosetta Brooks, Sally Stein and Alice Beard demonstrate how engaging with the fashion magazine and periodical as a site of productive meanings and values can bring other insights to the analysis of fashion imagery, in terms of wider visual and cultural histories. Brooks' essay 'Fashion: Double-Page Spread' (1997 [1980]) addresses the work of fashion photographers Helmut Newton, Guy Bourdin and Deborah Tubeville. Brooks provides a critical approach to the form of the double-page spread, thereby undoing some of the critical and historical traditions that for her have 'made us see the creativity of the photographer and mass production as opposed to each other' (Brooks 1997 [1980]: 208).

Stein's analysis of American women's magazine the *Ladies Home Journal*, 'The Graphic Ordering of Desire', argues that:

> Studies of magazines have usually treated literary texts, or editorial images or ads, as independent entities and have proceeded to analyse their meanings divorced from their original context. This strategy flattens our conception of the way magazines came to be assembled and then received. For these elements certainly are not apprehended in isolation, rather, images and texts, ads and editorial matter, are each designed to work off each other within the larger ensemble of the magazine.
>
> (Stein 1992 [1985]: 146)

Referring to Stein's work in her analysis of *Nova* magazine Beard points out that 'context is the determinant of meaning in a magazine, and it should therefore be studied as a whole, rather than in its constituent parts' (Beard 2002: 28). Here Beard outlines how this attention led her to recognise *Nova's* treatment of the representation of fashion. Categorised into three broad typologies these are: 'The Editorial Fashion feature'; 'Photo

Story fashion-spreads'; and 'the Composite Image fashion spread'. In Beard's analysis she thus emphasises 'a prioritization of form over content, and of image over product' (ibid: 28–29).

This approach is also advocated in the Musée de la Mode de Marseille 2004 exhibition *Glossy: Modes et Papier Glacé*, (Richoux-Bérard and Bonnet 2004), its curators emphasise how the double-page spread of fashion media can yield potentially new ways of looking at both contemporary and historical culture. Again, the 'object' of the fashion magazine, and its imagery, are not simply split into a dualistic relationship of image/object but rather, the doubling of objects *and* images is placed under scrutiny. There is 'the object itself' that is the magazine, and there is 'its object – in other words, its contents and its choices' (ibid: 163). This argument is illustrated throughout the exhibition catalogue where fashion images are 'based on original documents, so as to preserve their structure and organisation [… because] fashion images make no sense, and have no existence, outside of their native habitat' (ibid), which is the double-page spread.

This thesis takes a similar approach to that of Stein and Beard in its examination of editorial photo-spreads (Chapter 6). It looks at fashion images in terms of both an external context – that of its social and cultural history – and also in terms of an internal context – where the double-page spread was placed within the material distribution of the magazine. Both of these contexts inform the ways in which the photo-spreads are 'meaningful' in the production of fashion media discourse.

This context also brings different meanings and values to the ways that the field of art is reproduced as a background to fashion. For example an art gallery used as a backdrop to a leading fashion story positioned in the centre of an issue has a different meaning, value and message from that of an editorial fashion spread placed towards the latter half of the magazine body. This research contributes to an ongoing knowledge that engages with the study of the fashion magazine and the double-page spread as a source of information that both reproduces and represents the culture in which it is produced and consumed, and as a type of historical document that engages with notions of both continuity and change.

Fashion Media Maps

In his examination of the construction of 'fashion cities' and the 'urban landscape', David Gilbert observes that in the twentieth century the city has been a 'landscape of fashion' […] mediated by film, photography and the fashion press' (Gilbert 2000: 19; Gilbert 2006). Key figures in the theorisation of space, such as Jürgen Habermas (1992 [1962]) and Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), have noted that the representation of space, in both image and text, participates in its social production in Western modernity. Fashion magazines and other forms of fashion media reproduce different landscapes and spaces in their mediation of fashionable lifestyles and clothes and therefore also participate in the production of space (Quinn 2003; Rocamora 2006; 2009).

Scholars concerned with the subject of human geography address how space is altered by shifts in geology and how it is historically changed by different groups of people and/or institutions. The study of space and its social production has been extensively developed in relation to other arenas of study that include the subject and human geography (Massey et al 1999; Pile and Thrift 1999); the relationship between space and time (Massey 2005; May and Thrift 2001; Thrift 1996); and gender (Grosz 1995; Massey 1994; Rose 1999); and recently Katherine Appleford has addressed the subjects of femininity, public space, class and consumption practices of fashion (Appleford 2011).

David Gilbert, Brian Short, and David Matless argue that 'The understanding of modern times cannot achieve sufficiency apart from the understanding of modern spaces' (Short, Gilbert and Matless 2003: 3–4). In histories of fashion and modernity the city has emerged as a key space of examination. In histories that address post-war Britain and the space of the metropolitan centre a number of fashionable places arise. These include Soho (Breward 2004; Farson 1987; O'Neill 2007), Lambeth and Savile Row (Breward 2004; Ehrman 2004) in the late 1940s and 1950s; Carnaby Street (Breward 2006; O'Neill 2007;), Chelsea and Kensington (Breward 2004), sites of modern post-war architecture (Edwards 2006a; Evans 2004), and the anonymous urban city street (Church-Gibson 2006; Radner 2000), in the 1960s.

Nigel Thrift points out that 'In practice all space is anthropological, all space is practised, all space is place' (Thrift 1996: 47), therefore space is not empty and abstract but is dynamic and contingent. The changing dynamics of fashion and place inform one another across time and space. And fashion can also alter one's experience of space, place and time. Breward observes that there is a long historical understanding that connects 'the sense of place, the experience of modernity and the making and wearing of clothing' (Breward 2006: ix). Also commenting upon literature that discusses the themes of history, the urban environment, and fashion, Wilson points out that 'The city becomes a locus of desire, of transgression and of the exploration of the body. It is to be expected that fashion and adornment will achieve great importance in such a situation' (Wilson 2006: 34).

Throughout histories of twentieth-century urban space different forms of mass fashion media are drawn upon as types of maps for investigations of the past, therefore an important resource in the mapping of fashion, modernity and space has been the fashion media. According to Doreen Massey a map 'tells of an order of things. With the map we can locate ourselves and find our way out' (Massey 2005: 106). Maps provide a guide to space. However, maps are not simply reflections of 'real' space. Massey claims that whilst all 'Maps are about space; they are forms of representation, indeed iconic forms; representation is understood as spatialisation. But a map of a geography is no more that geography – or that space – than a painting of a pipe is a pipe' (ibid). The fashion magazine provides a number of different kinds of maps that represent different spaces as

fashionable. For example semi-factual maps drawn in fashion magazines provide a guide to a 'capital's fashionable sites of consumption' (Rocamora 2009: 83); in the case of fashion media's depiction of Paris, Rocamora argues that this type of mapped space is a representation that enables the magazine reader to 'possess' the unruly space of the city (Rocamora 2009: 83; see also Edwards 2004; 2006b; 2006c Rocamora 2006b).

The image of a geographical location, for example the urban environment of a city, used as a backdrop to advertise fashion also provides another type of fashion 'map'. In histories of fashion and modernity these representations of space, and in particular that of the city, have provided documentation regarding how fashion and space participated in the cultural construction of one another (Arnold 2009a; Edwards 2004; 2006b; 2006c; Ribeiro 2009). In fashion magazines different spaces and geographical locations are frequently used as backgrounds to the narrative sequences of editorial fashion stories and advertising. In this way certain spaces and places are 'mapped out' by fashion images. One kind of environment is more fashionable than another, or one sort of space (however fantastical or accessible) is presented as the logical place for a particular kind of fashion and its accompanying lifestyle.

In his observations of selected titles of the French fashion media in the late 1950s Barthes notes that:

> The geography of Fashion marks two 'else-wheres'; a utopian 'elsewhere', represented by everything that is exotic […] and a real 'elsewhere', which Fashion borrows from outside itself – from an entire economic and mythic situation of contemporary France: the Riviera.
>
> (Barthes (1990 [1967]: 251–252)

In post-war high fashion British a number of geographical locations are represented throughout editorial and advertising spreads. Outside of the photographer's studio models are often photographed in either 'exotic' locations or in a more 'local' situations that utilise recognisable 'real "elsewhere"' landscapes (Barthes (1990 [1967]: 251–252) found in both the city and the country. In fashion media, images of art largely also denote a type of space. In response to the 1951 Beaton/Pollock fashion spread for US *Vogue* (see Chapter 1) art historian Söll points out:

> Paintings and sculptures appear in the magazine's photos beginning around 1930 in various contexts […works of art] constitute part of a setting for fashion; that is, the models pose in a museum or art gallery, in short, in places, where works of art are viewed. The function of these "cultured" spaces is to convey the impression of an activity in keeping with the station of a worldly woman.
>
> (Söll 2009: 40)

In fashion spreads of British *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published during the 1940s and 1950s the arts are often represented by either an artwork situated in a particular type of space – for instance a gallery or museum – or the arts constitute the space of a social situation, and a model is photographed at the opera or theatre. Therefore the arts merge with discourses that concern femininity, modernity and space.

These types of space in post-war Britain also concern the subject of modernity, democracy and public culture. According to Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner such

spaces fall under the category of 'public buildings', which include: municipal buildings; local authority buildings (including museums); educational buildings (including art schools and universities); and parks (Cherry and Pevsner 2001a [1983]: 12). These spaces are also associated with a longer history that considers the presence of women and their place in the modern Western city. In her discussion of the nineteenth-century London department store Mica Nava groups these types of public space together with those of 'the great exhibitions, libraries, restaurants, tearooms, hotels and department stores' (Nava 1997: 61). According to Nava these constituted respectable or acceptable public space 'for unaccompanied women' (ibid). The construction and occupation of such spaces was part of significant changes occurring throughout this period regarding where women, particularly middle-class women, could freely go.

Referring to the work of Sharon Zukin, Nava calls these spaces types of 'public-private liminal spaces' (Zukin cited in Nava 1997: 61), which were also associated 'with a more general promotion of buildings and events as cultural commodities' and the demands made by women at that time for more accommodating public spaces (Nava 1997: 61). For Wilson the liminality of these spaces also eroticises them: 'there are more ambiguous, eroticised spaces in the city, neither quite public nor really private: secluded corners of parks and commons, offices, cafés, art galleries and department store changing rooms' (Wilson 2001: 142).

Massey argues that space is not empty, abstract or an unchanging entity, rather space is 'always under construction […] It is never finished; never closed (Massey 2005: 9). This thesis questions how public cultural spaces were constructed as fashionable places in the geographies of post-war fashion magazines. In doing so it engages with discussions that connect histories of fashion, space and place, and modernity. The thesis contributes to the history and knowledge of fashion and space in its examination of post-war British fashion media, and its mediation of the arts.

The Present Study

As Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis show, relatively little is yet known about the fashion magazines of post-war Britain and their mediation of fashion, culture and art. Janet Wolff argues that the work of art is to be seen as 'the complex product of economic and ideological factors, mediated through the formal structures of text' (Wolff 1993: 139). The specific 'text' that this thesis focuses upon is that of high fashion media in its enquiry into how art, culture and fashion were mediated within a particular socio-historical period in British culture. Examining fashion photography at different levels 'of the social practices within which photography takes place' (Tagg 1988: 2) – in this instance how it is disseminated in the body of a magazine – offers another way to look at histories of post-war Britain.

Analysing visual images, in terms of evidence and representation foregrounds the understanding that images – whether paintings, drawings, frescos or photographs – are

not simply reflections of the past but were socially constructed and received within particular cultural contexts. As Raphael Samuel points out in his work on visual and material culture within historical studies, *Theatres of Memory*, 'photographs […and images], if we are to use them as historical illustration, or as empirical evidence about the past, need historical criticism' (Samuel 1994: 330; see Burke 2001; Gaskell 2001; Jordanova 2006; 2012; Mitchell 1994).

This thesis looks to editorial photo-spreads as types of visual evidence of the past. In order to engage with them in a critical manner I employ a theoretical framework of 'fashion media discourse' (Rocamora 2009), which draws upon the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Part II of this thesis (Chapters 3–6) provides an outline of this framework, and discusses how it has been used in my historical practice as a methodological tool. This explanation also introduces how these key concepts and methods have informed and structured the findings of my research, which are presented in Part III (Chapters 7–12).

Part II: Theory and Method

Part II of this thesis introduces and outlines the theoretical framework and methodology I have employed throughout my research. In his account of design history Walker argues that 'Although one can distinguish between theory and history, the opposition between them should not be exaggerated because they are in fact interdependent' (Walker 1989: 9). There is no singular use of 'theory' as historical practice – rather, different historians employ different theories, models and concepts to varying degrees and some not at all (Burke 1992: 1). According to Peter Burke 'Without the combination of history and theory we are unlikely to understand either the past or the present' (ibid: 19). And although theory can never simply 'be "applied" to the past', what it can do 'is to suggest new questions for historians to ask about "their" period, or new answers to familiar questions' (ibid: 164–165). Theory and method concern both the practice and interpretation of research and in the case of this thesis I understand them to be interconnected elements that continually inform one another. Method and theoretical analysis are both integral parts of my historical practice.

As Part I of this thesis showed, this study contributes to a number of gaps that are present in the history of post-war Britain. By utilising the double-page spread and the fashion magazine as primary source material for historical analysis this research offers a different perspective on the interconnected histories of fashion, art and culture to take place. It does this in its examination of editorial photo-spreads published in British high fashion periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* that used public cultural institutions as locations for fashion stories between 1945 and 1962.

The purpose of the following four chapters is to outline how this has been achieved by engaging with the work of Foucault and Bourdieu via Rocamora's concept of 'fashion media discourse' (Rocamora 2009: 54–62). Chapter 3 introduces this concept and outlines how this study of fashion media has engaged with Foucault's notion of discourse and Bourdieu's theories of cultural production. Chapter 4 continues this dialogue and discusses the ideas of symbolic values and exchange between the fields of fashion and art. Here I outline how a further understanding of these concepts is gained through their application to concerns regarding gender and space in the study of history. Chapter 5 addresses how my analysis of fashion media discourse was undertaken and reflects upon the practice of history in the space of the archive. Chapter 6 discusses the practice of history writing and in doing so outlines how the findings of this research have been organised and presented in the six chapters that comprise Part III of this thesis.

3.The Cultural Production of Fashion Media Discourse

Raymond Williams defined culture as having two distinct meanings; it is 'a whole way of life – the common meanings; to mean the arts and learning – the special process of discovery and creative effort' (Williams 2003 [1958]: 6). Williams also argued that 'Culture is ordinary, in every society and in every mind' (ibid), and rather than separating these two understandings of culture they should instead be addressed in conjunction with one another.

What defines culture and the ways in which it can be studied has had many and varied implications in modern academia. In their overview of cultural studies as a method of qualitative research John Frow and Meaghan Morris outline how in practice it is a discipline that has a history of examining 'the scrap of the ordinary or banal existence' and then works to unpack the various relations and 'intersecting social domains that inform it' (Frow and Morris 2000: 327). For these purposes the analysis of media and representation has played an important part in studies of culture as it raises debates 'about identity, place and community' (ibid: 321).

Recent studies of media have engaged with theoretical concepts concerning the production, consumption and practice of culture in their analysis of women's magazines (Gough-Yates 2003), men's magazines (Crewe 2003) and niche fashion magazines (Lynge-Jorlén 2009; 2012). The media are one conduit through which 'culture' is produced. However, this type of cultural production is a complex web of meanings and values; media production should be seen 'as a *cultural* realm […it] depends heavily on *social* and *cultural* processes for its effective operation' (Gough-Yates 2003: 6); the magazine is a site which interacts 'with the culture which produced it and which it produces' (Beetham 1996: 5).

This chapter explains how an analysis of fashion media and their cultural production of the arts has been achieved through the engagement of Rocamora's work on the production and circulation of 'fashion media discourse' (2009); a model that brings together key works of Foucault and Bourdieu in order to analyse the cultural production of fashion media. Combining Foucault's theory of discourse with that of Bourdieu's enquiries into fields of culture 'sets out the parameters for an understanding of the way media texts work to create value and meaning within a given field' (Rocamora 2009: xvi). The first part of this chapter outlines Rocamora's definition of this concept. The subsequent parts show how this study has utilised the work of Foucault and Bourdieu in its own historical analysis of fashion media discourse and cultural production in post-war Britain.

Fashion Media Discourse

In his foreword to *The Fashion System* Barthes claims that 'without discourse there is no total Fashion, no essential Fashion' (Barthes 1990 [1969]: xi). Primarily referring to the

discourse of fashion media and their abundance or 'luxury of words (not to mention images)' (ibid) that adorn the 'object' of clothing, this discourse is a 'veil [that] must be drawn around the object – a veil of images, of reasons, of meanings' (ibid). In her study of the French fashion media *Fashioning the City* Rocamora introduces the concept of 'fashion media discourse', which she defines as 'a particular instance of fashion discourse' (Rocamora 2009: 58). According to Rocamora it:

> runs across various texts. It is, for instance, articulated in a set of different magazines, but in the form of fashion features, fashion spreads, newspaper fashion reports or fashion advertisements. Similarly, it is also made up of statements, concepts and themes that run across various texts and fields, as is the case for instance with statements on *la Parisienne* as chic, creative, and spirited, also iterated in novels and films.
>
> (Rocamora 2009: 58)

Furthermore fashion discourse is 'not simply about fashion commodities but also about practices, individual agents such as designers and celebrities, and collective agents such as companies and also cities' (Rocamora 2009: 55).

When discussing 'fashion discourse' Rocamora is referring to the work of both Foucault and Bourdieu (Rocamora 2009: 57). According to Rocamora 'Bourdieu's notion of field is helpful to remind us of the specific local context of production in which discourses appear and circulate' (ibid), and Foucault's concept of discourse addresses 'the wider societal context of discursive production' (ibid). The integration of these two theorists and their approaches to discourse enables Rocamora to examine fashion media as a specific type of discourse that, through its own rules of creation and consecration, and by its own means of symbolic power (ibid: 55), participates in producing a belief in fashion that is part of the 'symbolic production of culture' (ibid).

As Rocamora points out, 'Fashion discourse, and within it fashion media discourse, enunciates statements pertaining to a wider formation of texts including those of literature and the arts' (Rocamora 2009: 57). This thesis addresses how fashion media discourse specifically participates in the cultural production of the arts. Engaging with Rocamora's concept of fashion media discourse it examines how statements regarding the fashionableness of art and culture circulate in discourses of post-war British high fashion and thus questions how this is a part of the symbolic production of art and culture.

In order to answer this I draw upon the British editions of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published between 1945 and 1962. These two periodicals were selected as the primary source material for this study for a number of reasons. Pragmatically both these titles cover the period of study and are accessible in variety of public institutions (see Chapter 5). In terms of conducting an analysis of fashion media discourse I limited myself to two titles that were similar competitors within a field, in this instance the two leading monthly high fashion magazines available to purchase in the post-war publishing industry (Braithwaite and Barrell 1998).

Unlike the majority of their counterparts in the genre of women's titles at this time British *Vogue* and *Harper's* were self-consciously modern and elitist (White 1970). They

were the UK editions of American titles, both launched in the early twentieth century, *Vogue* in 1916 and *Harper's* in 1929 (Braithwaite and Barrell 1988: 169–212). These magazines also shared a similar history of publishing that centred on high fashion, high art and life-style, eloquently described by former *Harper's* editor (1945–1951) Anne Scott-James as 'the very aspect of Gracious Living – fashion, beauty, décor, entertaining', theatre and the arts (Scott-James 1952: 18; see Yoxall 1966: 3; Chapter 7 of this thesis). These two fashion magazines represent 'a key site in which ideas of high fashion' and high culture, 'were formulated' (Arnold 2009a: 3); here glossy images of high culture and its products were discursively constructed as fashionable. As holders of high amounts of economic and social prestige these periodicals are exemplary participants in the cultural production of the field of art.

Fashion discourse emanates from the field of fashion, however discourses are not only 'field-specific' but are also 'structured by the history, specificity and organization of the field they circulate in. They make it at the same time as they are made by it' (Rocamora 2009: 55). A key way in which this thesis differs from Rocamora's work on fashion media and her understanding of fashion discourse is that the present study positions itself as a historical analysis of fashion media discourse and it also interrogates the way fashion gives symbolic value to art. This has led to a different engagement with the theoretical concepts of discourse and cultural production and the related work of Foucault and Bourdieu.

Both Foucault and Bourdieu embrace a historical perspective in their investigations into the ways in which meanings and values, truth and power, are circulated within culture. The majority of Foucault's published studies are concerned with questioning history and Bourdieu's concentrated work on cultural production largely originates from his sociological study of the literary field in late nineteenth-century France, *The Rules of Art* (1996 [1992]). The approaches that Foucault and Bourdieu take to the study of culture within historical periods, albeit in very different forms, both fundamentally set out to question and undo historical assumptions about linearity, progress, and the projection of universal truths and values largely found within traditional forms of traditional historicism (see also de Certeau 1988b [1984]: 43–90).

In her critical analysis of Bourdieu's cultural theory Bridget Fowler points to these particular similarities as 'elements of convergence' between that of Bourdieu's and Foucault's theoretical approaches (Fowler 1997: 92). Fowler claims that the type of questioning towards doxic attitudes that contributes to Foucault's *The Order of Things* (2002a [1966]) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002b [1969]) 'can be detected in Bourdieu's early and enduring concern with the "historical genesis" of the modern cultural field' (Fowler: 92–93). Accordingly, both question what they understand to be constructions of knowledge or belief within Western culture, that which in other words is the taken-for-granted representation through which people 'apprehend the world' (ibid: 92). The marked resemblances that Fowler continues to outline address 'Foucault's attack

on authorship and Bourdieu's strictures against the charismatic artist or between Bourdieu's emphasis on artistic "habitus" [the social and cultural environment that informs one's social conduct, cultural tastes, and unconscious preferences…] and Foucault's "intersecting discourses" in art' (ibid: 93). For Fowler both of these approaches 'attack a mystical, or atomistic, view of individuality which depends on the philosophy of consciousness' (ibid).

In the following sections of this chapter I continue to maintain a dialogue with Rocamora's model of fashion media discourse; however, I expand upon certain aspects of Foucault and Bourdieu's work that are relevant to the research questions of this present study. These aspects are: Foucault's project of archaeology in the analysis of discourse; Bourdieu's concept of cultural production; and finally, how these two different writers and their theories continue to converge and differ with regard to history and the space of the archive as both a concept and as practice.

Archaeology

The majority of Foucault's published research is concerned with questioning history and the forms it can take in the production of particular kinds of knowledge. Broadly speaking the work of Foucault is widely understood to gravitate into two camps, the earlier 'archaeological' phase that has subsequently come to define *Madness and Civilisation* (1965), *The Order of Things* (1966) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969); and then later studies that Foucault and others refer to as part of his project of 'genealogy'. These include *Discipline and Punish* (1975) and the *History of Sexuality 1* (1976). Foucault's archaeology and genealogy form a historical epoch in themselves, archaeology is perceived as 'structural' in its approach, albeit unintentionally, and genealogy is perceived as the post-structural/ post-1968 development of Foucault's earlier approach (see Bouchard 1977; Faubion 1998; Gordon 1980; Rabinow 1991). In his introduction to a collection of Foucault's essays James D. Faubion summarises the key difference between these two approaches as:

> The strategy [of archaeology] is nothing more than the synchronic phase of genealogy itself, its review of the state of subjects, of objects, and of the relations between them not through time but, instead, at any particular moment of time. From 1971 forward, Foucault favoured genealogy not simply for its prioritization of events over systems but also for its programmatization of a history no longer constrained to be a history of the past but capable of being a "history of the present".
>
> (Faubion 1998: xxxii)

Foucault's own perception of these divisions expressed in any number of recorded interviews and discussions that intermittently took place following the publication of his works is arguably less apparent; however Faubion's review here presents the widely held consensus regarding these two phases within Foucault's theoretical approach to the study of history.

Archaeology and genealogy are both methods that enable an analysis of discourse to take place. According to Foucault discourses are groupings of statements that run through a number of different institutions, texts and practices. Discourses are made up of clusters of statements. They are not formally organised by the place or person of their origin but converge in a 'discursive formation' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 41). Statements group together according to 'rules of formation'; these are the 'conditions of existence' in a 'given discursive division' (ibid: 42). For Foucault discourse is not simply groups of 'signs' that constitute a signifying element in reference to content or representation, rather discourse itself is a practice that systematically forms the objects of which it speaks, 'in order to speak of this or that object, in order to deal with them, name them, analyse them, classify them, explain them, etc' (ibid: 51). Discourse is the grouping of statements formed through trajectories of shared concepts, theories, and rules of function. Discourse therefore constructs knowledge, 'it defines the possibilities of what can and cannot be said about a subject, it 'gives meaning to a sentence [and] a value as truth to the proposition' (ibid: 103). It is not merely the product of language, knowledge and practice but it is also productive in what constitutes language, knowledge and practice in a combined force (see Hall 1997).

Foucault defines *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002b [1969]) as the explanatory text that develops the methodological approach of analysis he undertook for *Madness and Civilization* (1965), *The Order of Things* (1966) and *The Birth of The Clinic* (1973) (Foucault 2002 [1969]: 16). It is a detailed and intricate explanation of both his definition of discourse and how it can be analysed. Discourse is the synchronic and systematic organisation of statements. By charting the visible statements of a discourse rather than seeking to uncover that which has never been articulated, an archaeological analysis examines the rules, functions and formations of discourse. According to Foucault an archaeology is not a historical study in the typical sense, it 'seeks rather to untie all those knots that historians have patiently tied; it increases differences, blurs the lines of communication, and tries to make it more difficult to pass from one thing to another' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 187).

In *The Order of Things* (2002a [1966]) Foucault applies his archaeological method to an examination of discourses concerning the development of Western human knowledge and the human sciences. In his approach to the various ways in which knowledge of Western culture has been constructed from the sixteenth century onwards Foucault sought 'to describe not so much the genesis of our sciences as an epistemological space specific to a particular period' (Foucault 2002a [1966]: xi), but instead how different disciplines or practices of human knowledge came into being due to certain formations of cultural thought within specific socio-historical contexts.

In the application of his method of archaeology to a history of scientific discourse Foucault examined the construction of certain forms of knowledge 'from the point of view of the rules that come into play in the very existence of such discourse' (Foucault

2002a [1966]: xiv). This was an alternative method to that of analysing scientific discourses 'from the point of view of the individuals' or authors, and 'from the point of view of the formal structures of what they are saying' (ibid). This method of analysis does not seek to explain history as a 'growing perfection, but rather that of its conditions of possibility' (ibid: xxiii–xxiv).

This archaeology of discourse was subsequently described by Foucault as 'a history of order […] the history of resemblance, sameness and identity' (Foucault 2002a [1966]: 261). For Foucault this meant that the human sciences did not necessarily exist in a linear fashion nor could they be viewed in terms of a growing accumulation of knowledge. These conclusions would eventually form the foundations for his later questions concerning relations of power and knowledge.

The concept of discourse and its associated method of archaeological analysis that is outlined in *The Order of Things* and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* introduce how a historical study can be approached (see also Foucault 1991b [1971]; 1998b [1966]; 1998c [1967]; 1998d [1972]). Firstly, it does not seek to interpret a history or knowledge of something as a logical step backwards or forwards within a chain of events, instead it looks to how something was known or understood within a particular socio-historical context. To follow Foucault's archaeology 'one must reconstitute the general system of thought whose network, in its positivity, renders an interplay of simultaneous and *apparently* contradictory opinions possible' (Foucault 2010 [1966]: 83 emphasis added).

The ways in which fashion and art were possibly seen and understood in relation to one another in post-war Britain are simply not the same as the ways in which the subjects of art and fashion are seen and acknowledged within more recent and contemporary forms of Western culture. This difference should also not bring its own meanings and judgements to how a contemporary analysis looks at post-war British fashion media. The analysis of fashion media discourse affords new insights into histories of both the past and the present. By following the basic principles of Foucault's archaeology this present study aims to reconstitute the historically situated thought that attributed the relationship between art and fashion in post-war Britain with particular meanings and values at that time.

Cultural Production

In *The Rules of Art* (1992) Bourdieu analyses what were then 'avant-garde' movements within the fields of art and literature in nineteenth-century France. Focusing upon the work of writer Gustave Flaubert and painter Édouard Manet, alongside that of a number of other associated artists (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]) Bourdieu specifically relates these producers and their products to a field of cultural production. By incorporating different levels of social reality into his analysis the cultural products of these figures and their status as artistic producers is defined by a field, that is the space of possible social relations contingent upon one another. This works to contradict some of the commonly

held beliefs in Western knowledge regarding forms of high culture, how they are produced, and why they are supposedly inherently valuable. By questioning an unquestioning belief or assumption concerning the greatness and creative genius of an artist, which therefore makes the work that she/he produces invaluable, Bourdieu also attacks certain belief systems that underpin aspects of historical studies.

Bourdieu defines his theory of cultural production through the key concept of field. For Bourdieu a field is a semi-autonomous site in which culture, whether art, literature, fashion, and so on, is materially and symbolically produced. It is maintained through the networks or structural relations, both visible and invisible, 'between social positions' of what Bourdieu terms as 'social agents', which can be 'isolated individuals, groups or institutions' (Bourdieu 1993a: 29). It is a conceptual space that gives rise to 'specific forms of belief as to what constitutes cultural works' such as works of 'art' and their values (Rocamora 2002: 350). Field is integral to Bourdieu's approach to the analysis of cultural production, and in his body of work research has been conducted into the fields of literature and art and briefly haute couture fashion (Bourdieu 1993c [1974]).

The concept of field therefore enables Bourdieu to examine how works of 'art' are produced within particular social cultures, groups and institutions (Bourdieu 1993a; 1996 [1992]). He argues that in order to analyse a product of culture one 'has to take as its objects not only the material production but also the symbolic production of the work' (Bourdieu1993a: 37). This suggests that the meaning and value of a cultural product, such as a painting, a novel, or couture gown, is not simply produced in the act of making it but is in fact bestowed with different values and meanings within a social plane.

For Bourdieu 'the producer of the *value of the work of art* is not the artist but the field of production as a universe of belief which produces the value of the work of art as a fetish by producing the belief in the creative power of the artist' (Bourdieu (1996 [1992]: 229). As Rocamora points out, the symbolic production to which Bourdieu refers is also produced by discourse. Field-specific discourse 'about the work of art is one of the conditions of production of the work' (Bourdieu 1993a: 35–36). The discourses that circulate within anyone field of cultural production therefore create a belief in the value of the work of art.

According to Bourdieu the field of cultural production is a dynamic space that is continually changing. He argues that 'the literary or artistic field is a *field of forces*, but is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces' (Bourdieu 1993a: 30). Fields and their discourses are therefore also historically specific. The meanings, values and discourses that circulate within a field are produced, reproduced and altered in accordance with the logic and specificity of a field at a given point in time.

Certain changes that occur within a given field are to be regarded as the results of active social agents that participate in either the maintenance or taking of positions within a field. In relation to this type of struggle discourse can be legitimate and legitimatising; field-specific discourse simultaneously works to affirm 'its own legitimacy' along with

those whom have produced it (Bourdieu 1993a: 30). Yet, the power and force of discourse within a field varies; it will be either more or less meaningful, either more or less of value, depending on its production and consumption by and between particular groups of agents that occupy a field at any one time.

According to Bourdieu the field of art is occupied by a whole host of specific institutions and agents operating within them that perform the necessary conditions for the cultural production of art:

> These include: places of exhibit (galleries, museums, etc), institutions of consecration or sanction (academies, salons, etc), instances of reproduction of producers and consumers (art schools, etc), and specialized agents (dealers, critics, art historians, collectors, etc), required by the field and the specific categories or perception and appreciation, which are capable of imposing a specific measure of the value of the art and her products.
>
> (Bourdieu 1993a: 260)

In his analysis of the field of literature in nineteenth-century France Bourdieu includes places of publication as a significant site in which art is consecrated. In Bourdieu's analysis the positioning of an author, form of production or cultural product within a particular publication, whether publisher, magazine, gallery, newspaper, corresponds to 'a natural place (already existing or to be created) in the field of production' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 165), or 'the homology between field of production and field of consumption' (ibid).

This thesis addresses how the British fashion magazines *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* were places of exhibit and sites of consecration for art throughout the post-war period. In Foucauldian terms discourses about art and culture are statements that are to be found throughout different institutions, sites and texts. These statements unite together within particular groupings and make sense in relation to one another. Bourdieu's approach to discourse via an understanding of field enables one to consider how certain statements made within field-specific discourses can be understood as 'strategic'. The present study examines how the field of art was bestowed with symbolic values emanating from the field of art, however this exchange of this symbolic value takes place in the mass media (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, by concentrating upon an analysis of fashion media discourse as a significant contributor to the symbolic production of the arts the present study questions Bourdieu's concept of homologous production and consumption between fields (see Rocamora 2002).

Document, Archive and History

Foucault called his method of archaeology the 'the science of the archive' (Foucault 1998b [1966]: 263). This archive is not a physical archive but a 'general' archive. Foucault proposes that the systems of statements, their unities, totalities, series, and relations, '(whether events or things)' are the '*archive*' (ibid: 145). In this sense everything that has been stated at one time or another, within the boundaries of its own socio-historical context, provides an insight into the workings of a general archive.

According to Foucault this type of research 'does not imply the search for a beginning; it does not relate analysis to geological excavation […] Archaeology describes discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive' (Foucault 1998b [1966]: 263). The 'archive' in this sense constitutes a cultural and social entity of documentation, materials, recordings, practices: in short an ever-changing and limitless space that designates the strategic uses of power and knowledge. A Foucauldian archaeology thus trawls the surface of this general archive, delving into 'the already-said at the level of its existence' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 148), and skimming an immense surface of statements articulated by culture and society.

Foucault criticises the use of the document as a mere tool of 'a history that is primarily and fundamentally memory' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 7). He defines this type of history as traditional, or 'total history'. This is a type of history that is primarily concerned with dividing the past into linear eras of progression or regression, seeking to retell the past by uncovering the truths of men, women and events using archival documents and/or artefacts. Instead Foucault argues for a 'general history' that aspires 'to the condition of archaeology'; that is a total description that 'draws all phenomena around a single centre' (ibid: 11).

In this approach the document would no longer be for history 'an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said' rather 'history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 7). A document therefore constitutes a discursive statement and in this sense is part of discourse. According to Foucault the ways in which 'society recognises and develops a mass of documentation' is inextricably linked to history (ibid) in that it is part of the discursive formation of history itself.

There are a number of methodological problems inherent in this type of historical approach, namely in attempting to 'deploy the [total] space of a dispersion' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 11). For example, how does one then analyse a group of documents? Which documents do you choose? And even though archaeological analysis is supposedly non-exhaustive, where do you (as a historical researcher) set your own limits? (ibid: 10–11). Foucault does briefly recognise these problems. However, for Foucault these 'number of methodological problems' of the 'new history' existed prior to its emergence, and 'taken together, characterize it' (ibid: 11). The articulation of these methodological queries as a whole continues to question 'total history' because the actual practice of history is relative and not objective – the archive is open, fluid, transitory, and boundless and is not a sanitised mausoleum of knowledge where documents and artefacts gather themselves.

In *The Rules of Art* Bourdieu acknowledges that in the work of Foucault 'one finds the most rigorous formulation of the foundations of the structural analysis of cultural works' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 197). Yet, he argues Foucault's theoretical approach 'remains abstract and idealist' because he does not clearly propose a material reality in

which to relate 'works to the social conditions of their productions' and to their producers (ibid: 198). Instead his analysis remains in an autonomous field of discourse. This is problematic for Bourdieu as it also removes the researcher from his own set of social condition out of which his work is produced.

Bourdieu argues for a reflexive stance, 'understood as the act of "positioning oneself with reference to some given data"' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 201). Documents are types of historical data and Bourdieu, in a similar way to Foucault, is critical about the supposed authenticity of the document in historical practices. In terms of how historical and cultural knowledge is produced Bourdieu argues that:

> The text that is understood historically is forced to abandon its claim that it is uttering something true. We think we understand when we see the past from a historical standpoint, i.e place ourselves in the historical situation and seek to reconstruct the historical horizon. In fact, however, we have given up the claim to find, in the past, any truth valid and intelligible for ourselves.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 308)

Foucault argues for a general history that dispenses with ideas of historicism, advocating a way in which this is to be achieved through the textual analysis of a general archive. Here Bourdieu argues that documents are also actively and socially connected to one another, and are therefore also non-definitive in their meaning, purpose and value, because these elements are intrinsically relative to the position and activity of the social agent by whom they are utilised.

According to Bourdieu historical research and the analysis of the document therefore require an active double historicisation, that is:

> the reconstruction both of the space of possible positions (apprehended through the dispositions associated with a certain position) in relation to which the historical given (text, document, images, etc) to be interpreted is elaborated, and of the space of possibles to which one interprets it.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 309)

In addition to the methods of discourse analysis outlined above, Bourdieu's approach allows the findings of this research to be further explored in terms of both the archival (in the Foucauldian sense) and the social; that is, the positioning of statements within a field of cultural production that is strategically relative to other fields, sites, archives and producers. Furthermore Bourdieu's emphasis upon cultural production invites another level of self-reflection when it comes to approaching historical research with an awareness of the cultural space that the researcher herself/himself occupies when interpreting historical texts, documents and images.

This thesis draws upon Foucault's method of archaeology for its analysis of fashion media discourse and its research of fashion periodicals that reside in a number of public institutions and archives. According to Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham Foucault's method of archaeology offers 'a snapshot, a slice through the discursive nexus (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 30–31). However, this 'historical slice' method is not entirely divorced from its successor of genealogy 'history of the present' or 'historical process'. Kendall and Wickham continue to claim that 'genealogy is not so much a

method as a way of putting archaeology to work, a way of linking it to our present concerns' (ibid: 31); indeed, they point out that 'a lot can be gained by keeping archaeology and genealogy together' (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 31).

With regard to the Bourdieuian aspects of this study's theoretical framework and methodology, which concern the sociologist's emphasis upon self-reflection in the conduct of historical research, my conception of discourse does lend itself to certain aspects of genealogy. The position of a historical researcher who actively seeks to describe various slices of history through the archaeology of fashion media discourse is also a part of a 'historical process' and history of the present. Although these questions do not strictly adhere to Foucault's concept of genealogy, in terms of being directly applied to an analysis of discourse, they do nevertheless contribute to continual debates concerning the present production of history, its methodologies, and its possible collusion with interwoven notions of power, value and truth.

4. A Question of Symbolic Value

The preceding chapter introduced the basic theoretical framework of this thesis and outlined how the study has drawn upon Rocamora's model of fashion media discourse in its analysis of post-war British fashion magazines. Demonstrating an engagement with this key concept that differs from Rocamora's enquiries into contemporary French fashion media, this research project takes the form of a historical analysis. Drawing upon the work of Foucault and Bourdieu and their theories of discourse and cultural production, this study relates this concept to these theorists' own critical engagements with the practice of history.

The symbolic power of fashion media discourse (Rocamora 2009: 55) is also of symbolic value to other fields, cultural producers and products. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical and methodological implications of the following propositions; firstly, that the fashion media discourse of high fashion periodicals published in post-war Britain participated in the cultural production of the arts; and secondly, that this type of cultural production was strategic because it bestowed symbolic values associated with the field of fashion upon the field of art. The symbolic power of fashion media discourse also concerns questions over gender and space. The fashion magazines examined in this study are largely gendered as feminine texts. This suggests that the symbolic values associated with the field of fashion and in particular with high fashion media were also perceived as gendered.

The theoretical framework that enables the examination of this exchange to take place within the parameters of a historical study continues an engagement with the work of both Foucault and Bourdieu. However, because it raises the question of symbolic value, in terms of its exchange between fields, products and producers, there are also a number of points of departure from the work of these two theorists. In the first part of this chapter I address Bourdieu's approach to the analysis of symbolic exchange. I also discuss how Bourdieu's analysis of the field of fashion has been subsequently addressed and how this contributes to this study's understanding of field-specific symbolic values. I then expand upon this discussion and address how symbolic value can be analysed in terms of gender and how this is examined in the present study. In the final part I discuss how spatial metaphors are employed in the theories of both Foucault and Bourdieu. This provides an introduction to following chapters (Chapters 5–6) which outline how this theoretical framework has been methodologically employed in this study.

An Exchange of Symbolic Values

According to Bourdieu in any one field different kinds of capital are in continuous operation. These are economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals. These different types of capital affect one another – for instance one may be low in economic capital but high in cultural capital and vice versa (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]). Symbolic capital refers to

the accumulation of 'legitimate capital called 'prestige' or 'authority'' (Bourdieu 1993a: 75), and cultural capital concerns 'a certain type of cultural accumulation and a certain image of cultural accomplishment' or cultural knowledge (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 17). Although these particular forms of capital, along with that of social capital, are not reducible to economic capital per se, in the long run and 'under certain conditions' they are seen to guarantee 'economic success' (Bourdieu 1993a: 75).

Different social agents – institutions, groups and individuals – are all endowed with different forms of capital particular to their field. The symbolic values and capitals that circulate within a field are historically specific; the struggles between different holders of different capitals that 'stake the transformation or conservation of the relative value of different kinds of capital' are of their time and social space (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 215). Within a field these dynamics of 'capital' bestow cultural goods with varying amounts of capital as well as different types of symbolic value.

The practice of social agents and the different forces of power, capital and symbolic values present in a field maintain it and the field's own *illusio*. Bourdieu defines *illusio* as the belief that agents share, invest in and reproduce in accordance with the specific logic of the field in which they play. It distinguishes what is simultaneously important to both the agent and the field, 'In short, the *illusio* is the condition for the functioning of a game of which it is also, at least partially, the product' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 227–228). In Foucault's concept of discourse the *illusio* can be looked at in terms of how discourse is formed through social practices that give 'a value as truth to the proposition' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 103). In short discourse implicitly claims to utter the truth about a subject. In doing so it also proposes its statements regarding what is 'true' are also the foundation of its validity and value.

Bourdieu argues that each field 'offers to agents a legitimate form of realising their desires, based upon a particular form of illusio' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 228). For Bourdieu the field of fashion can be analysed like other field of cultural production. He remarks that:

> the field of high fashion introduced me more directly than any other universe to one of the most fundamental properties of all fields of cultural productions, namely the essentially magical logic of the production of the producer and of the product as fetishes.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 182)

Here Bourdieu is referring specifically to the field of fashion in terms of Parisian-based couture designers and high-end designer products in mid-twentieth century France (see Bourdieu 1993c [1974]). These observations regarding the particular illusio that operates in the field of fashion have subsequently been taken up by a number of academic studies (Entwistle and Rocamora 2006; Lynge-Jorlén 2009; 2012; Rocamora 2002). In this recent work it has been argued that the field of fashion produces its own specific discourse that converges with the relative struggles of its agents and their shared meanings and values. It is argued that this field also produces and circulates its own forms of 'fashion capital'

(Rocamora 2002: 343); according to Entwistle and Rocamora fashion capital is 'like all field-related capitals, it is made up of economic, and cultural capital […] and social and symbolic capital (Entwistle and Rocomora 2006: 740). And the fashion press and its agents play an integral part in how the field of fashion is maintained.

Fashion discourse and its statements also emerge in other fields and in conjunction with other culturally produced meanings and values. In her study of contemporary French fashion media Rocamora gives the example of how 'statements about fashion design in the field of fashion are informed by statements on the arts in the field of art. The values and concepts that fashion discourse conveys are part of a wider discourse on the creative process and idea of the artist' (Rocamora 2009: 58). Yet, if statements about art are made in the field of fashion, and within particular instances of high fashion media discourse, are there other values and concepts that are simultaneously also being conveyed? In terms of wider societal discourse is there an exchange that occurs whereby the specific values and concepts that circulate in the field of fashion symbolically produce an idea of art in accordance with the logic and values specific to the field of fashion?

Although Bourdieu's analysis of cultural production in the *Rules of Art* (1996 [1992]) focuses primarily upon the more autonomous functions in the fields of literature and art he does briefly address how an analysis of cultural production may study exchanges that occur between fields:

> it would be a matter of examining, for each of the historical configurations considered, on the one hand the structural homologies between different fields which may underline encounters or correspondences with no borrowing involved; and on the other hand those direct exchanges which depend, in their form and very existence, on the positions occupied in their respective fields by the agents or institutions concerned, and hence on the structure of those fields, and also on the relative positions of the fields in the hierarchy established among them at the moment under consideration, determining all sorts of effects of symbolic domination.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 199)

Bourdieu claims that 'Only historical observation can determine in each case if there exists a privileged orientation of the transfers between fields and why' (ibid: 379 n.40). Therefore two or more fields at a particular socio-historical moment may share 'structural homologies' – that is to say that they are organised and maintained in the same manner and according to shared principles cultural preferences – and due to this a number of 'exchanges' can take place, whether symbolic, economic or material.

Fashion periodicals produce a discourse on art and high culture; the fashion magazine is a site of consecration for haute couture, high fashion *and* art. In his observations on the field of French fashion Bourdieu states that 'it follows that when I speak of haute *couture* I shall never cease to be speaking also of *haute culture*' (Bourdieu 1993c [1974]: 132). In terms of the present study and its corpus of research in post-war Britain both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* were places of exhibit and sites of consecration for various forms of high culture such as art objects, artists and associated institutions of culture. This can be seen as a type of homology between that of haute couture, high

culture and the press of high fashion. But it also needs to be taken in account that whilst the fashion press that reports upon high fashion does indeed reproduce some of the beliefs upheld within haute couture fashion and culture, it is in itself a commercial product made for mass consumption.

In response to Bourdieu's observations on fashion and culture Rocamora argues that the sociological and cultural analysis of the field of fashion requires a more heterogeneous view of how fashion is produced and consumed. For Rocamora this type of analysis takes into account 'the many ways through which they [high and mass fashion] ''exist through each other'''(Rocamora 2002: 346). The field of fashion consists not only of the production and consumption of high fashion but it also encompasses mass fashion.

The consumption of fashion, and in particular high fashion 'does not consist solely of buying high fashion clothes' (Rocamora 2002: 346). Referring to the work of Martine Elzingre (1996) Rocamora argues that consuming high fashion 'also concerns consuming images of luxury fashion, to the point where high fashion has become ''an art which carries along popular fervour''' (Elzingre cited in Rocamora 2002: 346). Magazines and other forms of fashion and mass popular media produce types of knowledge and belief regarding the field of fashion and its products. Mass popular media also produces types of knowledge and belief regarding the field of art and its associated products (see Graw 2009: 23). High culture can play a signifying role in fashion and similarly fashion can give value to culture within particular social and cultural contexts. This thesis examines this type of symbolic exchange. It focuses on how the field of fashion constructed the field of art in post-war Britain as fashionable. Therefore the present study explicitly questions the widely held assumption that within a socially constructed hierarchy of culture 'art' simply bestows value upon 'fashion'.

Symbolic Value and Gender

In her analysis of Bourdieu's theory of cultural production Fowler also questions his conception of homologous relations that occur between and within fields. Here Fowler specifically addresses what she perceives as Bourdieu's attribution of masculinsed (art) and feminised (mass) values in modes of cultural production. Pointing to Bourdieu's general neglect of the gendered 'habitus of cultural power', Fowler asks 'could it be that, in the case of women, cultural production has taken different forms, cutting across his [Bourdieu's] polarisation between art (autonomous production) and entertainment (heteronymous production); sitting uneasily with his categories of commercial production' (Fowler 1997: 142–143).

In *The Rules of Art* and in his earlier sociological study *Distinction* (2010 [1984]) Bourdieu notes how the specific female participation in the cultural production of 'art' takes the form of women's capacity to position themselves as types of 'intermediaries'. According to Bourdieu in nineteenth-century Paris it was through the 'field of domestic

power' that 'women of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie' held 'a position homologous to that held by writers and artists, dominated among the dominators, at the heart of the field of power' (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 250). Bourdieu argues that:

> This undoubtedly helps to predispose them to play the role of intermediaries between the world of art and the world of money, between the artist and the 'bourgeois' (this is how we should interpret the existence and effects of liaisons, notably those established between women of the aristocracy and the Parisian grande bourgeoisie and writers or artists issuing from the dominated classes.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 250)

Thus nineteenth-century Parisian salons kept by women, and their consumer power that came from the spending of their own, or their husband's financial investment within the art market is seen as a particular *liaison*. For Bourdieu this *liaison* or exchange occurs logically within a field of homologous relations; that is relations between two dominated factions of society, on the one hand the kept women of the dominators and on the other the 'writers or artists issuing from the dominated classes', who are presumed to be mostly male (ibid).

Bourdieu also notes how this type of liaison occurs in the more contemporary context of mid-1960s to late 1970s Paris. Within evolving divisions of labour and changing markets of mid-twentieth century France Bourdieu outlined what he saw as emerging occupations in the field of cultural production. These were located 'in the newest sectors of cultural and artistic production, such as the big public and private enterprises engaged in cultural production (radio, TV, marketing, advertising, social science research and so on)' (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 147–148).

New occupations 'involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth) […] in all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services' that the 'new petite bourgeoisie' claim (ibid: 359) are also pointedly open to and occupied by women. According to Bourdieu these occupations 'involving presentation and representation' (ibid: 201), taken by women mainly from the new and old petite bourgeoisie, also mark a division in 'the labour between the sexes [….] in the dominant fractions (where women's exclusion from economic responsibilities tends to align them with 'young' and 'artistic' roles: bourgeois or aristocratic women – and their salons – have traditionally been mediators between the world of art and the world of business)' (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 569 endnote: 32). The possibility that certain aspects of cultural power come into force due to class divisions and gendering is, however, not taken further.

In her feminist critique of Bourdieu's sociology of culture Toril Moi outlines how Bourdieu's social theory may explicitly address gender. She argues that 'it would see that gender – like class – *is* part of a field, but that this field is the general social field, rather than any specific field of gender' (Moi 1991: 1034). Moi continues to argue that this way of analysing gender in a social field 'amounts to saying that although social agents are

undoubtedly always gendered, one cannot always assume gender is the most relevant factor in play in a given social situation' (ibid: 1037).

Moi's interpretation of Bourdieu's concept of social capital is particularly relevant to the question of symbolic value that the present study has raised. Moi defines social capital 'as relational capital, or in other words, the power and advantages one gains from having a network of "contacts" as well as a series of other more personal or intimate personal relations' (ibid: 1038). Moi continues to describe how the possession of social capital, like the other forms of capital defined by Bourdieu, may greatly enhance a social agent's 'chances of achieving legitimacy in a given field' (ibid). Bourdieu addresses cultural production and particular gendered spaces in terms of the field of domestic power and its subsequent spilling into creative labour markets and labour roles in the twentieth century. The fashion magazine and its readership participate in circulating and maintaining a certain type of gendered space. However, the 'social situation' of the post-war British fashion publishing industry was not strictly a domestic field of power. It was a field in which the concerns of a female readership were of primary importance and it was also a field of power that was maintained by a significant number of educated and professional women.

This thesis understands fashion magazines to be the product of various labours by both men and women and which both men and women subsequently read. This is also the case for the British periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published between 1945 and 1962. However, as texts they were gendered as feminine. Elizabeth Grosz argues that what constitutes and classifies either feminine or feminist texts is not necessarily to be found through 'The sex of the author' or even 'the style of the text' (Grosz 1995: 9–24). Rather the sexual (or gendered) signature of a text 'is an effect of the text's mode of materiality, the fact that as a product the text is an effect of a *labor*, a work on and with signs, a collaborative (even if hostile) labor of writing and reading' (ibid: 20). The fashion magazines of this study are understood to be forms of gendered texts and are addressed in terms of their both being, and occupying a particular type of 'feminized space' (Beetham 1996: 3). To reiterate, this study does not claim that magazines during this period were produced and consumed only by women, but rather they were culturally gendered as 'feminine' because of how they addressed their 'readers as "women'' and how 'they sought to bring into being the women they addressed' (ibid: ix). The type of discourse that is produced and circulated by the fashion texts examined in this study is productive in symbolic values that were/are gendered.

Whilst there are limits to Bourdieu's own studies into fields of cultural production, particularly with regard to fashion, mass culture and issues of gendered consumption and production (see Fowler 1997; Rocamora 2002;), his notion of field and field-specific value offer a way in which to approach an analysis of such an exchange. Symbolic values upheld by the field of fashion are not necessarily the same as those upheld by the field of art, but when an exchange of symbolic values does occur between these two fields one

can readily address the values, discourses and logic produced and pursued in both fields. This type of symbolic exchange presents moments of reoccurring convergence between different cultural producers and their products at different points in time.

Spatial Metaphors

In the case of both Foucault and Bourdieu a conception of space figures prominently in the articulation of their work. Michel de Certeau points out that in the work of Foucault and Bourdieu 'the ways of thinking embedded in ways of operating constitute a strange – and massive – case of relations between practices and theories' (de Certeau 1988b [1984]: 45). In the case of both theorists 'A politics of this "place" is everywhere at the base of these strategies' (ibid: 55). In studies of geography where concerns regarding 'social, historical and geographical specificity' (Thrift 1996: 14) are at the fore, the theories of practice offered by Bourdieu and Foucault can provide useful frameworks primarily because they engage with ideas of the spatial, albeit in a more abstract way than that of actual geographical enquires (Crang and Thrift 2000; Philo 2000; Painter 2000). Here I introduce how some of these theoretical concerns come into play throughout the following methodological chapters of this thesis.

The symbolic power of fashion media discourse is a type of symbolic value that emanates from a field of cultural production. In his account of field 'Bourdieu is clearly interested in framing the encounter between practices and history' (Thrift 1996: 15). This type of social space is historically specific. However, as Joe Painter points out, it is clear that Bourdieu's social space is not 'immediately translatable to what he calls "geographical space" (Painter 2000: 254), rather Bourdieu 'uses a spatialized vocabulary in his work' (ibid: 255). Yet, field 'can also be understood as substantively spatialized, inasmuch as power is distributed spatially as well as socially' (ibid: 257). Painter expands upon this point by arguing that the concept of field could be rethought 'around a more complex spatiality, involving multiple and overlapping spaces, network approaches as well as theories of space that emphasize discontinuity, fragmentation and contradiction' (ibid: 257).

In this study I question how post-war British fashion media participated in the cultural production of contemporary art and culture. This involves the examination of 'multiple and overlapping spaces' (Painter 2000: 257), for example where the representation of 'real' geographical space, such as a gallery exhibition, is mediated as a 'fashionable' place by the discourse of a fashion magazine. Furthermore this representation is located in the textual space of the magazine. Another location to consider is the place in which the reading of this text takes place, in Chapter 5 of this thesis the space of the archive and its repercussions on historical practice are further examined.

In an interview for the geography journal *Hérodote*, Foucault was questioned about his 'profuse use of spatial metaphors' throughout his written analyses of discourse

(Foucault 1980b [1976]: 67- 68). In response Foucault claimed that these 'spatial obsessions' enabled him to think through 'the relations that are possible between power and knowledge' (ibid: 69). Transforming the vocabulary of discourse into that of spatial and strategic metaphors 'enables one to grasp precisely the points at which discourses are transformed in, through and on the basis of relations of power' (ibid: 70).

In a later interview Foucault was again asked about these 'vivid spatial metaphors' that were used 'to describe structures of thought' (Foucault 1991b [1982]: 254). Foucault claimed that in spite of his overt interest in the problems of space, these spatial metaphors were not advanced by him but were 'ones that I was studying as objects' (ibid). According to Foucault it was both the spatialisation of knowledge and the forms that different systems of classification took in various 'human' sciences that enforced his own use of spatial metaphors. He argued that 'All of these are spatial techniques, not metaphors' (ibid).

While Foucault readily acknowledges that 'Space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power' (ibid), his own notion of space does not simply denote architecture and the built structures of particular sites of power. Foucault argues that 'architects are not necessarily the masters of space' (ibid: 244), rather, 'They [architects] are not the technicians or engineers of the three great variables – territory, communication, and speed' (ibid). Fashion magazines may be recognised as technicians and communicators of territory and speed. Fashion media discourse participates in the cultural production of both space and time. Geographical locations, architecture, interiors and exteriors are all present throughout the double-page spreads that form the body of a periodical. These spaces and places are ordered and classified according to the spatial techniques of fashion media. This is a textual *and* temporal space, space represented as fashionable and is valued by its fashionableness, in the fashion magazine space is therefore always changing and forever passing in and out of fashion (see Gilbert 2000).

Chris Philo argues that Foucault's vision of history 'necessarily opens up a heightened sensitivity to the way in which *space* and *place* are inextricably bound up in this history' (Philo 2000: 205). In terms of Foucault's excavations into the 'general archive' of history Philo describes this process as a route 'that Foucault takes across this confused terrain' (ibid: 212). The term 'archaeology' as used by Foucault 'does not relate analysis to geological excavation' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 148), but is suggestive of a mapping of discourse. This study presents an insight into these layered historical, social and textual spaces. In the following chapter I outline archaeological routes of analysis that the thesis has taken. In Chapter 6 I further discuss how the mapping of fashion media discourse has responded to the question of symbolic value raised in the present chapter. These two chapters outline how I have structured and presented the findings of this research in Part III (Chapters 7–12).

5. Between Different Spaces

The textual analysis of fashion texts – photographs, magazines, advertisements, films and so on – in various studies that address fashion as a theoretical and historical subject has been critiqued regarding the application of structuralist and semiotic methods of analysis (Entwistle 2000: 69–71). Speaking from the position of a sociologist interested in accounts 'of dress within everyday life that is not reductive or theoretically abstract' (ibid: 77) Entwistle argues that a 'structuralist' approach to textual analysis is problematic as it 'puts a distance between the theorist and the subjects under investigation, since semiotic analysis can be done in the armchair or office and does not require entering the field of action itself' (ibid: 69–70), and furthermore the theorist 'in "reading" representations remains at a distance from actual practices' (ibid: 70). However the 'reading' of fashion texts does not have to be done solely through the methods of structural or semiotic analysis as recent scholarly work into practices of dress *and* representation can attest (Lifter 2013).

Throughout the course of this research project a wide range of chairs have been sat in and these chairs are located in a variety of sites – archives, libraries and museums. At one level this study analyses how images of fashion were located in spaces of public culture and the arts in post-war Britain, and at another level the historical position of the researcher who is actively locating these images is also brought into consideration. In its textual approach to the analysis of fashion media discourse the present study therefore engages with what Bourdieu advocates as an active double historicisation – where 'the space of possible positions' in both the past and the present are brought into the analysis and interpretation of history (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]: 309; see Chapter 3 of this thesis).

The last two chapters that comprise Part II of this thesis discuss how its theoretical framework and key research question, introduced in chapters 3 and 4, have been employed as methods of historical practice in this research project. De Certeau argues that 'the historical operation refers to the combination of a social *place*, "scientific" *practices*, and *writing*' (1988a [1975]: 57). In this chapter I firstly explain how I have conducted an analysis of fashion media discourse by engaging with Foucault's method of archaeology. The second part reflects upon how fashion media is 'read' in the space of the archive. The subsequent section provides an explanation of how other archives and primary and secondary sources have been used in the research of this thesis. The following chapter discusses history writing as a method of historical practice and outlines how the results of this discourse analysis have been organised in Part III of this thesis. By being explicit about how I have conducted an archaeology into the fashion media discourse of post-war British periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* it is my aim to engage with 'theory which articulates a practice' (ibid). In doing so I show how both theory and method are employed in the textual analysis and historical practice of the thesis.

Discourse Analysis and Visual Materials

Foucault argues that by conducting an excavation of discourse one is therefore able to speak of the 'discontinuities, ruptures, gaps […] and of sudden redistributions' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 187) that occur within the charting of history, meanings and events. His notion of discourse liberates historical studies from grand narratives and instead enters historical analysis into a realm of constructed truths and values that can be traced throughout the textual accounts of numerous institutions, organisational bodies and individuals. This approach enables one to recognise materials and texts that may be otherwise considered as trivial or important, such as fashion media, as significant elements of discourse that participate in the symbolic production of culture (see Rocamora 2009).

Foucault's archaeology is an analysis of discourse that aims to uncover 'the conditions of possibility for a knowledge or a historical event' (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 37), yet relying on the work of Foucault alone in order to achieve this can be problematic. Whilst Foucault states that his method of archaeology is 'the science of the archive' (Foucault 1998b [1966]: 263) his methodological text *The Archaeology of Knowledge* can be regarded as 'methodological in tone' it does not 'add up to a coherent statement of his methodology' (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 3–4). Foucault's own accounts of discourse are fundamentally text-based and largely emerge from the analysis of recorded words. According to Nicolas Bourriaud Foucault 'is less interested by what the image says than by what it produces – the behaviour that it generates, and what it leaves barely seem among the social machinery in which it distributes bodies, spaces and utterances' (Bourriaud 2009: 13). Foucault's enquiries into visual culture are limited (Foucault 2002a [1966]: 3–18; 2009 [1967-1971]), but they do present instances of how images can be situated in a discursive field (Burke 2001: 174; Hall 1997: 56; Ogborn 1995).

The primary source materials for this thesis are fashion periodicals and their double-page spreads; these are forms of material culture that combine 'both words and images' (Jobling 1999: 91). Whilst Foucault's method of archaeology underpins the methodological process of archival research that has been taken throughout this study, the thesis understands fashion media discourse to extend 'beyond linguistic signs to incorporate visual culture' (Rocamora 2009: 59). Therefore a broader understanding has been sought of the procedures that a discourse analysis can take within the specific realm of visual culture.

According to Fran Tonkiss, discourse analysis is concerned with examining how different discourses present their versions of the world. Therefore the analyst of discourse is concerned not so much with getting at the truth 'of an underlying social reality through discourse, but with examining the way that language is used to present different "pictures" of reality' (Tonkiss 1998: 249). In her introduction to researching visual materials Gillian Rose (2012) reflects upon this point and argues that 'Discourse analysis

can also be used to explore how images construct specific views of the social world' (Rose 2012: 195). If visual culture is viewed as the topic of research, as it is within this thesis, then 'the discourse analyst is interested in how images construct accounts of the social world' (ibid: 146). Referring to Foucault's understanding of archaeology Rose outlines how a discourse analysis of visual culture may take place. Throughout the remainder of this first section I outline how I have responded to the methodological procedures advocated by Tonkiss and Rose in the research of this thesis.

At the beginning stages of conducting a discourse analysis of visual culture Rose advises that it is 'necessary to think carefully about what sorts of sources you need' (Rose 2012: 197). This is important as these sources will enable you as an analyst to examine 'the discursive production of some kind of authoritative account […and] the social practices in which that production is embedded and which it itself produces' (ibid). Foucault's archaeology sets out 'to select a problem rather than a historical period of investigation' (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 22); the 'problem' that this thesis investigates is that of the relation between fashion and art.

To answer the key research questions of this thesis - what kinds of symbolic values did high fashion periodicals bestow upon the field of art in post-war Britain? - I have selected to study the British fashion periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. The preceding chapters have showed these two titles were considered to be significant authorities on high fashion in the field of women's magazine publishing in post-war Britain; the prestige that was associated with these two glossies was part of their symbolic power and discursive production of culture (Chapter 3). Within these periodicals I have chosen to focus my examination upon a particular instance of fashion media discourse that is the double-page spread; this presents an intelligible way that fashion and art were literally pictured together.

The historical period that this study is conducted within and its associated ideas of British post-war modernity is also part of the 'problem' or question that this research poses. This study addresses the early post-war period as a particular moment in the recent history of British modernity (see also Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999; Kynaston: 2007; 2009; 2013). The corpus of this research spans a period of publication from 1945 to 1962; this time span covers what has largely come to be acknowledged as a significant period in British modernity that begins with the ending of the Second World War Two in 1945 and ends with the early 1960s. Yet, as scholars of modernity have pointed out 'modernity', post-war modernity, or late modernity is not a 'fact' but is a representation of a period of time and its events (Breward and Evans 2005; Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999; Gilbert 2003).

To actively interpret the categorisation of a period can also offer insights into ongoing questions regarding historical culture, both contemporary and in the past. In terms of conducting an analysis of discourse Rose states that one of its themes 'is the organisation of discourse itself. How, precisely, is a particular discourse structured, and

how then does it produce a particular kind of knowledge?' (Rose 2012: 209). In order to gain an insight into the organisation of post-war high fashion media discourse in the research for this thesis I systematically and methodically looked through every publication of the periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published between 1945 and 1962. This enabled me 'to identify key themes, which may be key words, or recurring visual images' which in the rhetorical organisation of discourse can also appear on occasion but are no less important (Rose 2012: 2010). This method, as opposed to other ways of examining media texts such as sampling and content analysis, has the benefit of engendering familiarity with one's sources as a whole rather than in parts.

Discourse Analysis and 'Modesty'

The key research question of this thesis concerns how high fashion media texts discursively produced 'art' as fashionable in post-war Britain. According to Foucault, when doing discourse analysis, pre-existing categories 'must be held in suspense […] we must show that they do not come about by themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known and the justification of which must be scrutinized' (Foucault 2002b [1969]: 28). This suggests that one must consciously suspend 'one's own assumptions' (Tonkiss 1998: 254) about what 'art' is and pay close attention to how this concept has been reiterated within the fashion magazine.

To actually and totally suspend one's own assumptions about a subject is near impossible but making the attempt to do so invites a level of self-scrutiny regarding one's approach to the process of research which can enable you to look and re-look at your sources. Rose discusses this as a type of 'discursive reflexivity' (Rose 2012: 222). For Rose 'the modesty of discourse analysis' (ibid: 223) applies to its processes; the actual analysis of discourse 'is just as discursive as any other form of knowledge production, and in producing a piece of research you too are participating in their discursive formation' (ibid: 222).

At the beginning of my empirical research I was concerned with collecting and recording instances where 'art' appeared in the backgrounds of fashion imagery published in the periodicals detailed above. Here I was relying on my own interpretation of 'art' and one of its most commonly held definitions which is that of the art object – paintings and sculptures. However, my first effort at recording statements of 'art' in fashion periodicals was an initial stage in a longer journey of analysis. The primary stage of research allowed me to reflect upon 'the organisation of discourse itself' and also led me to reflect upon how I, as a researcher, organised and interpreted this particular discourse (Rose 2012: 222).

In hindsight another benefit to the method of discourse analysis is that it is not done in one go: rather the process of 'reading and looking' takes time and multiple visits and revisits, one has to 'read and re-read the texts; look and look again at the images' (Rose 2012: 210). Taking a 'modest' approach to discursive analysis of your materials

'may offer you insights and leads that you would otherwise have missed' (ibid), furthermore 'it is also crucial that you let the details of your materials guide you (ibid: 215). Acknowledging that the fashion magazine is a specific site in which discourse is organised in myriad ways enabled me to discern possible pathways for this analysis to take shape, identifying generalised patterns, trends, and discontinuities.

What I initially distinguished as high art and high culture was not at odds with the fashion media texts examined in this project. My previous experience as an undergraduate and postgraduate student in modern art history meant that many aspects of the arts that these titles featured were recognisable to me, and by and large this was similar to how British *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* classified high art and its cultural products and producers. The question of symbolic value and its exchange between the fields of art and fashion became more pertinent as I returned repeatedly to these materials over an extensive period of research. The assumption that I as an analyst had to overcome was not necessarily what was defined as 'art', but rather I had to acknowledge that the *a priori* that places the arts in a hierarchical position with that of fashion was blinding me to important aspects of the materials that I was reading and looking at. Addressing what art gained by being featured in high fashion media enabled me to recognise the following discursive formations: *how* art was featured in the pages of these titles at different points in time over this period; and *how* art was made to appear fashionable in the textual space of a double-page spread.

Fashion Magazines in the Archive

Paying attention to the spatial elements at play in the work of Foucault, Philo is critical of the way that Foucault pays much 'attention to details and to differences', but argues that Foucault:

> has rarely followed his own advice of "making the space in question precise", of specifying in some detail the particular places with their particular contextual characteristic where his histories work themselves out, perhaps to the overall detriment of these inquiries
>
> (Philo 2000: 225)

Similarly Certeau is critical regarding the detachment 'from intellectual and social "commerce" that organises their [theorists i.e Foucault's] definition and their displacements' (de Certeau 1988b [1984]: 44). Whilst Foucault's method of archaeology concerns what he calls a general archive, he is less than explicit when it comes to outlining how physical archives and other stores of information have been used in the practice of discourse analysis.

According to Rose's own outline for a method of discourse analysis 'it is important […] to widen your "range of archives and sites"' (Rose 2012: 199). To do discourse analysis in many instances means achieving a large 'breadth of sources […and] spending large amounts of time working through lots of different kinds of source materials, often in some kind of archive' (ibid: 200). Here I reflect on how the primary historical material of

this study – fashion periodicals – were 'read' in the space of archives. The following section expands this discussion and addresses how I widened my range of materials and research sites in other archives and primary and secondary sources.

Despite some of the assumptions held by critics and historians of art, it is justifiable to claim that fashion magazines are not simply ephemeral objects that disappear once past their moment *in* fashion (Gilbert-Rolfe and Hermsdorf 1995 [1988]: 259; Townsend 2002:82). Breward notes that the fashion magazine is not only a textual medium for the communication of fashion, but is also 'a desirable object in its own right' (Breward 2003: 123). Contemporary and historical studies of fashion magazines that address reader usage and consumption have noted how readers save magazines, such as contemporary niche fashion magazines, limited in their circulation figures, relatively rich in cultural prestige and production costs (see Lynge-Jorlén 2009; 2012). Fashion titles that have long ceased to be produced remain shelved like glossy relics in readers' homes (see Beard 2002; and here I refer to my own collection of *Nova* magazines from its short-lived re-launch in early 2000).

A number of London-based specialist dealers, such as IDEA Books in Dover Street Market and November Books in Cecil Court, specifically cater for the second-hand magazine market. And on the websites of worldwide retailers and auction sites such as eBay and Amazon there is an active market; not only a market for second-hand and 'vintage' fashion in the forms of garments (see de la Haye and Clark 2008: 140), but also in the buying and selling of second-hand or 'vintage' fashion magazines.

The archives of fashion magazines, the spaces and places that save them, come in different forms and they are collected, catalogued and maintained for a variety of reasons and purposes. A personal collection of ephemera is one type of archive. The privately owned archives of the commercial publishing industry are another. The increasing convergence between material collections and computer technologies has brought about significant changes in the ways in which documents can be accessed and seen, and therefore the way in which research is conducted (see de Certeau 1988a [1975]: 72–79). Over the past ten years the digitalisation of many different kinds of archives has taken place, including that of Condé Nast's American *Vogue* (launched in December 2011; Cartner-Morley 2011). Furthermore, forms of digital fashion media such as blogs and magazine websites present an intriguing use and translation of the archive in terms of how continuous and purposefully fleeting posts, messages and features are instantaneously recorded and archived as an integral part of an online domain (Rocamora 2011).

For this thesis the research of British fashion journals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* took place in the spaces of national and public library archives, including the British Library, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum London, and higher education institutions, including the college libraries of the University of the Arts London amongst others (see Bibliography for full list). These spaces present a particular view of

what a fashion magazine archive can be; in this instance it is a collection of ephemeral print that has been bound together within the form of periodicals. Here the fashion magazine is a type of document placed within a repository of culture that can be utilised in order to re-look, re-collect and remember aspects of the past.

The Historical Reader and the Fashion Magazine

Carolyn Steedman points out that the processes of historical research that take place in the archive, 'gives rise to particular practices of reading' (Steedman 2001: 150). And the archive also warrants its own warning. As another historian, Ludmilla Jordanova, argues, it is a space that should be visited with caution, so as not to fall prey to the 'cult' of the archive. Jordanova advises all historians that 'Historical achievement, then, derives from the manner in which sources are handled; it is not located in the sources themselves, however enchanting these may be' (Jordanova 2006: 162–163). The archive and library is a site, it is a space to which one journeys, and historical achievement or authority can come 'from *having been there*' (Steedman 2001: 145). It is in this way that an object, event, story and document from the past can be altered. For Steedman these things that manifests as history has:

> been altered by the very search for it, by its time and duration: what has actually been lost can never be found. This is not to say that *nothing* is found, but that thing is always something else, a creation of the search itself and the time the search took.
>
> (Steedman 2001: 77)

The space of the archive is a place in which historical time is actively held. It is also a space where time is practised through processes of historical research, and this in itself is enveloped in yet other overlapping layers of unfolding time that are our own histories unfurling.

Historical narratives are shaped by the ways in which they draw upon archived documents and material culture; the social and historical position of a researcher effects the ways in which these things are 'read'; this has an effect upon the ways in which histories are thereafter told and retold (Bourdieu 1996 [1992]; de Certeau 1988a [1975]). In terms of a methodological approach Ian Hodder argues that one should take into account the related and 'situated context of production, use, discard, and reuse' (Hodder 2000: 706) of these sources. The material culture of the fashion magazines 'read' throughout the process of my doctorial research is not that which resides, however momentarily, in the premises of a retail outlet, the private home, the hairdressers, the commuter train, and so forth. Fashion magazines kept in the archives of various national libraries and higher education institutions present another type of 'situated context' (Hodder 2000: 706) that brings an immediate bearing to the way in which material cultures and texts of fashion can be, and are, looked at by a host of 'historical readers' (see Ballaster et al 1991; Beetham 1996), who can also be historical researchers, cultural critics, students and academics.

The 'historical reader' is both a real and imagined consumer of post-war British fashion media, who is to be found situated in both the past and the historical present. Throughout various texts – contemporary media, histories, autobiographies, novels – the reader of post-war British fashion magazines can be traced. This reader takes on a myriad of forms and social positions: it is the London couturier Hardy Amies, writing in the late 1950s (Amies 1954); it is Cecil Beaton mocking and praising the social elite (Beaton 1954); it is Margaret Steegles, the lower-middle-class school teacher in Stella Gibbon's 1946 novel *Westwood* (Gibbons 2011 [1946]); it is a group of girls in the Junior Common Room at Oxford University (Hurth 1965: 45); it is Eric Newby attempting to invigorate his father's wholesale garment business with new designs in the late 1940s (Newby 1985 [1962]); and it is a teenage Grace Coddington in North Wales during the 1950s, who would also begin her own career in fashion by entering and winning British *Vogue's* 1959 model contest (Coddington 2012).

Scholars of eighteenth and nineteenth-century women's magazines, such as Beetham, have explicitly taken into account a network of different 'historical readers' that interconnect and overlap throughout the reading and subsequent critical analysis of any given text (see Ballaster et al 1991; Beetham 1996; see Chapter 2 of this thesis). Recognising both those who constitute the first readers of a magazine alongside that of one's own reading can illuminate aspects of one's own historical practice. The historical readers of these periodicals are relative to their individual 'social and historical circumstance' (Ballaster et all 1991:42) and they also occupy simultaneous positions. As Beetham states there is 'the historical distance between their production and my reading' (Beetham 1996: 11). The recognition of this seeks to account for historical differences that convey elements of both continuity and change (Ballaster et al 1991: 5). Occupying the position of a researcher and a historian I am also a historical reader. The historical reader is both a real and imagined consumer of post-war British fashion media, who is situated in both the past and the historical present.

Between different historical readers there are, therefore, also different spaces that need to be recognised and navigated. In a lecture entitled 'Different Spaces', Foucault (1998a [1967]) discusses the importance of space in cultures: space that is both something real and imagined. It is the imagination of space *and* time that define Foucault's concept of *heterotopia*: whilst utopias are 'essentially unreal' spaces that are 'society perfected or the reverse of society […] There are also, and probably in every culture, in every civilization real places, actual places, places that are designed into the very institution of society, which are sorts of actually realized utopias' (ibid: 178): these are heterotopias. For Foucault heterotopias are distorted mirror spaces, both real but unreal at the same time; a reflected image of something that is there but, still, only existing as a passing image held within a glance (ibid: 179). These include prisons, asylums, hospitals, cemeteries, the theatre, gardens and the post-nuptial honeymoon.

Heterotopias are essentially 'connected with temporal discontinuities', which can also be called 'heterochronias' (Foucault 1998a [1967]: 182). According to Foucault, in modern Western society 'there are heterotopias of time that accumulates indefinitely – for example, museums and libraries', and then opposite these there are adjacent heterotopias that are linked 'to time in its most futile, most transitory and precarious aspect […] These heterotopias that are not eternitary but absolutely chronic' (ibid). These two definitions of heterotopias encapsulate the disjunction in time and space that is the simple act of reading old fashion periodicals in the library archive. The eternal and the chronic collide within the double space of the archive and the accumulated space of the magazine object, and furthermore in the theatres of space that construct and communicate the fashion spread image.

To read a fashion magazine in the space of the library archive involves a doubling relationship, between that of space and time (see Massey 2005: 18), which resides both in the past and present. In Alistair O'Neill's account of the archival research undertaken for *London – after a fashion* (2007) he describes how the process of 'Sifting through the sediment of material recalls a world that seems distant and strange, an exoticism we find hard to relate to' (O'Neill 2007: 24). In the historical play that is 'lost and found' (ibid: 25) the distant, the strange – in short, the past – is retold through the objects, materials, documents, and records that we are left with. The past is retold through what has been kept, and what remains to be found, in strange spaces such as archives, museums and libraries. Moreover, history is also in the present and is in the journeys that are taken to visit, look, and read these various remnants and remains.

Other Archives, Primary and Secondary Sources

In his account of history and social theory Burke points out that 'Foucault's work has often been criticised by historians, both fairly and unfairly' (Burke 1992: 151). The criticisms raised here include those from literary historians 'unhappy with the way he uses literature as a source […] art historians for his use of art, while traditional historians disapprove on principle of sources which are not official "documents"' (ibid). In the present study these supposed shortcomings in Foucault's approach to historical analysis are considered to be advantageous. The notion of a general archive liberates one from some of the constraints that can come from the study of one particular type of source material, a singular archive, or the primacy given to 'official' documents over 'unofficial' ones.

Yet, the limitless approach that an analysis of discourse can take can also be limiting (Rose 2012: 199). To conduct an archaeology of discourse Foucault claimed that:

> One ought to read everything, study everything. In other words, one must have at one's disposal the general archive of a period at a given moment. And archaeology is, in the strict sense, the science of the archive.
>
> (Foucault 1998b [1966]: 263)

In practice historical research that utilises discourse analysis can draw upon any number of different intertextual sources. To read 'everything' is a questionable proposition as it suggests that the researcher already knows or has set their boundaries as to what 'everything' is, that is to say 'everything' supposedly relevant to their topic of discussion and analysis.

In terms of a pragmatic approach to conducting a discourse analysis of visual culture Rose argues that this can be approached in a number of diverse ways:

> Those initial images and texts may contain reference to other images and texts that you can track down. Reading what other researchers working on the same or similar topics said about your area of interest will produce other leads […] And you also need to invest time in the kind of browsing research that leads to serendipitous finds.
>
> (Rose 2012: 199)

Tracking down, leads and serendipitous finds are all different paths and routes that discourse analysis can take (see also Philo 2000). Throughout the course of the research for this thesis all of the above routes have been taken at one time or another. It is also a path of research that has been primarily guided by its primary materials of analysis and the key research question that it has sought to answer.

Engaging with the notion of fashion media discourse (see Chapter 2) I understand fashion discourse to be a type of discourse that is found across a range of sites, archives and institutions. Addressing the production of this discourse in conjunction with an understanding of Bourdieu's notion of field, I also envisage that there are differing limitations, interchangeable uses, and overlapping boundaries to this discourse. This framework is a useful methodological tool when conducting historical research into both the theoretical archive of general history and the physical archive of primary source material. In conjunction with the examination of this study's primary research materials – British periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* (1945–1962) – I have conducted research within a number of other institutional archives and examined a variety of primary and secondary sources that are relevant to the concerns of this research project.

The exploration of discourse that is to be found across a wide range of sites can also raise the difficulty of 'knowing where to stop the data collection process' (Rose 2012: 198). Whilst some findings from the cross-referencing of primary sources and archives have indeed been 'serendipitous' (ibid: 199), and also indicate the far-reaching potential that an archaeological analysis of discourse can take, the initial steps taken in this widening process have not been random. Rather, the decision to access certain archives and other primary source material has drawn upon the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis, which seeks to situate discourses within a productive field of relations. I have therefore purposefully sought discursive statements located within different sites that have a specific relation to fashion media discourse.

By applying the question of symbolic value and exchange to its analysis of fashion media discourse the process of discourse analysis is nevertheless varied; however, it

introduces another directional layer to its enquiries. In this present study its question of 'symbolic value' – what kinds of symbolic values did high fashion periodicals bestow upon the field of art in post-war Britain – takes the fashion magazine as its primary site of discourse. It questions how discursive statements found within other archives, sites and institutions relate to that particular point of production. The examination of other historical documents and materials that has taken place throughout the research of this thesis has been conducted by way of an explicitly relational process. In this way the primary material of this study has led me to a number of other archives, primary and secondary sources.

The following is not an exhaustive list of sources (see Bibliography) but does provide a general outline of research sites and materials that have been engaged with in this study. Archives that I have accessed for the purposes of this present study include the Mass Observation Archive (University of Sussex), the Council of Industrial Design Archive and the Alison Settle Archive (both at the University of Brighton), the Arts Council and Festival of Britain Archives (Victorian and Albert Museum, Archive of Art and Design, Blythe House, London), the Museum of London Archive's print and ephemera collection, and the Korner dress archive at the London College of Fashion.

Other important historical sources and materials that I have accessed throughout this research process include oral histories and recorded testimonies (see Allen 2005; Fell 1985; Heron 1985; Marshall 2009; Steedman 1985; 1986), autobiographies (see Carter 1974; Coddington 2012; Dundy 2001; Garland 1970; Ironside 1973; Newby 1985 [1962]; Scott-James 1993; Shrimpton 1965; Shrimpton 1990; Yoxall 1966; Withers 1994), social histories written during the late 1950s and 1960s (see Booker 1999 [1969]; Frayn 1963 Hopkins 1963; MacInnes 1986 [1961]; Phillips 1963) and more recent social and cultural studies of post-war Britain (see Hewison 1988; Hewison 1997; Conekin, Mort and Waters 1999; Conekin 2003; Kynaston 2007; 2009), and other forms of contemporary popular culture such as novels (see Gibbons 2011 [1946]) film and TV.

The 'making' of history involves a variety of decisions regarding a researcher's own historical practice. This process does not stop with the shutting of an archive box lid or with the turning of the last page in a library periodical, it is ongoing and the way in which history is written is part of this process. The ordering of people, places and events, and where they are placed – in either the foreground or background – inevitably alter the story that a history will tell. In the following chapter I outline how the writing of history has been approached in this thesis.

6. History Writing and Writing History

History is a discourse (Barthes 1989b [1967]) and the writing of history is also a type of practice (de Certeau 1988a [1975]: 86–113). On this subject design historian Walker comments that 'From the point of view of clarity it is unfortunate that the word "history" has two meanings: first, those events which actually happen and secondly, writings about those events' (Walker 1989: 76). Historians 'work on materials in order to transform them into history' (de Certeau 1988a [1975]: 71). Thus 'the historian's reading of evidence is necessarily an act of interpretation, abstracting nuggets of information and relocating them in novel surroundings' (Samuel 1994: 434). Writing history, or history writing, is a conscious effort on the part of the researcher to translate a series of events, a passage of time, a number of objects, a constellation of figures into an order of language and representation.

Samuel argues that history is a written reinterpretation of the past and as such can never be a simple and objective presentation of what has been (Samuel 1994). Whilst methodologically 'historians are told to be self-effacing, allowing documents, so far as possible, to speak for themselves' (ibid: 430), this cannot prevent the fact that historians and other academic disciplines that draw upon forms of historical evidence are 'constantly reinterpreting the past in the light of the present' (ibid). Samuel argues that 'however faithfully we document a period and steep ourselves in the sources, we cannot rid ourselves of afterthought' (ibid). Therefore history is a 'hybrid' between the recording of factual events – the things that did occur – and the narrative or story-telling element is implicit in the act of interpretation of said events (ibid).

The preceding chapter introduced and outlined how I conducted an archaeology of post-war British fashion media discourse. It addressed how the research of this study engaged in the historical play that is the game of 'lost and found' (O'Neill 2007: 25), or hide and seek, throughout the practice of its archival research. The purpose of this chapter is to outline and explain how the practice of history writing – the other historical play that is a game of show and tell – has been conducted. The first part focuses on how archival material, chronology and historical events have been interpreted and ordered in the present study's writing of history. The second part introduces the model around which the aforementioned historical research has been organised and addresses how this effectively answers the key research question of thesis: what kinds of symbolic values did high fashion periodicals bestow upon the field of art in post-war Britain? The final section discusses the ways in which visual materials are presented throughout the remainder of this thesis. This chapter also introduces Part III of this thesis as it refers to how the above is applied throughout its six chapters of history writing.

Event Trajectory

In their introduction to *Media Archaeology* (2011) Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka draw upon the work of Foucault to explain how media-based research and analysis can be an 'excavation' of 'media-cultural phenomena' (Huhtamo and Parikka 2011: 3). They claim that media archaeologists seek to challenge 'the rejection of history by modern media culture and theory alike by pointing out hitherto unnoticed continuities and ruptures' (ibid: 3). To this end another key figure for media-archaeological 'modes of cultural analysis' has been the cultural critic Walter Benjamin (ibid: 6). This study does not identify itself explicitly as 'media archaeology'; however, Foucault's theory of method as advocated in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* has informed and guided a type of excavation into post-war British fashion periodicals. Furthermore the figure of Benjamin and his writings on history, archives, archaeologies and the different forms that a historical excavation can take (see Leslie 1999) have informed the ways in which history writing has been practiced in this thesis.

The approaches that Benjamin and Foucault take to the study of culture within historical periods fundamentally set out to question and undo historical assumptions of linearity, progress, and the projection of universal truths and values largely found within conservative historicism. Their idiosyncratic writings upon this subject both employ notions concerned with archaeology and the different forms that an excavation of the archive can take (Huhtamo and Parikka 2011). In Foucault's development of critical history from archaeology to genealogy (Rabinow 1991) he engages with Nietzsche's concept of 'effective history'. He argues that history can only become 'effective' when it:

> introduces discontinuity into our very being […it] deprives the self of the reassuring stability of life and nature […] it will uproot its traditional foundations and relentlessly disrupt its pretended continuity. This is because knowledge is not made for understanding, it is made for cutting.
>
> (Foucault 1991b [1971]: 88)

In short 'effective history', according to Foucault, offers a further strategy to combat what he views to be the negative traits of historicism.

Foucault's slices and cuts bear a marked resemblance to the fragments and flashes that Benjamin sought to illuminate in his own project of history writing. In his essay 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', Benjamin argued that 'The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again' (Benjamin 1999b [1940]: 247). Benjamin's approach to history writing and explanation 'advocated a discontinuous approach employing fragments' (Walker 1989: 79), arguing for historical materialism (history that seeks explanation from events resulting from a never-ending series of conflict between social forces), rather than historicism (an account that perceives social and cultural change as the result of historical development). In this approach fragments from the recent past are engaged in order to question both history and the present.

In the introduction to the methods of historical research and analysis employed for her study *Fashion at the Edge: Spectacle, modernity and deathliness* (2003), Evans draws upon the work of Benjamin and Foucault, amongst others, to argue that:

> contemporary fashion images are bearers of meaning and, as such, stretch simultaneously back to the past and forward into the future. Not just documents or records but fertile primary sources, they can generate new ideas and meanings and themselves carry discourse into the future, so that they take their place in a chain of meaning, or a relay of signifiers, rather than being an end product of linear history. (Evans 2003: 12)

An engagement with fashion images enables a different 'picture of the past' to flit by (Benjamin 1999b [1940]: 247). Fashion media can signal to us a continuous passing and experience of what Benjamin called 'now-time' (ibid; see also Lehmann 1999). Benjamin argues that historical materialism, as a method and model for historical account, counters forms of traditional historicism, and 'contents itself with establishing a casual connection between various moments in history' (Benjamin 1999b: 255). To engage with the more dynamic and shattering 'time of now' the historian is one 'who stops telling the sequence of events like the beads of a rosary. Instead, he grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one' (ibid).

Both Benjamin and Foucault's ideas regarding history as something that is effective when it introduces a sense of discontinuity (Benjamin 1999b [1940]; Foucault 1991b [1971]) provide a framework for the historical study and writing of fashion media. As a textual document the fashion magazine is particularly apt for a project of historical explanation that brings into question the supposed boundaries between past and present. As a type of historical document the fashion magazine provides 'evidence' that concerns its own ephemeral qualities. To quote Audrey Withers, the editor of British *Vogue* during the 1940s and 1950s, 'magazines – unlike books – are essentially about the here and now' (Withers 1994: 53).

In the archive, where the research for this thesis took place, the fashion periodical continues to present its historical reader with an ever-abundant mirage of flashes and fragments of fashionableness. Whilst the empirical research for the thesis has attempted to cover a period of publishing in its entirety (Chapter 5), this has not meant that history is more 'whole' or indeed any less fragmented. The turning of each page presents one with an inexhaustible series of differences and similarities. The views, opinions, aspirations, desires and dreams that parade upon the pages of past fashion magazines are recollected and recounted in the forms of paper-cuts that slice through myriad surfaces.

History and events are interchangeable and interdependent. For de Certeau the 'event' is a phenomenon that is subsequently ordered and re-ordered in practices of history, it 'is the means thanks to which disorder is turned into order. The event does not explain but permits an intelligibility' (de Certeau 1988a [1975]: 96). The event thus takes on two basic forms: it is either 'the hypothetical support for an ordering along a chronological axis' (ibid), a form of historicism or chain of *seemingly* logical events, such

as the beads of a rosary analogy described by Benjamin above, or 'sometimes it is no more than a simple localization of disorder […] an event names what cannot be understood' (ibid).

Both Benjamin and Foucault suggest ways to examine how 'events' are points of order or disorder in practices of history. In Foucault's later work, following that of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he states that through the method of historical analysis he was 'trying to work in the direction of what one might call "eventalization"' (Foucault 1994 [1980]: 226). This involves addressing an event in terms of its various points of recognition:

> eventalization means rediscovering the connections, counters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on, that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary […] This procedure of casual multiplication means analyzing an event according to the multiple processes that constitute it.
>
> (Foucault 1994 [1980]: 226)

A fashion image is a type of 'event', something that occurred, that took place, and which brought together a multitude of elements at a particular moment in time. To reach out and grasp the past, and to actively recognise that this action takes place due to the present, involves not only the search for various flashes and fragments of history but is also an act that continues into the telling or retelling of events. Yet, the multiple processes that constitute an event are not simply located in the past. Reading fashion magazines in the space of the archive forms another layer of events that add to and multiply ways in which an event is understood. History passes back, forth and in between the past event that took place, the event of reading, and the event of writing.

The six chapters that comprise Part III of this thesis are each organised around a selected double-page spread taken from either *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar* published between 1945 and 1962. Admittedly the division between these chapters follows a historical trajectory that is familiar in the work of a number of other social and cultural historians who have addressed the subject of modernity in post-war Britain; for example David Kynaston's series *Tales of a New Jerusalem* (1945–1979) divides the early period of his study into *Austerity Britain* 1945–51 (2007); *Family Britain* 1951–59 (2009); *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box* 1957–1959 (2013); and the following instalment *Modernity Britain* 1960–1962 (release date 2014). Chapters 7 and 8 address emergent ideals of post-war modernity and public culture; chapters 9 and 10 examine themes of transition and temporality in their discussions of Britain in the early 1950s; and finally chapters 11 and 12 examine notions of 'position', 'personality' and 'image' in relation to late 1950s and early 1960s culture.

The order of these events and their relevant points in time are the results of what has emerged from the archaeological analysis of post-war British fashion media discourse. It is 'the details' of my research materials (Rose 2012: 215) that have guided my history writing. On the subject of writing history Foucault claims that in history

'every periodization carves out in history a certain level of events, and, conversely, each layer of events calls for its own periodization' (Foucault 1998c [1967]: 280–281). This suggests that within any period of history there are multiple layers of events that offer their own discrete periods and histories, and by directly addressing the polysemic possibilities of an event and its different levels 'one arrives at the complex methodology of discontinuity' (ibid: 281).

As I previously stated fashion images are types of events and in my research editorial photo-spreads have also afforded a series of alternative perspectives, which cast different views upon a number of other 'events' that are largely acknowledged to be key moments in the history of post-war Britain. The ephemeral event that is the fashion image disrupts the casual links that chain other events together. In this instance the rediscovery of other connections, strategies and plays of force between high fashion media and various institutions and establishments of British culture shapes a history that cuts through casual assumptions regarding different spaces, places, times and people.

Model Map

In terms of the different sorts of values that are laid upon various moments in the writing of history Walker states that 'different scholars assign different history values to the same facts or events' (Walker 1989: 76). In addition to this observation one can add that different scholars also assign different history values to types and forms of documentation and artefacts, which affects what stories are and can be told about various 'events' that contribute to historical knowledge.

Each fashion image that is addressed in Part III is considered as a type of 'event'. In this study the writing of history has been organised according to a number of 'events' that unfold over a period of time. These images of fashion present a number of different ways to look at moments in the history of post-war British modernity. The discontinuity that they introduce to this history is one that concerns how pictures of fashion disrupt preconceived ideas regarding certain events, spaces, places and people, which in this instance are associated with the field of art. The analysis of these images contributes to the knowledge of this history by recognising the additional layer that these events add to this historical knowledge.

Throughout the following six chapters the fashion spread is considered as a type of 'event' that brought together fashion and art at a particular moment in time. In order to effectively answer the research question the chapters of Part III are organised in accordance with both historical time and textual space. Thus this question of symbolic value is applied to how fashion media utilised high cultural backdrops as photo-shoot locations *and* how these images of fashion and art were thereafter located in the textual temporal space of the magazine.

Other studies that address the construction and meaning of magazines have pointed to the spatial organisation of these types of cultural texts as significant elements in their

power for cultural production (for example Ballaster et al 1991; Beard 2003; Beetham 1996; Beetham and Boardman 2001; Stein 1992 [1985]; Twigg 2010). Editorial fashion spreads are produced, published and read within the space and object of the fashion magazine. In the textual analysis of this study I have sought to engage with fashion media discourse in terms of both its symbolic values and the organisation of its discourse. If discourse is spatially organised it is done so both through visual representation and the material ordering of that visual culture.

Appendices 1 and 2 provide a graphic representation of this type of spatialisation (see Stein 1992 [1985]). Peter Owen observes that 'The magazine is a continuum of cover, contents, page, minor features, major features and miscellany, with a specific architectural integrity which, in this respect, differs from other forms of printed matter' (Owen 1991: 22). Appendix 1 shows an example of a splayed magazine, and indicates key arenas of this textual space, such as the front of book and the central layout section. This offers a reference point throughout the following six research chapters as I refer to different symbolic values associated with different positions held in this space, for example how more prestige is attributed to advertising pages located at the front part of the magazine book (see Chapter 8).

Appendix 2 is an example of a layout sequence. The layout of an editorial is another type of textual space, one that is created primarily through the use of grids. In this instance a photo-spread published in the March 1952 issue of *Harper's Bazaar* has been reproduced with the addition of grid lines in order to provide a visualisation of this point. Grid lines are commonly used in preliminary stages of layout design, and whilst they are removed in the final stages of production they are integral to the way that visual media are designed in magazine matter. According to Gavin Ambrose and Paul Harris layout is 'the management of form and space. The primary objective of layout is to present those visual and textual elements that are to be communicated in a manner that enables the reader to receive them with the minimum of effort' (Ambrose and Harris 2005: 9; see also Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). Appendix 2 presents an example of an editorial fashion spread and shows how grids have informed the communication of visual and textual elements. In this way a layout and its design also provide a guide that navigates a reader around the spaces represented in the photo-spread. This aspect of space and design is explored further in Chapter 10 of this thesis.

The spatialisation of the fashion magazine is also a technique of discourse that distributes and disseminates different types of knowledge, truth and values. These are symbolically productive to both an internal context (the magazine object itself) and an external context (the way in which it reproduces the world). The historical analysis that operates across Part III pays significant attention to these practices of locating and location. There are the locations for fashion shoots that take place in a cultural landscape of post-war Britain, and then there are the locations of these images in the textual

temporal space of the fashion magazine. Both elements participate in the cultural production of art.

Engaging with the spatial ordering of the post-war high fashion magazine the research chapters of this study each address a different part of fashion media discourse and its symbolic value within the dimensions of the fashion periodical; these are editorial, advertising, season, dress, photographer and fashion model (see introduction to Part III). This is both a model – an explanatory example of the basic form that a fashion magazine takes – and a map – a representation of the fashion magazine's distribution of certain discursive elements (see Appendices 1 and 2). In this instance the model map of the fashion magazine provides a guide to both historical events and to the symbolic values of fashion media discourse that affect the interpretation of said events and images.

Presentation of Visual Material

In *The Look of the Past* historian Ludmilla Jordanova points out that:

> Written materials help to reveal ways in which looking was important in past societies and attended to by many constituencies. Probing the look of the past involves paying close attention to words as well as to images and objects, and to the relationship between what historians see and what was seen in the past.
>
> (Jordanova 2012: 3)

Here Jordanova argues that when utilising visual and material evidence in the writing of histories, historians should take an approach that is 'explicit about how and why' this is done, 'so that their workings are available for critical inspection' (ibid: 4). In this thesis visual materials are presented in three key ways; firstly, I have reproduced a double-page spread at the front of each chapter, secondly, there are chapter illustrations at the end of each chapter, and thirdly in Appendices 3.1–3.6 I have produced a series of 'layout boards' that relate to the subject matter of each of these chapters. Here I outline how I have reproduced fashion imagery from my archival research into post-war British fashion periodicals and explain how this, in turn, addresses aspects of this studies research question.

The double-page spreads provide a visual introduction to each chapter; they are a 'starting point or focus for research, not its ultimate destination' (Walker 19889: 60). The chapter illustrations at the end of each chapter reproduce the larger part of the photo-spread from which the double-page spreads are taken in order to further contextualise the double-page spread within its overall layout sequence. In the case of chapters 7 and 8 the example double-page spreads, which are either only two pages long (Chapter 7) or a single advertisement (Chapter 8), are placed in context with other double-page spreads and magazine features.

Editorial photo-spreads and fashion images, as I propose above, are a type of historical event and in this study I have focused upon a range of events where art and fashion meet in the context of a fashion photo-shoot. As Walker points out, 'Selection is inevitable in history-writing' (Walker 1989: 2), and by and large and in practice

historians ‘are concerned with specific examples for their unique qualities’ (ibid: 149). From a wide range of exemplary events (see Appendices 3.1–3.6) I selected a series of editorial photo-spreads to focus on, in order to carry out historical analysis that addressed the research question of this present study.

Whilst each visual source ‘affords its own kind of insight’ (Jordanova 2006: 166), I understand each photo-spread presented in this thesis to be an example of a wider cultural discourse. The double-page spreads are examples of both events and of wider discourses and related symbolic values that each chapter examines, and they also offer a point of reference for a historical analysis that travels between different layers of discourse. That is to say the double-page photo-spreads are both singular, and are also contingent upon a wider and interconnected network of discourses (see introduction to Part III).

According to Jordanova historical analysis which employs visual imagery as evidence ‘will be stronger if it can be shown to apply to a larger number of examples. A theme will be understood better if we can trace more of its modulations and variations. Each type of source affords its own kind of insight’ (Jordanova 2006: 166). Appendices 3.1–3.6 address this line of critical enquiry by presenting a wider constellation of discourses of which the double-page spread of each research chapter is a part – the double-page spread is both contingent upon and productive in the circulation of this discourse – and they ground the analysis of each chapter in a wider context of visual, archival and historical research that has been conducted for this study.

Appendices 3.1–3.6 provide a series of visual footnotes, that is additional visual information, which has informed the analysis of each research chapter. Within chapters 7–12 of this thesis these appendixes are also cited as further sources of information that support the historical interpretation of said research chapters. This series of visual footnotes consist of a selection of twelve images that relate to the wider cultural discourses examined in chapters 7–12. They are composed of other editorial photo-spreads and advertising campaigns taken from a range of magazine titles, including *Vogue*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, *The Queen* and *Tatler*, and reproduce visual documents taken from the wider archival research conducted for this study (see section ‘Other Archives, Primary and Secondary Sources’ in Chapter 5).

In this study I have entitled this type of presentation of visual material and evidence a ‘layout board’. The term ‘layout board’ refers to the practice of planning and organisation that goes into the making and construction of the fashion magazine. In her memoires Bettina Ballard, former fashion editor at American *Vogue* recalls that she would ‘go to the “board”, a place where layouts in miniature were pinned up in their proper sequence, and I would shift them around for more dramatic juxtaposition, careful to put everything back as I found it’ (Ballard 1960: 219). The board provides a space where the contents of the magazine can be pinned up like a continuous movie strip, and fashion stories, features and advertisements can be moved around, back and forth, until the final sequence is decided upon.

Appendices 3.1–3.6 are composed as additional sources of visual information that seek to encompass the spirit of a layout board. In many ways the idea of a layout board provides an apt analogy for the construction of fashion history, and history in general. Histories are composed from the sequence of events and there is no proper order to these events; rather they are arranged and re-arranged in accordance with the practice of the historian, who picks them up, re-orders them and pins them down. As Evans and O'Neill point out, the layout of images 'create visual narratives' that are in themselves open-ended, and therefore 'New themes and associations emerge in the process of juxtaposition' (Evans and O'Neill 2013: n.p.). In presenting the wider discourses from which the visual examples of my research chapters have emerged I seek to provide an account of the workings of this research and its analysis, and to open these elements to 'critical inspection' (Jordanova 2012: 4). In doing so I also aim to illuminate and contribute to an ongoing process of visual research where 'themes overlap and intersect' (Evans and O'Neill 2013: n.p.). By presenting this additional visual information I invite others to similarly re-arrange and re-think the visual evidence and sources of this study in light of other materials and sources that contribute to further research into this arena of study (see Conclusion).

The research undertaken for this thesis has afforded an insight into a wide scope of visual cultures of post-war Britain. As Part II of this thesis showed a critical framework has been employed in the research and analysis of fashion imagery located in post-war British fashion periodicals. This framework also informs the selection of visual materials that illustrate each of the six chapters that comprise Part III of the study, and the additional visual information presented in Appendices 3.1–3.6, it is in this way that the presentation of visual evidence in this thesis forms part of the discourse analysis of this study.

Parts I and II of this thesis have, respectively, discussed a wide range of academic literature that informs the subject context of this study, and outlined the framework of theory and method that this thesis employs in light of this review of existing scholarly work. Part III presents what has emerged from the active employment of this subject knowledge, theory, and methodology, which is a historical analysis of fashion media discourse. It seeks to discuss both the 'how' and 'what' of texts (see Rocamora 2009: 60), the theoretical framework of this study therefore informs, structures and inhabits the historical analysis of Part III. Rather than a separation, this is an attempt at further integrating theory, method and history, so as to enable an analysis of historicised discourse to take place. Chapters 7–12 each identify and discuss a key element in the composition of the fashion magazine and its discourse. Whether this is editorial, advertising, the fashion photographer or model, I examine how these were types of symbolic values in the fashion media discourse of high fashion periodicals in post-war Britain (see introduction to Part III). These discursive elements are what bestow symbolic values, pertaining to the field of fashion, upon the arts at this time.

Part III: Locating Fashion Imagery in the Cultural Landscape of Post-War Britain

Part III of this thesis presents the results of its research; the following six chapters present a collective response to the key research question: what kinds of symbolic value did high fashion periodicals bestow upon the field of art in post-war Britain? This question is answered by a historical analysis that examines how institutions and spaces of public culture - such as museums, galleries, exhibitions and art schools - were used as locations for editorial photo-spreads published in the fashion periodicals British *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* (1945–1962).

Throughout chapters 7–12, this question of symbolic value and exchange provides fluidity between the different layers of each chapter and shows how interconnected these seemingly separate arenas are. Each chapter is structured so that a layering of different spaces, events, and discourses may take place. The fashion-spread of each chapter is an 'event' and an example of discourse (Chapter 6). Firstly, it is placed in the context of fashion discourse and its histories; secondly, it is addressed in terms of its occupation of textual space in the fashion magazine; thirdly, I discuss other spaces of historical research onto which said image opens.

Chapter 7: Editorial…'Cocktail Party Receipt' focuses on the editorial authority and prestige of titles such as *Vogue* and *Harper's* in matters of style, taste-making, and fashionable living. Chapter 8: Advertising…'At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park' addresses the mediation and branding of cultural producers and their products throughout the editorial and advertising pages of high fashion periodicals. Chapter 9: Season…'Dressed for the Festival' examines the temporality of the fashion calendar and how this bestows a different symbolic value upon the clothes, scenes and spaces used as backdrops to fashion spreads. Chapter 10: Dress…'Photographed at the Royal Festival Hall' focuses on how fashion media discourse attributed symbolic values to the temporality of wardrobe and dress (see Appendix 2). Chapter 11: Location…'Clothes in a Setting' examines the figure of the fashion photographer as an accredited author of high fashion media. Chapter 12: Model…'The Fine Art of Young Fashion' looks at the changing status of photographic fashion models and their associated symbolic value in the production of fashion media discourse.

The direction that my answer takes is guided by a historical analysis of fashion media discourse. Fashion media is a type of historical documentation and it is part of a multitude of documentation, of records, documents, images, and events. This does not produce a coherent and definitive history, instead the post-war period of modern Britain is 'multilayerd, multivoiced' (Kynaston 2007: ix). The histories that unfold throughout this final section do not provide definitive answers, rather, they offer another way of looking at a period of time and its culture, offering an alternative way of looking at the relationship between high fashion media and the arts in post-war Britain.

Overleaf Double-page spread:
Cocktail Party Receipt (British *Vogue* February 1948: 60–61)

Right: A patterned tie-silk claret-coloured dress with a fitted bodice; a wide sash swathes hips. Bianca Mosca. Hat from Varia Timour. Jewellery and vanity case, from Fortnum and Mason. Cigarette holder by Dunhill *Opposite:* A corded velvet black suit by Creed with gold lamé at hem and lamé blouse. Pissot and Pavy hat. Fortnum and Mason bag. Kamera Klear make-up by Leichner. Shoes by Delman *Photographed* at Admiral's House, Hampstead home of Mr. & Mrs. Colin Anderson. Loggia panels, sculptured in granite, portray Art and Science. Mr. Anderson is the Hon. Treasurer of the Contemporary Art Society about which Maurice Collis writes on the following pages

PARKINSON PHOTOGRAPHS

Cocktail party receipt—*To a sophisticated suit or a dress of distinction add the sparkle of jewellery, the subtlety of right accessories; top with an elegant hat*

7. Editorial…'Cocktail Party Receipt'

This chapter explores how the editorial authority of British high fashion periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* bestowed symbolic value upon the field of art in the immediate post-war years. At this time *Vogue* and *Harper's* were largely recognised as the established and long-surviving periodicals of the 'the *haute couture* fashion market' (Braithwaite and Barrell 1988: 48), and the prestige that was thus associated with the editorial authority of either of these titles came from the position that they occupied in the field of women's magazines. Their primary topic of interest was that of 'Gracious Living'; this was 'fashion, beauty, décor, entertaining' (Scott-James 1952: 18), 'theatre, art' (ibid: 106). The 'luminous framework through which the reader might negotiate a more complex relationship between clothing, identity, image, and desire', that proliferated throughout the 'distinctive high cultural rhetoric of *Vogue* and *Harper's*' (Breward 2003: 123–126) included images of high culture and the arts.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the fashion media discourse of these titles articulated modern public arts bodies and organisations as fashionable. The focus of this discussion is an editorial photo-spread *Cocktail Party Receipt* (*Vogue* February 1948), in which 'New Look' fashions are modelled at the Hampstead (London) home of the Contemporary Art Society's (CAS) Treasurer. This is an example of a wider discourse that publicised institutions and the notion of public art patronage within the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's* throughout the late 1940s. Other public bodies and groups that received positive coverage in these periodicals included the Arts Council, the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA), and the Council of Industrial Design (CoID).

In the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's* the arts was another facet of fashion, grace and social life that could be represented to the readers of these magazines. The first part of this chapter locates the editorial photo-spread *Cocktail Party Receipt* in the wider historical context of post-war Britain and its reception of the New Look fashion. The second part focuses on the textual space of the magazine and addresses how the editorial of both these periodicals reveals a porous field of cultural production, whereby the agents and arbiters of good taste and gracious living continually moved between positions and fields. The final section addresses how the symbolic value bestowed by the editorial authority of high fashion magazines was yet another form of modern art patronage sought out by various public cultural bodies.

New Look Culture

In the opening editorial page for its April 1948 publication that focused upon the theme of accessories, British *Vogue* enquired of its readers:

> YOURSELF AS AN ART COLLECTOR: have you ever thought of yourself in that light? If you become a member of the Contemporary Art Society your annual guinea buys pictures which become part of our Galleries – in short, yours. Maurice Collis (p.62) tells you more about this society and also gives news of the Institute

> of Contemporary Art which, with your help, may one day become England's Museum of Modern Art.
>
> (*Vogue* February1948: 33)

The feature article signalled out here by British *Vogue's* editorial is preceded by a double-page fashion story *Cocktail Party Receipt* (see fig.7.1). The fashion copy that accompanies this spread informs its audience that its two models are wearing a suit in corded black velvet with a gold lamé hem and matching blouse by Charles Creed, and a patterned tie-silk claret-coloured dress with a fitted bodice by Bianca Mosca (*Vogue* February 1948: 61). These garments present a silhouette that is familiar in shape and style to the 'revolutionary' New Look.

The location for *Cocktail Party Receipt* and its New Look fashions is Admiral's House, the Hampstead home of Mr and Mrs Colin Anderson. The models in the photo-spread are framed by the exterior archways of the Andersons' loggia panels, which 'sculpted in granite portray Art and Science' (*Vogue* February 1948: 61). The fashion copy credits Mr Anderson as holding the position of 'the Hon. Treasurer of the Contemporary Art Society about which Maurice Collis writes on the following pages' (*Vogue* February 1948: 61).

Lingering in the space of Mr Anderson's home, waiting to be received at the cocktail party that marks the end of a war, the models are clad in some of the finest fabrics and models of design that London couture had to offer in what was an otherwise ration-ridden era of clothing restrictions and coupons. The fashion spread sets the scene for Collis's article about the Contemporary Arts Society (CAS), the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA), and the general state of public arts in early post-war Britain (see fig. 7.2). It also provides an illustrative impression of what the ideal *Vogue* reader, in the guise of a modern post-war art collector and patron, may look like dressed in her New Look clothes.

In histories of post-war Britain, the ending of the Second World War, officially announced in May 1945, is often referred to as marking a point in the new direction that the arts and culture would subsequently take in the post-war nation and in world politics (Hewison 1988: 7). The year 1947 signals yet another new direction in the culture of post-war Britain in terms of fashion history; in his contribution to the anthology *Age of Austerity* Pearson Phillips evocatively recounts the reception of the New Look:

> A few minutes after ten-thirty on the morning of February 12th 1947, a young Englishwoman heard for the first time in her life what she afterwards described as "the sound of a petticoat." At last, at long last, she felt the Second World War was really over.
>
> (Phillips 1963: 129)

Similarly the editor of *Harper's Bazaar* (1945–1951) Anne Scott-James describes the end of war as reigniting a desire for fashion and a return to gracious living:

> I wanted to throw the dried eggs out of the window, burn my shabby curtains and wear a Paris hat again. The Amazons. The women in trousers, the good comrades had had their glorious day. But it was over. Gracious living beckoned once again.
>
> (Scott-James 1952: 83)

The New Look appeared to fulfil the desire of post-war British female citizens for 'some glamour' following 'the drab years of war' (Wilson 1980: 83).

The New Look, and its many variants, has been addressed by a number of fashion histories as a force of change that significantly altered the visual landscape of British fashion (see Breward 2007; de la Haye 1997; Wilcox 2007). This is particularly apparent when this later fashion is compared to the government-endorsed Utility dress designs of inter- and early post-war years. The New Look is largely credited to the 1947 launch of Parisian haute couture designer Christian Dior's 'Corolle' line. It was a style of design that favoured rounded feminine contours of shoulders and chest, tightly nipped in waists, and full-flowing skirts in multiple pleats, folds, or extended lengths and was subsequently promoted extensively by the global media. However the clothes in *Cocktail Party Receipt* are not Dior dresses and nor are they copies. These garments were designed by two members of the recently formed group of British couturiers the London Incorporated Designers Society (Inc. Soc) (de la Haye 2007: 91; Waddell 2001); they are elite examples of British high fashion and, also, are part of the New Look style.

The impact of the New Look on British social life was deemed important enough for the government-sponsored social survey organisation Mass Observation (M.O.) to conduct research upon the subject. In their report the M.O. investigators state that:

> The new fashion was launched at the worst possible time economically – middle-class money was running short, clothes stocks were at their lowest, and coupons restricted. But this may have been the best time, psychologically. The New Look was the symbol of a more decorative, more leisured, more feminine way of life – if anything it overemphasised almost caricatured femininity.
>
> (M.O. SxMOA1/1/14/3/1:9 [1949])

Initially they found there to be widespread disapproval of the New Look, however by the end of 1948 the M.O. reported that it had become largely accepted. In response to the question 'What are your present feelings about the New Look?', the largely middle-class respondents to the M.O.'s social survey (M.O. SxMOA1/3/103 [1948]) present a generally positive consensus. One anonymous correspondent observed how the New Look style was available in its cheaper ready-to-wear form, however 'Poor materials just look sloppy where really good stuff would swing gracefully' (M.O. SxMOA1/3/103: D 194 [1948]). The investigators also noted that 'the differences between stylised lines in fashion magazines and its [the New Look's] toning down in ordinary wearers has accounted for many milder judgments' (M.O. SxMOA1/1/14/3/1: 8 [1949]). The change in public perception, they claimed, therefore concerned the recognition and consumption of a general silhouette and shape that were to be found in more readily available garments.

In the British press the New Look was both praised and criticised. In a *Picture Post* article 'Paris Forgets This Is 1947', Marjorie Beckett presents a somewhat enraged commentary on this new fashion:

Straight from the indolent and wealthy years before the 1914 war come this year's

> much-discussed Paris fashion. They are launched upon a world which has not the material to copy them – and whose woman have neither the money to buy, the leisure to enjoy, nor in some designs even the strength to support, these masses of elaborate material.
>
> (Beckett 1947: 26)

And in the fortnightly society magazine *The Queen* their Paris correspondent Poppy Richards writes of how these 'revolutionary designs' have 'created this new woman […] and have dressed her in retrospective clothes' (Richards 1947: 24). Richards argues that this post-war fashion 'is provocative, extravagant, but it isn't new' (Richards 1947: 24); rather, the design of the New Look was much indebted to late nineteenth-century France and its Belle Époque ('Beautiful Era') fashions.

Despite the critical tone of these articles and others, illustrated or photographic images of the New Look often accompanied these texts. This is one contradiction among a number that accompany an attempt to define the New Look and what it was. It was dismissed but at the same time its image was reproduced with fervour. It was 'new' to the visual landscape of a post-war Britain, yet its shape and design was not considered 'modern'. According to Hopkins 'Probably no new fashion had ever before spread with such mechanical efficiency and economy, or transformed the British street scene from Mayfair to Mile End, from Perth to Paignton with such astonishing speed' (Hopkins 1963: 96). It was haute couture, it was made-to-measure, it was high street, it was home-made, and it would appear that a large number of women from a variety of social and economic backgrounds wanted it.

In subsequent scholarship this consumption of the New Look by women of varying social and class backgrounds has been addressed. The work of both Angela Partington (1993) and Steedman (1985; 1989) examines how the New Look was not simply consumed by upper- and middle-class women but that it was also something desirable and attainable for working class women. According to Steedman 'The post-war years were full of women longing for a full skirt and unable to make it' (Steedman 1985: 109). However, this longing is not a simple frivolous lust for fashion. Steedman continues to claim that 'within the framework of conventional political understanding, the desire for a New Look skirt cannot be seen as a political want, let alone a proper one' (Steedman 1986: 121), but the point that Steedman makes is that *it is*. The New Look in this instance is also about 'the drama of class' (ibid: 22) and about women and the continual wanting and waiting for something other than what is presently available to them within the confines of their particular socio-economic positions.

Despite attempts made by the government's Board of Trade and parliamentary figures, such as Sir Stafford Cripps and Harold Wilson, to persuade fashion journalists 'to ignore the goings-on in Paris' (Carter 1974: 81), in the pages of both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* the New Look was positively promoted. In editorials this contemporary fashion appears to fulfil certain aspirations and longings that collude with ideas of peace and the promise of a better future:

> It [Dior's collection] is a glimpse forward into the mode of to-morrow. It is a response to our longing for peace, elegance and femininity. For us in England, it presents difficulties – we are short of fabric; we have to make do with old clothes; our lives are practical and far from luxurious. For us, the fashion may be delayed. But it will come. In a modified form, as we have shown in recent numbers of *Harper's Bazaar*, it is already here.
>
> (*Harper's Bazaar* October 1947: 29)

The New Look was a visible presence throughout the various fashion stories published in these magazines: it was a desirable look for couture, for high-end wholesale, for those with coupons to spare (*Harper's Bazaar* December 1947: 27), and for those with 'limited incomes' there was advice on how to make and mend existing clothes into a specific Dior-designed style of dress or skirt (*Vogue* June 1948: 76-79).

The desire for a return to 'gracious living' voiced by British high fashion media concerned the length of skirt hems and the spaces and places of culture, particularly those of high culture, the arts, and public institutions. In *Vogue's* June 1945 'Victory Number' a feature article 'What We Want…' listed what *Vogue*, writing on behalf of its readers, wanted to keep; to get rid of; and to have back (British *Vogue* June 1945: 37). To keep included lunch-time concerts at the National Gallery, the CEMA (latterly the Arts Council), and the 'Decentralisation of cultural interests: concerts, London theatre productions, and travelling art exhibitions moving around, not concentrated in the capital' (ibid). They wanted back 'The pictures and all the other precious things from the National Collections, banished for safety nearly six years ago … The commons and open spaces which Service and other Ministries have borrowed from us, the public, for war purposes' (ibid). This was listed alongside the desire for un-rationed food, sheer stockings, nourishing face creams, evening décolletage, fabrics, high heels, silly hats, and also a rebuilt Queen's Hall.

Cocktail Party Receipt and its portrayal of the New Look bestows upon the image of the CAS the appeal of contemporary high fashion. In her history of design in the 1950s Lesley Jackson points out that outside of the arena of fashion the 'New Look' is an often replicated phrase, used to describe 'a widespread shift in design aesthetics during the late 1940s and early 1950s' (Jackson 1991: 8). When compared to clothes of the interwar years the New Look clothes signalled a change in dress aesthetics; however, it was generally agreed by both its critics and its admirers that it invoked a standard of dress that was not truly modern or new. Similarly it has been argued that acts of cultural reconstruction in post-war Britain were not as revolutionary as they might first appear but rather the forms that they actually took 'came to mean the recovery of old forms, rather than the evolution of new ones' (Hewison 1988: xi; Hopkins 1963; Conekin 2003). The new welfare state, its policies for public art and culture, and other institutions – such as the CAS and ICA – that sought to fund the arts through public means – are part of a New Look that was designed for British culture.

'Editor's Note'

The feature article that follows the editorial fashion spread *Cocktail Party Receipt* 'Art Patronage – Modern Style' is written by Maurice Collis, who is credited as a 'well-known' art critic and a novelist. The subject of this article concerns the funding of art through public means and it introduces the *Vogue* reader to two British art societies, the Contemporary Art Society (founded 1910), and the 'up-and-coming' Institute of Contemporary Art (founded 1947).

Collis claims that:

> These societies are not only of great assistance to artists, but make the members of the public who support them with their subscriptions feel that they, personally, are helping art. Becoming, in this way, buyers of works of art, they are real patrons.
>
> (Collis 1948: 62)

This particular discourse concerning publicly owned art is part of a wider societal regard for forms of 'high' culture at that time. According to Robert Hewison:

> One of the unexpected effects of the war had been heightened awareness of the importance of the arts; people had realised spontaneously that 'culture' was one of the things for which they were fighting […] There is no doubt that war created – or discovered – new audiences for serious music and drama.
>
> (Hewison 1988: 7)

Hopkins similarly notes that a wider awareness of the arts 'which had developed in the war years had persisted into the peace […] The turnstiles at the public galleries now clicked away at twice their prewar rate; special exhibitions were crowded like bargain sales' (Hopkins 1963: 237). In post-war Britain encouragement of 'culture', in terms of the arts, literature, painting and theatre, was of legislative concern and various initiatives and bodies were either founded or reconsolidated from inter-war departments by the newly elected Labour Government under the leadership of Clement Attlee (1945-1951).

Alongside social welfare, such as the founding of the National Health Service (NHS), new housing building schemes, and education reforms (Hopkins 1963), cultural welfare was seen to be another, and none the less vital, area to be developed in post-war society. The Council of Industrial Design (CoID) was formed in 1944 from the Board of Trade's Council for Art and Industry (CAI) and its charge was the nation's welfare in terms of good taste and good design (Woodham 1996a; 1996b).

The Arts Council, formed in 1946, reconciled the two established bodies of the British Council and the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA). Hewison claims that the government (both inter- and post-war) 'recognised the importance of culture when it started to subsidize the CEMA' (Hewison 1988: 7). Subsequently the Arts Council was granted new economic powers under its new 1946 constitution, thus enabling it 'to make capital grants and interest-free loans' (ibid). In this capacity the Arts Council acted as a state patron of the arts. Through a system of public funding and national tax contributions it purchased artworks on behalf of its citizens and sought to exhibit art to a wider public audience.

The renewed interest in art and culture was not simply a case of a public body meeting the demands of the people. As art historian Margaret Garlake has pointed out, 'After 1945 it became clear that with greatly diminished coercive power, national status would increasingly be defined by culture' (Garlake 1998: 17). The work of bodies such as the Arts Council, and in association the CAS and the ICA, promoted culture on a national and international front (ibid). The arts in terms of public *and* national culture were a type of symbolic power that was to become an important aspect of post-war society.

Collis's article 'Art Patronage – Modern Style' is part of a wider coverage given to new political and cultural bodies and concepts concerning the culture of public art in *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* throughout the late 1940s. (see Collis 1948; Denvir 1947; Grigson 1948; Miller 1948; Laski 1947; Rothenstein 1946; Sitwell 1945; Steegman 1945). Whilst these articles were clearly stating the aims and preliminary achievements of a new and modern age in post-war British culture and art, they were also written for a particular consumer audience – an imagined readership of glossy high fashion magazines.

In the 1947 summer issue of *Harper's Bazaar* art historian Bernard Denvir contributed an article, 'Paintings and People', which celebrated the creation and subsequent work of the Arts Council. Denvir argues that this new system of art patronage is for 'the age of the common man, and it is to the common man that the artist must look for support and patronage' (Denvir 1947: 49). Referring to the examples of recent Arts Council exhibitions such as 'Clowns and Comics', 'Design in the Home', and 'Sculpture In The Home', Denvir claims that public displays have 'pressed home that art is an essential part of daily life' and therefore 'show the relevance of beauty in the life of every single person' (ibid: 80). The deployment of a previously private and elite system of art, in Denvir's view, becomes a matter of public and pointedly *common* appreciation.

These exhibitions, acting as programmes of 'public' education, were seen to be vital to the development of *taste*, as Denvir assures the *Harper's* reader: 'the development of *good taste* is not an impossible task' (Denvir 1948: 80 emphasis added). In Denvir's view the Arts Council was therefore, 'helping people to form their own tastes' (ibid) albeit their own *good* taste. Jonathan Woodham argues that the policies and subsequent work of state-funded bodies such as the CoID concerned a politics of taste (Woodham 1996b). A key element to public bodies such as the CoID and the Arts Council was educational – there was a belief that such councils could lead society to a new world of enlightened cultural inclinations and aesthetic preferences (ibid: 59). Taste concerned matters of both design and art and the CoID and Arts Council collaborated with one another on events such as the series of *Sculpture In The Home* exhibitions (Burstow 2008a; 2008b). A key element of post-war reconstruction was sought through the education of the so-called 'general' public in matters of *good taste*.

In the discourse of contemporary high fashion media texts the readers of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* were, however, constructed as a particular type of public or audience that was set apart from the 'common' man or woman. Marghanita Laski's article

'Civilisation is passing us by' laments what she perceives to be falling standards in design and culture throughout post-war Britain; however, addressing the *Vogue* reader she writes:

> Oh yes, *you* care about design. But you'd be surprised how few people really do. The readers of *Vogue* are probably the largest single definable group in the community who have any notions what the concept means. You are the converted, but for the rest it's not simply a question of choosing bad design instead of good design; it's a question of not thinking about design at all.
>
> (Laski 1947: 62)

This discourse suggests that there is not simply one type of 'public' but rather there are diverse variations of 'public' and 'people'. In the aforementioned articles that concern public arts patronage there is a marked division between a wider public that is understood to be made of the common man and then there are *other* members of a public. In this instance the readers of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* are projected as already educated and visually literate and are already able to distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' taste through an impeccable knowledge of fashion, society and culture.

At the end of Collis's 'Art Patronage – Modern Style' article an 'Editor's Note' is printed. Its copy informs the reader how they can become a member of CAS via an annual subscription fee of one guinea a year. In addition it highlights some of the benefits to making this donation; it entitles members 'to free entry to exhibitions, to private views in private houses and to the society's own soireés' (*Vogue* 'Editor's Note' February 1948: 97). It also gives details of how to donate to the proposed ICA. The editor writes that 'it is hoped that, as soon as a scale of general membership is fixed, donators will have every facility to become early members' (ibid).

Appearing under the authorship of the 'Editor' this 'note' appears in the guise of a personal endorsement for both these societies. It also works as a 'fractional' – a contemporary term that is used to describe advertisements that take up less than a page (Rothstein 2007: 160). According to Jandos Rothstein, fractionals 'are likely put on a page with editorial content, which means they may be seen for a longer period of time, and they are useful for serious topics that don't benefit from lavish illustration, such as advocacy and conference announcements' (Rothstein 2007: 160). In the context of the February 1948 issue of *Vogue* this fractional advertisement does benefit from its designed association with a more lavish fashion spread *Cocktail Party Receipt* (fig.7.1), in which the CAS is made to appear fashionable in association with the glamour of the New Look.

In *Vogue* similar fractionals continue throughout issues published in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The copy remains largely the same; each sells subscriptions or membership to either of these contemporary art societies through notions of good citizenship, on the one hand, and the more exclusive benefits of belonging and participating in a club, on the other (see *Vogue* January 1949 'Shophound's Good Causes': 90; Miller 1949; *Vogue* January 1951 'Vogue's Eye View of Christmas Giving':

23; 84; *Vogue* February 1951 'The New Patronage': 116; 120; *Vogue* December 1951 'Shophound's Christmas Notebook': 80).

A later call for ICA membership in *Vogue's* March 1951 issue also benefits from a glamorous fashion story on British ready-to-wear coats and jackets. The editorial photo-spread, *Signs of Spring*, was shot by Anthony Denney at the ICA's first premises in Dover Street (see Appendix 3.1). In this spread a pair of models are photographed as visitors to the Institute's 1950–1951 exhibit *1950 Aspects of British Art* (*Vogue* March 1951: 106–107). Again, contemporary art and its institutions are made to appear fashionable and therefore desirable.

In the immediate post-war years the field of art worked to enlighten and educate the common man in his new role of public art patron and it made appeals to another kind of potential art patron – the fashionable woman. This was a person who could potentially provide additional support for the arts by other symbolic and economic means such as paying membership to join an art society. Participation in this system of modern-style art patronage concerns cultural elevation and also offers the opportunity for elite forms of entertainment and socialisation. In *Cocktail Party Receipt* the arts form part of a stage to which one can potentially wear one's New Look cocktail dress. In this instance, and others like it, membership of a society or club that patronises modern and contemporary art is yet another fashionable accessory to be beheld by the reader of high fashion magazines.

'Art Patronage Modern Style'

In his book on the contemporary British art scene, published in 1969, Barrie Stuart-Penrose observes that in the twentieth century 'The new-style art patrons are governments and business corporations rather than private individuals. Unlike the ordinary collector, the patron is prepared to help artists by offering them money, awards, competitions, promotion and official acquisitions' (Stuart-Penrose 1969: 148). The two societies that are brought together in Collis's article 'Art Patronage – Modern Style' for *Vogue* in 1948 both supported and promoted contemporary art. From its founding in 1947 the ICA was primarily interested in fostering European modernism in Britain (Massey 1985: 19). During the late 1940s and early 1950s this was achieved through the staging of events and exhibitions. CAS with its headquarters located at the Tate Gallery also arranged exhibitions and brought contemporary works of art which were then loaned to galleries around Britain and the Common wealth (Stuart-Penrose 1969: 151). The ICA and CAS both fall under this category of 'new-style' art patron.

Archival material concerning the press and publicity of these two societies reveal a history of exhibition openings attended by well-dressed men and women – titled and untitled – cocktail parties and dinners held at the Tate Gallery (CAS TAG 9215/14/1; TAG 9215/13/4; ICA TAM 48) (see Appendix 3.1). The records of these events, their subsequent appearance in forms of mass media, and the saving of them in files and press

cuttings books, demonstrates the importance of mass media to the fine arts (Walker 2001 [1983]) and that this was recognised and largely endorsed by the organisers of these institutions themselves. In this way the mass media was also a 'new-style' art patron that promoted both artists and the organisations that, in turn, brought support to the arts.

In this realm of publicity high fashion media was another type of modern art patron. The UK editions of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* were both launched as British counterparts to their American founders, the former in 1916 and the latter in 1929 (Braithwaite and Barrell 1988: 169-212). Their aim was to present the "best" in contemporary culture to their readership; the best or elite of 'fashion, beauty, décor, entertaining' (Scott-James 1952: 18), 'theatre, art' (ibid: 106). Despite inter and post-war paper restrictions and a variety of other factors that made the printing, publishing and distribution of Britain's monthly fashion glossies less than smooth (Yoxall 1966), and wide unavailability of luxury in the forms of food, clothing, and entertainment throughout the late1940s, *Vogue* and *Harper's* emerged from the war maintaining their relative positions as authorities on high fashion and culture.

The position that post-war *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* occupied in the field of magazines publishing was that of 'quality monthlies' or fashion 'glossies' for the middle-classes (Braithwaite and Barrell 1988: 48; White 1977: 118; 148;). Yet who the *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar* reader was exactly and whether they really were the women of taste that the CAS and the ICA were hoping to attract is a question that is not easily answered (see Chapter 5). Indeed the editorial 'Vogue's eye view of the Vogue reader' published in 1953 cannot pinpoint *her*:

> Who is she: Well, you are one, if you are reading this. We know that there are well over a million of you. That some of you are in your teens – some in your eighties. That you come in all sizes from short to tall, from fat to thin. That you live in town and in the country. That you have handsome incomes – and typists' wages.
>
> (*Vogue* November 1953: 95)

In terms of the cultural significance of magazines as texts, Ballaster et al have pointed out that the choice to read one title rather than another – in their example to choose *Vogue* over *Woman's Own* – 'defines the reader even more closely, as a participant, in the publisher's terms, in one lifestyle rather than another' (Ballaster et al 1991: 29). Yet, to read either *Vogue* or *Harper's* does not necessarily require one to be middle class or even necessarily female. Their contents do not provide a mirror reflection of *all* their reader's lives. By participating in the performance of this text one is engaging with the particular way that a magazine made sense of the world at a certain period of time. As Ballaster et al point out 'the magazine has a dual focus, referring both to the world outside itself, and to itself in the world' (ibid: 29–30). *Vogue* and *Harper's* refer to fashion, beauty and culture in post-war Britain; these periodicals envisage these things according to their own perspectives and this process takes its lead from by the character of the magazine.

Other participants in this performance include those who produce these magazines. The former fashion editor of Paris and American *Vogue* Bettina Ballard recalls visiting the British *Vogue* offices in early post-war London. Ballard recounts that:

> the people were like characters out of a play, each playing their daily role while imagining themselves quite different people inside […] Audrey Withers, the editor, poured a semblance of luxury and glamour into the pages of what was considered a luxury magazine while believing staunchly in Clement Attlee and the Labour party […] The feature editor was a dedicated intellectual producing page after page of what she imagined the fluffy, cotton-filled heads of the *Vogue* readers were capable of absorbing.
>
> (Ballard 1960: 214-215)

The editorial tone employed by both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* in the early post-war years was one that continually navigated its way between news of contemporary high fashion – such as the New Look – and lengthy features on the arts – painting, sculpture, opera, ballet, artists, performers – and occasionally politics.

Arguably this was in part due to the interests of these two titles' then Editors-in-Chiefs: at British *Vogue* (1940–1960) Audrey Withers, and at *Harper's Bazaar* (1945–1951) Anne Scott-James. Withers and Scott-James were both middle-class Oxford-educated British female journalists, (Boston 2009; Beyfuss 2001). In their individual autobiographies each express left-leaning political views that appear to coincide with the post-war Labour Government's brand of socialism. Their shared enthusiasm for the feature articles published under their editorships displays a preference for the written article rather than the fashion story. Furthermore their anecdotes also reveal a wide network of journalists, writers and artists that frequently worked and socialised in and between the fields of art and fashion in post-war Britain.

On the features published in *Harper's* during the late 1940s Scott-James writes:

> I did my best at *Harper's*, and I think I improved the magazine and relished every small advance. Finding British fashion in a starved state, I decided to build up the general features and I and my Features Editor, Jane Stockwood, gathered new contributors with considerable success. I was proud to publish Elizabeth David, John Betjeman, Lesley Blanch, Eric Ambler, John Mortimer and other first-rate writers, some established, some young and new.
>
> (Scott-James 1993: 116)

Meanwhile Withers states that her 'personal interest' was in features:

> I enjoyed a remarkable series of feature editors: Lesley Blanch, Siriol Hugh Jones, Penelope Gilliatt – all outstanding personalities and writers who had the confidence of people in the theatre and cinema, music and art. They had appreciative colleagues in the art editor and me, and the space to spread themselves; so we all enjoyed it. I think it could be said that, during this unusual period in *Vogue's* history, it became The Intelligent Woman's Guide to much more than Fashion.
>
> (Withers 1994: 57–58)

The parade of high culture in these titles was arguably also another form of fashion. Arts and entertainment were a part of fashionable life. They were legitimised as fashionable by association with fashionable clothes, people and magazines.

The contributor is yet another participant in the performance of fashion; literary figures and artists such as Kingsley Amis, John Piper, Henry Moore and Graham

Sutherland, are but a few of the faces and names that can be traced throughout the editorial, feature and fashion pages of both *Vogue* and *Harper's* throughout their issues of the 1940s and 1950s. By contributing to high fashion periodicals in the form of writing an article on one's chosen field of study and/or having a photograph of one's self with or without one's current piece of work was evidently a widely used way of publicising the arts, cultural producers and products at this time.

Both the CAS and the ICA relied upon membership fees and donations for part of their upkeep. And this is a reason for their advertisement in high fashion periodicals. This type of advertising extends beyond the pages of British glossies and into other forms of print publicity. In the case of CAS and the ICA various publicity and press materials currently kept at the archives of Tate Britain show a variety of ways that publicity was sought for these two organisations. CAS sought to place advertisements for memberships, much like the one that appeared under the aforementioned *Vogue*'s 'Editor's Note', in national newspapers *The Times*, *The Spectator*, *The New Statesmen*, *Art News Reviews*. Another scheme involved writing to journalists of national newspapers and society magazines, such as *Tatler* and *The Queen*, inviting them to partake in evening parties held by CAS at the Tate Gallery (CAS TGA 9215/10/1) (see Appendix 3.1).

Anne Massey points out in its the early days the ICA 'was an elitist organisation – a lonely outpost for avant-garde experiment in dour post-war Britain. Membership during the early 1950s wavered between one and two thousand' (Massey 1985: 31). The founding members were an all-male team, led by the critics Herbert Read and Roland Penrose, the latter of whom was also married to one of British *Vogue's* foremost photographers and features writers Lee Miller (see Conekin 2005; 2006; 2008). The committee also included Jack Beddington (ICA TAG 955/1/2/1), the advertising agent responsible 'for commissioning such artists as John Armstrong, Tristam Hillier, Cedric Morris, Paul Nash, Ben Nicholson and Graham Sutherland' to paint landscapes for the oil company Shell-Max and BP Ltd's advertisements in the 1930s (Walker [1983] 2001: 58).

Papers concerning the early formation of the ICA and its publicity also show concern for the way that they were advertised and what sort of membership it would gain through commercial means (ICA TGA 955/13/1/1). The front cover title to an early prospectus for the ICA (c.1950/1951) states in bold 'MEN OF TASTE'; it is illustrated by a caricature of a man of taste, a balding figure, glasses in hand, wearing a striped suit trousers, tie and blazer (ICA TGA 955/13/1/1/4). Printed on its overleaf appears the words 'AND WOMEN TOO'. For men and women of taste the ICA's aims were 'to promote all that is best and most creative in the arts on a non-commercial basis by means of exhibitions, performances, study groups, competitions and discussions' (ibid). The press cuttings for the ICA covering the years 1937–1969 show that a range of print media were used throughout this period; including national newspapers, arts magazines and papers, as well as women's magazines such as *Vogue*, *The Lady* and *Tatler*. Arguably

publicity was sought in these forms of mass media as they were believed to be consumed by an audience of taste.

In a letter between Penrose and Read, written in 1948, Penrose raises a number of concerns regarding members of the ICA organising committee. Here he notes the absence of women and therefore suggests that he will 'deliberately propose two women (Peggy Ashcroft and Margaret Gardiner) because the lack of women, both on the committee and among our artists and poets has been a weakness' (ICA TGA 955/1/2/1). The promotion of the ICA in *Vogue* throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s was a way to redress this balance, albeit appealing to what was imagined to be an ideal or elite type of modern British woman.

A New Look for Patrons of Art

This chapter has examined how in the immediate post-war years fashion magazines *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* acted as commercial patrons to emerging forms of public art patronage. The field of art in post-war Britain may have been seeking a wider and more diverse audience to participate within it; however, its validation for this – economically, symbolically and politically – was still sought from various folds of social elitism, which included the ideals of high fashion and gracious living as mediated in the pages of periodicals such as *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar*.

The intelligent woman's guide to more than fashion (Withers 1994: 57–58) was also a guide to being 'intelligent', gracious, and fashionable. These fashion magazines, acting as guides, combine rather than separate, the advancement of one's cultural horizons alongside that of acquiring new forms of fashionable dress. As in the case of the *Cocktail Party Receipt* fashion story and Maurice Collis's article 'Art Patronage – Modern Style', articles on the arts and culture were in many instances interdependent with fashion stories within the body of the magazine (see Appendix 3.1).

In the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's* the role of a modern-style art patron takes on the figure of the ideal woman in modern post-war Britain. She wears New Look dresses and suits, furs and Paris hats, she looks at art and is active in improving her mind. Gracious living was also something to continually aspire to; even if one were already beautiful, well-dressed and intelligent according to the standards set by these titles, one could always aim to be more so. The question of whether the fashion magazine reader could imagine herself as an art collector, and whether she could join or contribute to either the CAS or ICA provides a temporary answer to this eternal appeal.

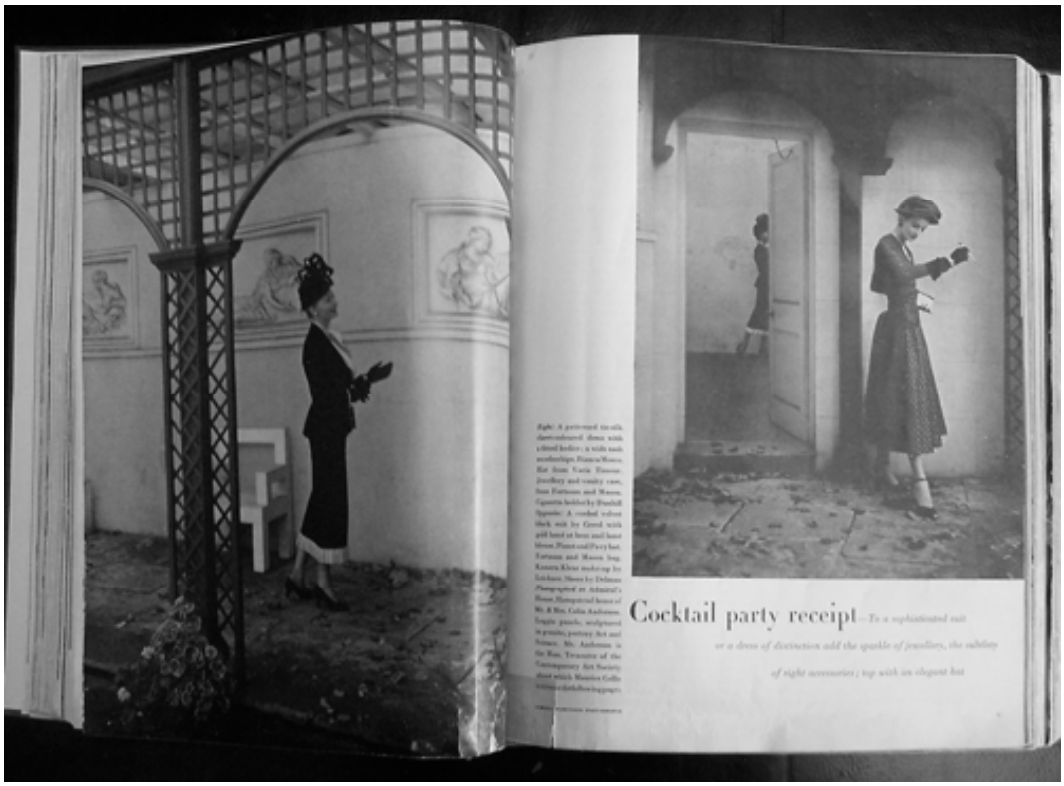


Fig.7.1 *Cocktail Party Receipt* photographed by Norman Parkinson '*Photographed* at Admiral's House, Hampstead home of Mr. & Mrs. Colin Anderson' (British *Vogue* February 1948: 60–61) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Fig.7.1 'Art Patronage – Modern Style: Maurice Collis, well-known art critic and novelist, writes of Art Societies, one long established, the other up-and-coming' (British *Vogue* February 1948: 62–63) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

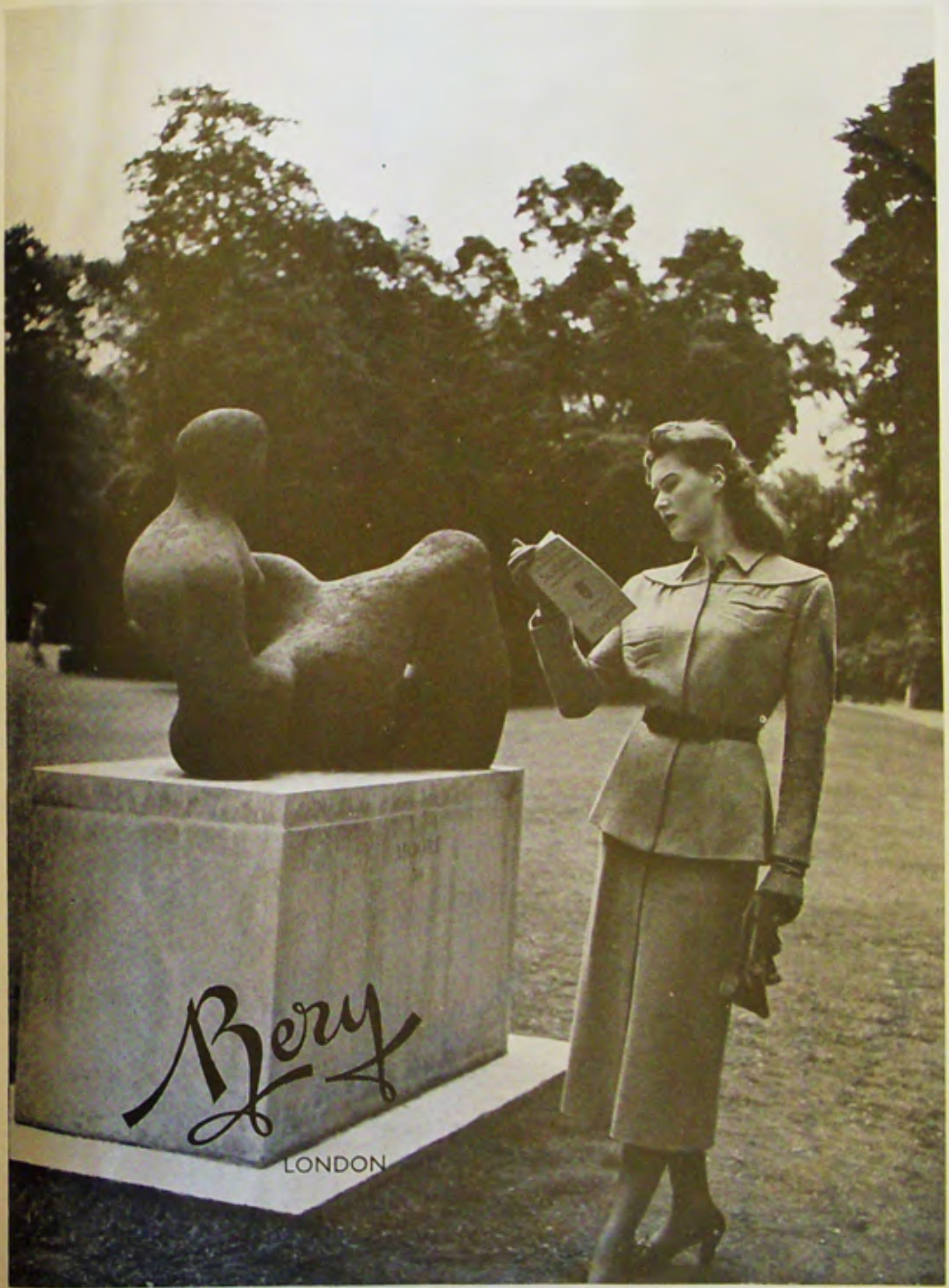
Overleaf Double-page spread:
Bery (British *Vogue* September 1948: 22–23)

You know you're well-dressed in a Marlbeck

MODEL C 3167. *A lovely fitted coat with all the newest fashion features, tailored in fine lustred zibberline material. In Abbey Wine, Racing Scarlet, Gothic Blue, Pine Green or Avenue Beige.*

★ *Marlbeck coats and suits are obtainable, and if necessary you can have one made in approximately three weeks from the time you place an order with your local Marlbeck retailer.*

Wholesale only: 13 Hanover Square · London · W.1.



8. Advertising….'At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park'

This chapter discusses how advertising and editorial matter work in conjunction with one another in the space of post-war fashion periodicals, and how both these types of pages in high fashion media bestowed symbolic value upon forms of contemporary art. The influence of a successful magazine 'extends to its advertisement pages' (Yoxall 1966: 137), and adverts in fashion magazines that feature works of art are not apprehended in isolation but are designed to work 'within the larger ensemble of the magazine' (Stein 1992: 146). This analysis takes an advertisement for Bery, a British wholesale manufacturer, as its focal point of discussion. The full-page advert was published in the September 1948 issue of British *Vogue*. It features the manufacturer's brand name, a young female model wearing a suit, and a sculpture by Henry Moore. The location of this image was the Battersea Park open-air sculpture exhibition, a space that was used throughout fashion media texts as a background to photograph British fashions.

The use of exhibits of modern sculpture as location backgrounds for fashion images does not simply mean that modern sculpture was fashionable at that time (see Calvocoressi 1980: 146). By featuring it as a backdrop fashion periodicals, and other forms of mass media that utilised a similar template, were, in many ways, creating more interest in modern public sculpture through a particular means of communication that was reliant upon an image of women and an image of their social interaction with contemporary culture: whether art or otherwise.

The purpose of this chapter is to address how the exhibition of contemporary sculpture was promoted as fashionable in both the editorial and advertising pages of British *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. The first part of this analysis locates the Bery advertisement in a history of British wholesale garment manufacturing and brand identity. This is followed by a discussion of how advertising and editorial worked in conjunction with one another, and how things – clothes, art and idealised female roles – were advertised in both types of pages. The final section addresses how the 1948 open-air sculpture exhibition at Battersea Park was branded as a fashionable space by the editorial and advertising pages of high fashion media.

Wholesale Couture

The clothing company registered under the brand name Bery (*Fashion and Fabrics* 1949: 36) chose the 1948 open-air Battersea Park sculpture exhibition and Henry Moore's bronze work *Recumbent Figure* (1938) as a background for its autumn advertising campaign (see fig.8.1). This is a full-page photographic advert that was published in the September 1948 issue of British *Vogue*. As advertising matter it is accorded prestige in the following key ways: by its placement in a high fashion magazine (Wray 1957: 144); by the time of its publication – in this instance a September issue that reports on the London couture collections; and its seasonal timing within the better selling period for the

purchase of new Autumn clothes (ibid: 141; White 1970: 207). It also gains additional prestige from being placed in the more expensive front end of the magazine (known also as the front of book: see Appendix 1)

Whilst *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* are frequently defined by their status as journals of the 'the *haute couture* fashion market' (Braithwaite and Barrell 1988: 48) their editorial pages reported upon various factions of the fashion industry: haute couture, wholesale manufacturers, 'smaller speciality shops with their own designers' such as Jaeger or Aquascutum (Scott-James 1952:124), and department stores (ibid: 54–55). Depending on the time of publication their advertising pages could take up to a third or even half of the magazines total pages (see Appendix 1).

In the immediate post-war years the front end of these periodicals were dominated by advertisements for beauty products, department stores such as Harvey Nichols, Harrods and Marshall & Snelgrove, and brand-name wholesale manufacturers such as the members from the London Model House Group (LMHG) – a group formed in the late 1940s 'to represent the interests of fourteen top quality ready-to-wear fashion companies including Dorville, Matita, Brenner Sports and Frederick Starke' (de la Haye 1997: 17). Their advertising campaigns were strategically placed within the body of the magazine largely at either the front end or next to the central fashion spreads at key points in the fashion calendar – the spring and autumn issues that reported on the international fashion collections. In terms of its garments, style and placement within the periodical the Bery advertisement therefore forms part of a dominant group of advertisers that appeared throughout the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's* from the mid-1940s to early 1950s.

In her discussion of the relationship of fashion and modernity Wilson argues that 'word and image have increasingly propagated style', and therefore 'images of desire are constantly in circulation; increasingly it has been the image as well as the artefact that the individual has purchased' (Wilson 2003 [1985]: 157). In the nineteenth-century this is apparent in the way that the manifestation of fashion in a wider popular consciousness took place through means of mass communication. This both stimulated, and was stimulated by, the mass manufacture of clothes.

In histories of British fashion the development of the ready-to-wear industry in post-war Britain concerns both mass production and an increase in the circulation of 'images of desire' in mass media. Scott-James notes that one of the biggest changes to occur in the field of fashion following the end of the Second World War was 'the rise of the wholesale side of the industry' (Scott-James 1952: 124). During the war many 'wholesale firms took to branding their goods and building their names, and the fashion initiative had passed from the shops to them' (ibid). In consequence it was the branded wholesalers that provided a majority of merchandise featured in the editorial, and advertising pages, of fashion magazines.

Margaret Wray's 1957 study *The Women's Outwear Industry*, conducted for the Department of Political Economy of University College London, reports upon

innovations in production methods within wholesale and ready-to-wear manufacturing. In it Wray acknowledges that additional investigations into the advertising and branding of ready-to-wear was required as 'it was seen that there was a close correlation between production methods and marketing' (ibid: 7). Whilst advertising on a national scale was very expensive and afforded by only a relatively small number of firms (ibid: 148), Wray nevertheless argues that until about 1950 important changes in marketing were 'the growth of branding and advertising by manufacturers' (ibid: 134). In many ways the development of a strong brand identity – which was symbolic – endowed manufacturers with more economic and social power: they could develop direct sales to retailers without the need of a middle-man (also a wholesaler *but* not a manufacturer); increasingly their branded products were in demand from consumers who recognised a label and its associated goods (Scott- James 1952: 124; *Fashion and Fabrics* 1947; *Hard's Year Book For the Clothing Industry* 1953).

In the manufacturing of the women's outerwear industry Wray argues that 'fashion now exerts a bigger influence on demand than before the war', and she attributes this to an increased amount of 'consumer advertising by women's outwear manufacturers […] and from the increased number and wider circulation of these magazines, which publish many feature articles on fashion trends' (Wray 1957: 58). Thus she argues 'in the post-war period, class distinctions in clothing have tended to disappear' (ibid). Elsewhere White similarly argues that the 'revolution' of ready-to-wear in terms of its mass production and its mediation through mass media 'brought the *haute couture* look within the reach of every girl and woman who had the fashion sense to make the best of her appearance' (White 1970: 162). According to this logic the mass production and consumption of ready-to-wear was a key component in the democratisation of post-war British culture through the wider availability of fashionable clothes.

In the pages of high fashion media at this time the so-called 'levelling of fashion' (Settle 1948: 46) was more concerned with the *rise* of ready-to-wear than its mass appeal. In *Vogue* and *Harper's* ready-to-wear was more often than not models originating from the mid to high-end sector of the women's ready-to-wear industry. In 1951 British *Vogue* claimed that now 'even the most fastidious and fashion-conscious woman can dress immaculately for any occasion in ready-to-wear clothes' (British *Vogue* February 1951: 65). The examples provided were produced by 'leading houses' such as Deréta and Susan Small, which were also members of the LMHG.

The increased coverage and prestige attributed to the ready-to-wear end of the market within high fashion periodicals does not necessarily reflect the democratisation of fashion; as Wray points out:

> large advertisers often support their national advertising of lower medium grade garments with a smaller output […] of particularly high fashion and high prices garments, which are advertised, on a limited scale, in the 'glossy' magazines, for 'prestige' purposes.
>
> (Wray 1957: 144)

Ready-to-wear was never born from an egalitarian system of production and consumption: the way that it was promoted in high fashion media in post-war Britain is telling of other divisions which were present, and which continued to manifest in a growing consumer market.

According to Madge Garland's overview of the ready-to-wear market 'ready-to-wear is divided into three different categories: high fashion, medium-price, and mass-production' (Garland 1962: 60). In their history of British fashion Wilson and Lou Taylor point out that 'There was common ground between the British haute couture houses and the top end of the ready-to-wear trade – firms such as Jaeger, Frederick Starke, Windsmoor and Deréta, whose fashionable clothes were nearly as expensive as the couturiers' ready-to-wear lines' (Wilson and Taylor 1989: 178). Many of these firms had arisen during the 1930s when the demand for good quality ready-to-wear fashion increased; at the time they were also known as 'wholesale couture' (Ewing 2001: 129). In general the lines of couture houses, particularly those of Paris, were followed, but adapted 'to the needs of manufacturing techniques and to the everyday lives of fashion-conscious women among the great middle classes' (ibid; Maley 1954). Although the term 'wholesale couture' appears to be somewhat of a contradiction according to Elizabeth Ewing 'it none the less describes fairly aptly a kind of fashion that linked the two worlds' (Ewing 2001: 129).

The advertising images for mid to high-end wholesale manufacturers that featured in either *Vogue* or *Harper's* linked the worlds of wholesale and couture together in other ways – the imagery of one often echoed in the other and vice versa. In the September 1948 'London Collections' issues of both *Vogue* and *Harper's* a series of outdoor settings, including various monuments and works of public sculpture in and around London, provide the backdrop to fashion stories concerning couture and ready-to-wear suits.

In *Vogue* jackets, dresses and suits by members of the Inc. Soc were shot by Cecil Beaton in and around the Victorian shrine to Prince Albert, the Albert Memorial (1876) (British *Vogue* September 1948). Described by Colin Cunnigham 'as probably the most significant piece of sculpture in nineteenth-century Britain' (Cunningham 1999: 190), it was designed and built to commemorate the husband of Queen Victoria. According to Cunningham its purpose is 'laudatory, something approaching propaganda or at least an advertisement for Prince Albert's virtues' (ibid: 193). In *Harper's Background to Fashion: The Statues of London* spread the bronze, marble and stone monument also features as a setting for British fashion (*Harper's Bazaar* September 1948). Shot by Maurice Tabard, tweed and woollen suits produced by members of LMHG are modelled in front of and beside a number of public sculptures and statues.

Editorial pages such as these are relevant and related to the brand image of the featured garments and the brand name attributed to them. The use of particular public and monumental sculpture located within the London urban landscape paired with that of

medium to high-end made-to-measure and ready-to-wear suits and sportswear was typical of the glossy full-page photographic advertisements supplied by an array of British wholesalers and manufacturers keen to promote their own brands.

In the Bery advertisement a model is pictured standing in front of Moore's bronze sculpture. She wears a suit that appears to be a compromise between earlier 1940s fashions and the newer New Look; the skirt is long but remains straight, her jacket is brought in at the waist but the shoulders remain broad and padded. The model poses holding an exhibition catalogue in her gloved hand, an expression of concentration is captured upon her face. Previous advertising imagery for 'Bery' that was published in both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* had also made use of an outdoor setting and public sculpture. For example in an advertisement for the firm published in the January 1948 of British *Vogue*, a jacket and a fuller striped skirt – arguably another pared-down version of the 'new look' silhouette – is shown fanning out across the knees of a model who rests at the feet of one of the Egyptian Sphinxes that guard Cleopatra's Needle along London's Victoria Embankment (see fig.8.2).

According to Rebecca Arnold, in fashion media the images of certain types of garments are frequently disseminated through an image of space and place also (Arnold 2009). In her analysis of American mass-produced ready-to-wear clothes for women – also known as sportswear – and its representation in high fashion media during the 1930s and 1940s, Arnold argues that fashion images were integral in the production of an American sportswear aesthetic. At this time this aesthetic centred upon the city of New York and its inhabitants; the fashionable ideal of 'a New York woman in the 1930s […is] active, chic, and modern' (ibid: 13). The city is 'the key context in which New York sportswear fashions were shot. The meanings of each became entwined as clothing and architecture were projected as archetypes of national identity' (ibid).

The landscape of British ready-to-wear advertisements of the mid to late 1940s and the fashionable ideal of femininity that they contain share similar concerns to those outlined by Arnold; the meanings of clothing and cultural landscape also entwine to project a sense of national identity in order to sell fashion. Stuart Hall points out that 'National cultures are composed not only of cultural institutions, but of symbols and representations. A national culture is a *discourse*' (Hall 1992: 292); the Bery advertising campaigns emerge from a wider discourse that conflates images of public and monumental sculpture as symbols and representations of 'English' or 'British' national identity (see Moriarty 2004).

The Bery advertisement is part of a discourse in fashion media that frequently located sportswear products – suits and other 'outdoor' articles – from London fashion houses and wholesalers in this type of setting. Thereby fashion media participates in the production of an aesthetic that projects certain styles of clothes, settings and behaviours as typical characteristics of a coherent national identity and in turn states that certain

states of dress can be classified and identified as being 'British' fashion or 'English' dress (see also Breward, Conekin and Cox 2002; Ribeiro 2002).

By using the Battersea Park sculpture exhibition and Moore's 'recumbent figure' as an appropriate background in which to picture a certain style of British-designed suit the Bery advert not only suggests the ways in which modern British sculpture was becoming part of a wider discourse of public sculpture, it also promotes it as such. In fashion media discourse this background is meaningful to the garment and brand name that take the foreground. The ready-to-wear British tailored suit worn by the learned young woman of modern post-war Britain is designed to appear as fashionable and therefore desirable to the fashion magazine reader. The sculpture exhibition and its works are already a functioning part of the marketing illusion.

'Informative Captions'

Advertising in fashion magazines takes on a specific form that emerges from being both new and familiar. The contents of a magazine can appear to be different in each issue, thus propelling the notion that fashion itself is ever-changing; however, there is also a sense of continuity in the overall construction of fashion magazines that can help to solidify and maintain a relationship between the magazine and its reader. Advertising campaigns contribute to the dynamism of a fashion periodical – a series of different images over a course of time suggest constant newness, but also provide a sense of familiarity through either a continuous visual style or an ongoing narrative that seeks to consolidate a brand image.

It is widely acknowledged that the cover prices of magazines 'rarely even cover the cost of printing' (Foges 1999: 95), and therefore 'Without a considerable advertising revenue no publication can sell for a price that any large numbers of readers will give' (Yoxall 1966: 133). Advertising fills the spaces between features, spreads and regular column inches. In its design the pagination of a magazine's pages, 'that is the order in which articles appear […] and the distance between them', gives an overall 'pace and emphasis to the magazine' as a whole (Foges 1999: 94). A team of art directors, editors and advertisers plan the placement of adverts so that they are seen and read in relation to the magazine's editorial content. The editorial and advertising matter of magazine publishing are bound 'by an equilateral triangle'; no magazine can survive without advertising revenue, but advertising is 'impotent without circulation, and circulation is dependent on editorial' (Yoxall 1966: 133).

In fashion magazines things are advertised and promoted in both their editorial and advertising pages. Distinctions are often drawn between the advertising and editorial of a magazine (see McRobbie 1998: 163); typically, editorial spreads are considered to be more creative formats produced under the control of a magazine's editorial team while advertising pages are commercially driven and can appear across a number of different

magazine titles. In January 1952 *Vogue*'s Eye View highlighted this distinction to its readers claiming that:

> Our advertising pages are an integral part of the magazine. In the editorial pages, merchandise is chosen by our staff, photographed or sketched by our photographers and artists, and presented to you as part of an editorial plan. Our advertising pages are open to firms to buy as their own shop-window, where they can display what goods they please.
>
> (*Vogue* January 1952: 27)

In his discussion of British fashion, couturier Hardy Amies concurs that 'it is absolutely essential that the average reader distinguish between advertising and editorial matter' (Amies 1954: 205). At the time that Amies' reflections were written couture 'in principle and by tradition does not advertise' (ibid: 208); however, the editorial space provided in international fashion press titles *Vogue* and *Harper's* provided couture with valuable promotion. Amies states that 'It is highly important to get good publicity when one is making one's name' (ibid: 204), and, furthermore, the fashion press can also consolidate and maintain the positive recognition of that name.

In terms of haute couture the overlap between editorial and advertising in the late 1940s and early 1950s is therefore minimal. Amies further observes that 'the bulk of editorial space in the magazine [British *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar*] has of necessity to be devoted to the great wholesale manufacturers and the London and Provincial stores: for it is here that the great public buys' (Amies 1954: 204). This necessity originates not only from consumer demand but also from consideration that the bulk of advertising in British high fashion periodicals was brought by wholesale manufacturers and stores.

The supposedly pure line between editorial and advertising was often blurred, not only in terms of aesthetics, but also in terms of decisions regarding what went in and what stayed out. Former fashion editor at American *Vogue* Ballard calls this the problem of the 'musts'. Ballard claims that 'There had always been what were called "musts" on every fashion magazine, important accounts that had to be taken care of editorially' (Ballard 1960: 303). Writing from the vantage point of the late 1950s she continues to argue that 'Now that the landslide of competition for advertising is really under way, the "musts" have gained the majority' (ibid). In issues of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published during the immediate post-war years accreditations that passed between advertising and editorial pages reveal a slippage between the two that concerns the constant compromise between editorial integrity and commercial pressures.

The background to the September 1948 Bery advertisement – the 1948 Battersea Park open-air sculpture exhibition – had previously been used as a location for editorial fashion stories published in both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* earlier that year. In its June 1948 issue *Vogue* located a series of New Look style clothes manufactured by British wholesale brands throughout the exhibition space (see fig.8.3); in its July 1948 issue *Harper's* used Moore's other sculpture at this exhibit *Three Standing Figures* (1948) as a background to a model posing in a white evening dress by the couturier Charles Creed.

These editorial pages offer a different form of advertising through their layout that is a combination of images, fashion copy, and captions (see also Barthes 1990 [1967]; Jobling 1999; König 2006). By and large captions and copy work in conjunction with the images that they accompany – they are written and designed to be informative. Former *Harper's* editor Scott-James claims that 'The reader of a fashion magazine wants to be *told things*. She wants to be told the colour and fabric of the dress in the photograph, why it was chosen, why its line is good, what the price is and where she can get' (Scott-James 1952: 127); an informative caption accomplishes this.

The copy of a fashion spread can also inform the reader of a fashion magazine about art; in the case of the 1948 open-air sculpture exhibition the reader in different instances is told what it is, where it is, and what is there. The caption of *Harper's White Without a Blemish* fashion spread informs the reader that Creed's summer evening dress is presented 'Against the monolithic grandeur of Henry Moore's Standing Figures, contemporary beauty seems unbelievably fragile […] Taken at the Battersea Park Sculpture Exhibition' (*Harper's Bazaar* July 1948: 58) (see fig.8.4). In *Vogue* the fashion spread itself is entitled *At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park* (*Vogue* June 1948: 58), with details of the photographed sculptures printed below its images, i.e 'Epstein's "The Girl With the Gardenias"' (ibid: 59) (see fig.8.3).

The sculpture exhibition is another instance in which high culture, the arts and modern sculpture appear in both editorial and advertising matter of high fashion magazines in the immediate post-war years (see Appendix 3.2). Exhibitions of modern British art and sculpture were regularly promoted in the cultural news and reviews features of these periodicals – *Vogue*'s 'Spotlight' and *Harper's* 'Above the Crowd'. These articles were also seen in relation to a number of other features and advertisements. For instance *Harper's* January 1952 feature article 'The New Sculptors' written by Robert Melville introduces the ICA's current exhibition of the same name (Melville 1952). Along with its written text black and white photo-portraits of sculptors, Reg Butler, William Turnbull, Eduardo Paolozzi, Robert Adams, and their respective works illustrate the piece.

These advertising and editorial pages sell the idea of cultural products – whether fashion garments or modern British sculpture – using an image of the post-war British woman that differs from other images of women that arose from Britain's growing advertising culture throughout the 1950s. Often referred to 'Admass', a term that encapsulates the eruption of modern mass communication systems and industries in the mid-twentieth century (Hopkins 1963: 231; Priestley cited in Tiratsoo 1999: 96) Hopkins argues that this 'gleaming structure of the People's Capitalism' emerges 'from the austere but substantial foundation of Socialist Egalitarianism' (Hopkins 1963: 313).

At the core of this new type of cultural democracy was 'the rapid development of an "American-style" mass market –i.e. a mass market no longer confined to a comparatively narrow range of "cheap" articles, but covering a wide diversity of goods,

prices, designs and qualities' (Hopkins 1963: 313). Another development was that adverts 'no longer merely sold an article, but generated an atmosphere, propagated a philosophy and projected a vision of the good life' (ibid: 317). A key target audience were women. Hopkins argues that typically pictured as the homemaker, *she* was 'the essential pivot of the People's Capitalism, and its natural heroine' (ibid: 324); therefore the image of a new way of post-war life largely concerned the role that women would take in modern society.

In terms of the wider women's magazine industry in post-war Britain White claims that the growth in the advertising market meant that 'by 1956 the atmosphere of the women's press had entirely changed' (White 1970: 145). In White's assessment, 'for the first time, production matched spending power, and manufacturers and consumers were eager to make contact through the medium of advertising' (ibid: 157). Whilst developments in mass advertising affected the pages of the women's press in terms of its size and diversity within the periodicals and in the wider field of the women's magazine market, White argues that during this period of the 1940s and 1950s the overall composition of the women's press 'showed little change' (ibid: 139), particularly with regard to the representation of women as the 'homemaker' wife in both editorial and advertising pages.

However the glossies – such as *Vogue* and *Harper's* – present White with a different image of women. They appear to take a relatively 'independent line since a proportion of their readers at least were in sympathy with a fuller life for women, and a redefinition of the roles of both sexes' (White 1970: 144). The image of the homemaker/ housewife was not a typical persona used in either the advertising or editorial pages of high fashion magazines as a way in which to sell products.

Prior to the mid-1950s figures such as the fashion journalist Alison Settle were advising advertisers that they could learn a lot from the 'magnificent work that is being done by the mass magazines' (A.S. L.50.21). In a series of talks given by Settle to the Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising throughout the early 1950s the former British *Vogue* editor (1926–1935) discusses how modern mass advertising could sell more effectively to the modern woman. In a presentation dated 1952 Settle argued that contemporaneous forms of advertising – almost entirely controlled by men – could be placed into two broad categories: 'that strange, sexless, dull creature that you have invented, The Housewife'; or the 'two-dimensional' film stars. Settle argued that the 'safe' options of imagined drudgery or glamour do not advertise the 'right appeal' to a wide range of women. She claimed that to successfully sell a product to either the 'practical' or the 'Dream or Escape side' of female consumer desire, an appeal must be made based upon what *actual* women either do or dream rather than what male advertising executives believed these aspirations to be (A.S. L.50.9).

According to Settle fashion was a key field from which the members of the Advertising group could learn; therefore fashion 'is NOT some woman's fads and fancies but goes with the ideas and movements in people's minds' (A.S. L.50.9). Furthermore

Settle advised 'Be very sure that it is HIGH FASHION that you understand and use […] And make your fashion up to date, or nothing […] Make your advertisements in line with editorial authority. And, above all, make your clients study fashion' (ibid). For S.H Benson Limited advertising executive Mary Gowing 'if you present a woman a faltering mental picture of herself which is only just beyond her reach, she will stretch up and try to reach it' (Gowing 1956a: 198). For Settle and Gowing to be successful at the art of advertising to women one must manipulate an image of achievable dreams pertaining to particular female groups, and this is what would sell the bottle of perfume, a new skirt, or cooking utensil.

Arguably modern art works signify good taste and learning, therefore as Walker has argued 'the product or service being advertised is supposed to acquire these associations or contiguity' with that of art (Walker 2001: 49). At the same time, by association with certain types of fashions, brands, and images of ideal post-war modern femininity that present 'a faltering mental picture of […the reader] which is only just beyond her reach' (Gowing 1956a: 198), modern art is made fashionable. As a background to this fashionable image the 1948 sculpture exhibition is advertised in the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's* as an elite example of contemporary sculpture and modernism and is promoted as a type of modern and fashionable space.

'A new work by Henry Moore is an event'

The background to the Bery advert was the first open-air sculpture exhibition. Opened in 1948 the exhibition was located at Battersea Park in south London. Organised by the London County Council (LCC) it was heralded as an 'epoch-making' event that subsequently provided a model for sculpture exhibitions that 'proliferated across Europe and beyond during the post-war decade' (Strachan cited in Burstow 2006: 133). The setting of contemporary sculpture in public parkland promoted a form of 'healthy "cultured leisure"' as part of a wider political remit of Labour Socialism (Burstow 2006: 134). Robert Burstow notes how the choice of Battersea Park for this event met a number of the ruling Labour Government's socialist criteria, particularly its location, which aimed to facilitate the attendance of a diverse audience. The park was 'accessible to the middle and working-class residents of south London' (Burstow 2006: 135), but it was not too distant from 'traditional artistic centres north of the river' (ibid), which were also near more affluent areas such as Knightsbridge.

Studies of modern sculpture and its public display in townscape, landscape, museums, galleries and cultural events such as the 1951 Festival of Britain in the years immediately following the war have noted forms of concurrent media interest that accompanied them (Burstow 2001; 2006; 2008a; 2008b; Calvocoressi 1981; Garlake 1998: 212-39; Powell 2012). Roxanna Marcoci argues that the photography of sculpture is a translation of object whereby 'different practices contribute to the meaning of the image' and its subject (Marcoci 2010: 19). Also addressing the photography of sculpture

Geoffrey Batchen claims that 'Photography transforms what it depicts' (Batchen 2010: 24), therefore the three-dimensional object becomes a two-dimensional object that produces a different experience, value and even power. Both Marcoci and Batchen outline how the photography of sculpture has occurred for a number of different purposes that include formal experiments in early photography, the documentation of objects for museum records, commercial reproduction of picture postcards and political propaganda (Marcoci 2010a; 2010b; Batchen 2012).

The photography of modern sculpture participates in a myriad of artistic and commercial endeavours (Bezzola 2010: 32; Marcoci 2010a: 185–187). The commercial use of the Battersea Park sculpture exhibition in the advertising and editorial pages of both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* concerns the construction of an identifiable look for post-war British fashion and the promotion of specific brands in conjunction with this. In his examination of how fashion cultures affect modern urban spaces Gilbert argues that it is 'useful to think of cities as the objects of fashion, as well as the physical context for fashion' (Gilbert 2000: 19). The use of outdoor settings and public sculpture in and around London was prevalent in the advertising culture of mid to high-end British wholesale and sportswear clothes throughout the pages of glossy magazines in the late 1940s. Here the fashion press mediates a particular urban landscape – that of post-war London and the space of public exhibition of contemporary sculpture; it provides both a physical context for fashion and *is* an object of fashion.

Gilbert argues that fashion photography draws upon 'those symbols that are unambiguous identifiers of a particular city' for example the bottom of Spanish Steps in Rome (Gilbert 2000: 21). Therefore 'Fashion photography is very good at accessorising the city by drawing upon everyday iconographic elements as markers of place' (ibid). Moore and his sculptures are iconographic elements in the cultural landscape of modern Britain. Public interest in modern British sculpture, and in the work and persona of Moore in particular, was garnered throughout the late 1940s through well-placed publicity in the national media (Feldman 2008; Miller 1948: 66-67; Powell 2012; Rayner, Chamberlain & Stapleton 2003). According to Jennifer Powell Moore's presence in the open-air sculpture shows that took place in London parks not only heightened but also reinforced ideas of nationhood, therefore 'Sculpture was a visual medium that could enhance links between people and the land' (Powell 2012: 47) and the persona of Moore and his style of sculpture was a key component in cementing this message.

Featured within newspaper articles, radio broadcasts and television reports, modern sculpture and its sculptors were on display to a wider and increasingly diversified mass media audience. In the case of Moore it would appear that this coverage, both positive and negative, was relevant to understanding how his position as a sculptor was acknowledged in a diverse range of mass media. In the archives housed at the Henry Moore Foundation site at Perry Green a large catalogue of media ephemera was actively collected throughout Moore's own lifetime; this includes a variety of press and publicity

materials from exhibition reviews in papers and journals such as the *New Statesman* (H.M.0008566: Heron 1948) and *Architectural Review* (H.M.0008530: August 1948) and *Picture Post* (H.M.0008569: Lloyd 1948); society magazines like *The Queen* (H.M.0008571: Sorrell 1948) and *The Lady* (H.M.0008560: May 1948); and media coverage given to Moore and his exhibits in fashion periodicals such as British *Vogue* and the US edition of *Harper's Bazaar* (H.M0008864: Grigson 1945).

Powell has pointed out that in the construction of a coherent national 'school' of New British Sculpture Moore 'was frequently used as a key pawn in games of shifting definitions and symbiotic relationships' (Powell 2012: 37). In the promotion of the 1948 open-air sculpture exhibition and those that followed (organised triennially until 1966) 'Moore's works featured prominently' (ibid: 47). For the initial show Moore's *Three Standing Figures* was 'reproduced on posters' (ibid) and the image of this sculpture in particular was reproduced throughout the media coverage that was given to the 1948 exhibition. In this way Moore and his style of sculpture was part of the active 'branding' of modern British sculpture in post-war Britain.

In the editorial pages of both *Vogue* and *Harper's* Moore's *Three Standing Figures* are highlighted to their readers. *Vogue*'s eye view for its June 1948 issue informs its readers that:

> At the Galleries the Season promises some delectable fare […] A new work by Henry Moore is an event (page 57). His group of 'Three Standing Figures' can be seen at the great outdoor Sculpture Exhibition which the LCC has put on in Battersea Park. Thanks are certainly due to the Parks Committee of the LCC for this imaginative conception, which gives us the chance to see sculpture in spacious surroundings.
>
> (*Vogue* June 1948: 37)

Prior to *Vogue*'s June fashion spread *At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park* (fig.8.3) is a double-page feature 'Painting and Sculpture'. On the left is a portrait of the painter Augustus John, taken by Cecil Beaton, and on the right is a portrait of Henry Moore, photographed by Norman Parkinson standing next to *Three Standing Figures* in Battersea Park (British *Vogue* June 1948: 56–57) (see Appendix 3.2). The copy of this feature informs its readers that:

> The great group 'Three Standing Figures' (opposite) is Henry Moore's latest work, included in the exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture in Battersea Park. It has been bought by the Contemporary Art Society [CAS] and given to the L.C.C. for the people of London…Sculpture often suffers from exhibition in crowed galleries, artificially lit. In a setting of trees and grass, under changing light, the stone and bronze figures will live more freely this summer, and be more widely and deeply enjoyed. Thanks are due to the L.C.C. Parks Committee and its chairman, Mrs. Patricia Strauss…
>
> (*Vogue* June 1948: 56)

The copy of *Vogue* merges with discourses concerning public art and culture in post-war Britain (see Chapter 7). The copy also echoes the sentiments regarding the 1948 open-air sculpture exhibition projected in the show's catalogue. Written by its leading organiser Patricia Strauss, who was the wife of the then Labour Government Minister of Supply

George Strauss, she outlines the importance of this cultural event. Strauss states that the exhibition was to be seen as an encouragement of the visual arts 'both for the sake of the artists, whose work is part of our national heritage, and also to give Londoners increased opportunity to enjoy art' (Strauss 1948: 3–4). The ways in which this exhibition features in *Vogue* and *Harper's* present idealised views 'of appearance and etiquette' (Arnold 2009a: 3), fashion and art to an imagined female readership.

The landscape, or location, in which fashion is placed, is also being sold to an audience of fashion magazine readers. Rocamora argues that fashion photography and media participate 'in the symbolic production and branding of cities' (Rocamora 2009: 84). Two key processes can capture 'the relation between fashion, the city, and the branding of both'; these are 'fashion-branding the city and city-branding fashion' (ibid). Rocamora claims that:

> the former [fashion-branding the city] refers to the idea of selling and promoting a city by way of developing and promoting fashion and fashion-related activities, the latter [city-branding fashion] refers to the idea of promoting fashion products and brands by way of their association both with the idea of the city and with specific cities.
>
> (Rocamora 2009: 84)

The way that high fashion media in post-war Britain depicted the 1948 open-air sculpture exhibition in Battersea Park is a fashion-branding of space and of contemporary sculpture.

Captured in the constructed fashion page, images of this space vary according to particular types of garments and associated types and personas of modern British femininity. *Harper's Bazaar* July 1948 issue centres upon the theme of country living. Its editorial discusses 'The New Kind of Country Living' and claims that 'There's a changed style in country living. It is based on a new, deeper appreciation of the land' (*Harper's Bazaar* July 1948: 27). Various members of the aristocracy and landed gentry are pictured within the surroundings of their country homes, and the central fashion story mimics these scenes as young models wearing long empire-style evening dresses and white gowns are shot wandering or lounging in various outdoor locations of a country estate. The spread *White Without A Blemish* (fig.7.4) shows a model in a long white dress with white gloves and a pearl necklace posed next to Moore's other sculptural exhibit the stone-carved *Three Standing Figures*. In this instance Moore's sculpture is relatively divorced from its urban setting of south London, but is none the less intertwined with an idea of nationhood and post-war British identity as embodied by the young fashion models enacting the roles of young British debutantes.

Vogue's June fashion story *At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park* relates to the theme of the London Season, a series of fashionable social events to go to and to be seen at in and around the capital city. The Battersea Park fashion spread provides the first pages of this issues' ready-to-wear fashion stories located in the latter part of the magazine (see Appendix 1). Shot by Parkinson the three images of this double-page

spread depict a model next to a piece of sculpture; seemingly alone in this otherwise public space of a south London park, the model appears moving from one exhibit to the next with an exhibition catalogue in hand. Her supposed contemplation of these contemporary works draws her attention and gaze away from the camera and thus allows the attention of the reader to be drawn to the details of her hat and the silhouette of her dress. Here a range of New Look style clothes produced by members of the LMHG – including a Frederick Starke model that features an envol bustle, taking its name and shape from Dior's spring 1948 collection (see right of fig.7.3) – show the reader 'the way you should look' (British *Vogue* June 1948: 37) in the setting of an outdoor exhibition of contemporary sculpture.

Fashion-branding Modern Sculpture in the Park

In this chapter I have addressed how producers and products of contemporary art, in this instance modern British sculpture, was mediated and branded as fashionable throughout advertising and editorial pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* in the early post-war years. Focusing on the example of an advertisement produced for British clothing manufacturer Bery in 1948, which featured a Henry Moore sculpture in situ at the 1948 Battersea Park Sculpture Exhibition, I have explored how this event was promoted in the discourse of fashion media at this time. Here I discussed how it was promoted in conjunction with certain forms of British fashion and idealised types of national womanhood – the intelligent modern post-war woman and the young debutante.

Elsewhere it is argued that 'Undoubtedly, the mass media – along with art councils and public museums – have brought about a significant democratization of the high culture of the past' (Walker 2001 [1983]: 64) and the present. The ways in which the 1948 Battersea Park Sculpture exhibition was located in fashion advertising and editorials brings into question the notion that mass media, in general, brought cultural democratisation to the arts.

The images of New Look dresses and debutante ball gowns in these fashion editorials, and the British ready-to-wear tailored suit depicted in the September 1948 Bery advertisement, each seeks to sell clothes. These examples of editorial and advertising pages also sell and promote the 1948 Battersea Park Sculpture Exhibition and its exhibits 'by way of developing and promoting fashion and fashion-related activities' (Rocamora 2009: 84). In fashion media modern sculpture is branded as fashionable in relation to images of idealised forms of social life in modern post-war Britain. It is the background for the New Look; it is the dream of summer evenings and young debutantes; it is the place to walk in a new autumnal town suit. In short, it becomes a background to fashionable everyday life. In these instances the sale of fashion and modern art is conducted through day-dreams that concern different variations on the ideal post-war modern women and her place in its new cultural landscapes.

Fig.8.1 *Bery* (British *Vogue* September 1948: 23)

Fig.8.2 *Bery* (British *Vogue* January 1948: 5)

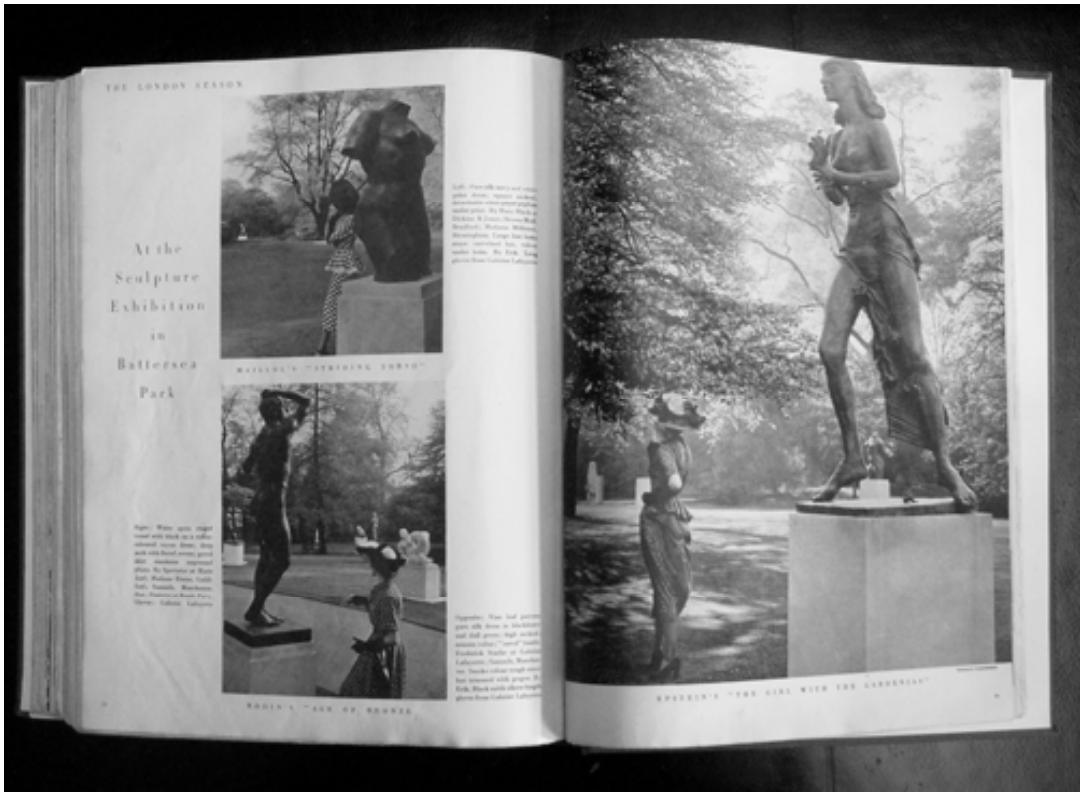


Fig.8.3 *At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park* photographed by Norman Parkinson (British *Vogue* June 1948: 58–59) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

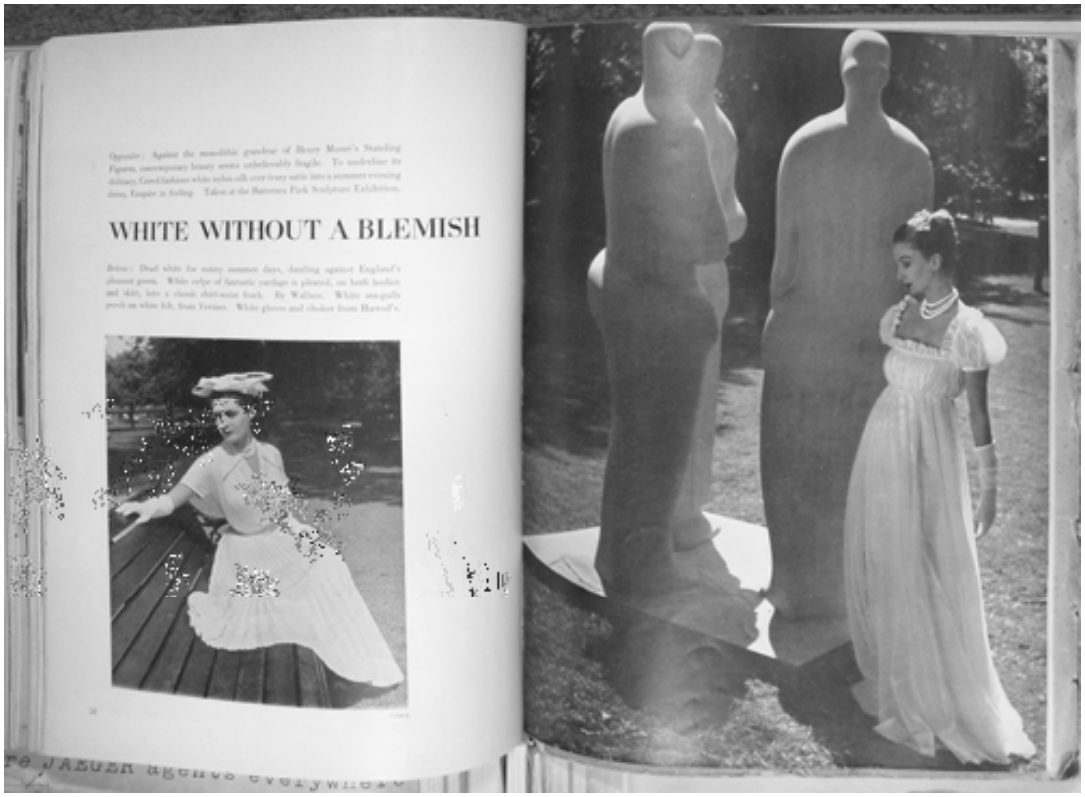


Fig.8.4 *White Without A Blemish* photographed by Maurice Tabard 'Against the monolithic grandeur of Henry Moore's Standing Figures, contemporary beauty seems unbelievably fragile' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK July 1948: 58–59) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Overleaf Double-page spread:
Dressed For The Festival (British *Vogue* June 1951: 72–73)

THE VISIONARY GLEAM

Thoughts on the South Bank Exhibition

BY MARGHANITA LASKI

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was an affirmation, a confident assertion of Britain's pre-eminent position on the newly-postulated ladder of Progress. The 1951 Festival is an aspiration, the expression of a hope that the process of history will allow the fulfilment of the promise it holds out.

If all goes well (touching wood, crossing the fingers, the primitive taboo against the terrifying alternative words), what a country we shall live in, what a Britain we shall have! The arachnoid delicacy of the Skylon soars above a fragile gaiety of colour and design unknown in Britain since the Industrial Revolution. Through all our lifetimes, the man-made objects surrounding us have been devised, not to give visual pleasure, but unconsciously to assert that we are a people wealthy, provident, puritan, insular, keeping our feet firmly on the ground and not liking to make ourselves conspicuous. Suddenly on the South Bank, we discover that, no longer wealthy, we can be imaginative and experimental and ingenious, colourful, gaudy and gay.

But in the pleasure of finding in Britain this development of concepts of design lately current in Scandinavia, Italy, America, we must not forget that the artists, architects, and designers responsible for the South Bank are all of what can be called the Leicester Gallery and not the Royal Academy School, and that this half-century has seen the continuous widening of a schism between two sections of the community in all matters of taste. Will the art of the South Bank, with everything it implies, prove an acceptable bridge between these groups? Or will some of us find exciting promise where others mutter that it's not really very nice, not when you think of all they've spent on it.

It may be that in the Lion and Unicorn Pavilion the common element of appreciation may be found in the introduc-

On the Roof Terrace of the Royal Festival Hall—with its new, entrancing view of the river, which generations of Londoners will enjoy—a concert-goer in a mandarin-collared silk coat printed in cinnamon and black, its full skirt opening over a black shantung sheath with wide detachable straps. Coat and dress, 34 gns.; satin cap: Harvey Nichols. **a.** Like a seedling of the Skylon: Lynn Chadwick's copper abstract

MICHAEL WICKHAM

9. Season…'Dressed for the Festival'

In this chapter I examine how the 1951 Festival of Britain (FoB) was represented in editorial photo-spreads published in British *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. As an event the FoB is widely considered to have been a 'significant cultural phenomenon' (Hewison 1988: 56) in the post-war period. The Festival continues to be re-looked at, re-examined and re-remembered throughout numerous historical studies that include social histories (see Frayn 1963; Hewsion 1988; 1997; Hopkins 1963; Kynaston 2009), histories of design, art, sculpture, architecture (see Atkinson 2012; Burstow 2001; Harwood and Powers 2001; Rennie 2007); histories of culture (see Conekin 1999; Conekin 2003; Conekin, Mort & Waters 1999); and retrospective exhibitions that have marked its anniversary (Strong 1976; South Bank Centre 2011).

It has been observed that the FoB was lacking in the representation of fashion or products of contemporary fashion design. The British couturier Hardy Amies recalls that 'impressed and moved as I was by the décor of the Festival of Britain, I was less interested in the contents. *There were no clothes: there was no fashion*' (Amies 1976: 188). In her account of British fashion (1947–1997) de la Haye points to some of the reasons for this absence, noting that 'Interestingly […] the Festival site was used as a photographic location by *Vogue* as a backdrop for images of fashion designed by British designers' (de la Haye 1997: 18).

The purpose of this chapter is to address precisely, how this event was utilised as a location and background to fashion stories published in issues of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. The focus of this analysis is the opening double-page spread of British *Vogue's* June 1951 fashion story *Dressed For The Festival* (see fig.9.1): on the rooftop terrace of the newly built Royal Festival Hall a model enacts the part of a concert-goer. This spread, amongst others (see Appendix 3.3), constructs the Festival as part of the 'London Season' and therefore as an important part of fashionable post-war social life. Here I address how this particular cultural space is represented in accordance with the temporality of the fashion magazine, and how symbolic values were bestowed upon the FoB in relation to the fashion media's discursive construction of seasons and fashionable places.

The first part of this chapter locates *Vogue*'s June 1951 fashion spread *Dressed for the Festival* within a wider history of the Season, fashion and festivity. This is followed by an analysis of how the Festival was constructed as part of the Season in discourses of post-war British fashion media. The final section addresses how fashion is an element that can be located in both the planning stages of the festival and its subsequent exhibition.

'The Season'

In early summer issues of post-war British *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* it is the Season that provides the key theme for their interpretation of fashion and in particular the

collections of London-based designers and manufacturers. The London Season lasted for about ten weeks from mid-May to the end of July, and was described by one contemporary commentator as an 'incessant whirl of receptions, theatre and dances' (Stanley 1948: 16). This non-stop party of social events was designed for, and mostly orchestrated by, 'the upper and upper-middle class who made up the top echelon of British society' (Taylor 1997: 65).

As de la Haye points out in her study of twentieth-century British fashion the Season 'played a central role, and continues to exert a powerful influence on British social life and the domestic fashion industry' (de la Haye 1997: 13). In post-war high fashion media the London collections were regularly placed in 'contexts specific to a particular occasion, identifying stylish and appropriate garments for the Royal Garden Party, Goodwood, Wimbledon, Ascot, Cowes, coming-out dances and summer balls, which were followed by winter months in the country' (de la Haye 2007: 93). These activities all form part of the background to the Season and formed the context to the 1951 FoB issues of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*.

The basis of the Season is arguably similar to that which forms the foundations of any number of annual pageantry, festivals, and other communal gatherings – groups of people meet seasonally, usually in the Spring and Summer months, in order to socialise through activities such as competitions, spectator sports, dancing, drinking and eating. An important aspect of this type of group activity and celebration has been that of dressing up in costume and/or the wearing of occasion dress.

Anne Hollander (1993 [1978]) discusses the history of costume and dress in relation to 'theatrical events', which are performances that take place upon either the theatre or social stage. Hollander claims that 'The wearing of special clothing in the sight of other people has in fact often been arranged to constitute a complete theatrical event in itself' (ibid: 240). Referring to the 'festival-theatrical events' of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance she argues that:

> In society, where dress has always had a degree of unacknowledged theatrical and dramatic importance, the performers are usually in competition not cooperation. Consequently a good deal of anxiety is mixed with the theatrical satisfaction of social occasion in gala dress. To see and be seen, measuring and being measured on the same standard, is very demanding, although it has its own perilous charm.
>
> (Hollander 1993 [1978]: 240–241)

A similar theatrics of social, occasion, and gala dress dictates the history of the Season in British modernity.

The Season, as a formalised social system in British society, coincides with the ritual presentation of debutantes – the young daughters of the upper and upper middle classes – to the reigning monarch. Fiona MacCarthy traces this rite of passage back to the late eighteenth century when ingénues were led by their aristocratic mothers 'to curtsey to Queen Charlotte on her birthday feast' (MacCarthy 2006: 9). Gradually this event became more structured and, according to MacCarthy, by the mid-nineteenth century 'young girls

would be summoned to Queen Victoria's drawing rooms […] to mark their entrée to society' (ibid). The dress code at this time was an 'elaborate long white court dress with ten-foot train' (ibid: 9–10), the requirement of an elaborate gown for the court presentation of debutantes continued up to 1939. At the onset of the Second World War the court presentations, and many of the Season's associated events, were suspended. In 1947 court presentations were reinstated and with them the Season 'picked up again' (Taylor 1997: 66).

MacCarthy presents the case that by the mid-nineteenth century the presentation of debutantes had 'become the key event in a formalised connection of the monarch and the court with the Season and society […] It became a kind of bulwark, defending an elite inner circle and securing the channels to power, influence and wealth' (MacCarthy 2006: 11). Addressing the Season as it took place in the 1950s Britain dress historian Lou Taylor argues that similar social and etiquette systems to those described by MacCarthy were still functioning 'albeit not as rigorously' (Taylor 1997: 65).

In her own experience of being a debutante in the last court presentation of 1958 MacCarthy points out that many of the post-war debs had 'descended from the new commercial aristocracy' of the nineteenth century who had intermarried with 'the old landowning elite' (MacCarthy 2006: 28). After decades of 'political appointments to the peerage, as well as intermarriage with commoners' (ibid: 29) the British aristocracy of post-war Britain can be described as 'a hybrid' (ibid). According to Taylor this merging of industry, business and titled peerage formed 'a socially more extensive ruling class that adopted the social and dress etiquette patterns of old aristocracy' (Taylor 1997: 65). The social barriers that protected the elite circles of court, aristocracy and power still continued to be erected particularly through what one wore.

Whilst MacCarthy claims that 'the decorative elements of the presentation ceremony masked its serious, even ruthless, *raison d'être* in the stratification of society' (MacCarthy 2006: 11), codes of conduct for one's appearance and dress within a given situation can also be perceived as another play of power. For Taylor 'A woman who moved within Society circles dressed according to a set of complex formalized rules' (Taylor 1997: 65); as Hollander states, the performers within social and festive pageantry are usually 'in competition not cooperation' (Hollander 1993 [1978]: 241), and one's dress could constitute either success or failure.

Marghanita Laski's article 'London Is A Fine Town' for *Vogue* in June 1946 claimed that there 'isn't a London Season' (Laski 1945: 88). This, according to Laski:

> maybe just as well, since the contemporary crop of young girls who've just emerged from the forces or the school room seem to have an ignorance of make-up, dress and general social poise that can only be described as abysmal.
>
> (Laski 1946: 88)

Laski views the lack of a London Season as a potentially liberating thing, claiming that:

> Social life, social circles, social cycles haven't re-established recognisable patterns yet. We go weekending in the country or to Covent Garden or to the recently re-opened Curzon Cinema, and its because we want to and not because it's the thing to do.
>
> (Laski 1946: 88)

Yet getting back to doing the 'thing to do' was simultaneously being celebrated in the May 1946 editorial of *Harper's*, entitled 'A Season Again'. In it the reader is given a precise breakdown of what to expect throughout the forthcoming Summer months:

> Ascot again […] and the women gay in their new non-austerity clothes […] Henley again […] Wimbledon again […] Lords again […] Parties again […] Pageantry again […] fun again, and a feeling of festivity, and of hard times survived and good times revived. In fact, a London Season again – shorn of much of its glitter but not of its magical quality.
>
> (*Harper's Bazaar* May 1946: 22)

As Taylor points out despite its hiatus during the Second World War and the fact that a socialist Labour Government was in power, the Season not only survived but also did 'surprisingly well' (Taylor 1997: 66).

In the post-war period national and international fashion calendars re-emerged (Gilbert 2006:24). Reports on international collections occupied the two peak seasons of buying in the year, typically around the March–April and September–October issues. Between these periods a vivid image of national social life and culture fills the publishing space of these high fashion periodicals. Following the reinstatement of debutante presentations at court ('Invitation to the garden party' *Vogue* April 1947), from 1947 early spring to late summer issues (April to August) were typically filled with news and events of the Season. Thus throughout the late 1940s and 1950s the Season provided an important theme for the Summer issues of both *Vogue* and *Harper's*.

Former *Harper's* fashion editor Ernestine Carter describes this period of publishing cycles as 'the monotonous rotation of the issues (travel, winter sports, resorts, beauty, Henley, Ascot, Cowes – as inevitable as the seasons)' (Carter 1970: 84). This somewhat acidic comment testifies to the regularity of themed issues and their contents throughout the immediate post-war years; often the word 'number' appears as a front cover by-line, there is a 'Christmas Number', the 'Travel Number', the 'Britannica Number' and more.

The Season period therefore provided another element in a decisive framework of thematic publishing. Front covers for May or June were named as the 'London Season' or the 'Season' issue. The later summer months tended to follow the habits and locations of the Season which continued outside of London, July constituting the 'Country' themed issue with entertaining and weekends spent in the idyllic setting of the English countryside, with the country house taking centre stage. From the early 1950s the August issue was to become the 'Scottish Number' coinciding with the annual shooting season when 'society' began to retreat from London (Stanley 1948: 16).

Fashion magazines not only reproduced the Season in their pages but were also participants in its production. In their fashion stories they literally laid out the various sets

'of complex formalized rules' (Taylor 1997: 65) concerning dress and social etiquette to their readers. As White observes:

> The fashion monthlies, led by *Vogue*, became the guide books of well-dressed women, and of all women aspiring to the same standards who had more money than taste. There were an increasing number of the latter […] They looked to the 'glossies', and these magazines grew to be indispensable both as arbiters of taste and as clearing houses for the currency of fashion.
>
> (White 1970: 148)

The regularity of these Season-themed issues and the repetition of particular social backgrounds and activities not only reflected the re-establishment of various forms of social life, social circles and social cycles of post-war Britain's social elite, their mediation of this within the periodical appearance of the fashion magazine was also a productive element in the transcription and therefore consumption of this vision.

Vogue and *Harper's* fashion coverage in their respective 1951 summer issues each keep in line with a fairly standard format for spreads dedicated to the Season. *Vogue*'s leading fashion story *Festival Season* is constructed around what de la Haye has described as an archetypal backdrop for London couture collections. In this instance 'Grand Occasion Dresses', 'Big Ball Dresses' picture 'couture clients and their debutante daughters in their magnificent houses' (de la Haye 2007: 93), this is followed by 'Days in London', 'Royal Ascot', and 'At Henley Regatta', all modelled by named personalities such as 'The Viscountess Moore' or 'Mrs Christopher Sykes' (*Vogue* June 1951: 62–71). These images show the reader a series of cultural events and the clothes that are socially acceptable to be worn at these places. Featured garments are from couture houses of either London or Paris, pale white silks, taffeta and tulle for a ball, couture hats for the club restaurant or bookshop, a light summer dress to watch the Henley Regatta boat race.

A similar ordering is presented in *Harper's*, the leading fashion photo-spread *Dressed For The London Season* features a range of couture garments photographed by Henry Clark in the surroundings of a stark white photographer's studio. In this spread the black and white photographs are 'anchored' (Barthes 1977c [1964]: 40–41) by their fashion copy which, again, places the garments within specific occasions of the Season: 'For Lords, Wimbledon, Henley', 'for a garden party…for Ascot', 'for a dinner party…for the Opera' and finally 'for summer evenings' (*Harper's* May 1951: 58–67).

According to Beetham 'all periodical forms share certain important qualities, chiefly their relationship with time' (Beetham 1996: 9). For Beetham this periodicity performs a 'double relationship to time' as each 'number of a periodical is both of its moment and of a series, different from and yet the same as those which have gone before' (ibid: 12). Due to this 'double-face quality' periodicals both reflect and reproduce the cultural construction of regulative structures such as the calendar and the clock (ibid: 13). In this instance the periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's* both reproduce a sense of calendar, or seasonal time, and in turn this produces a sense of national and social place.

Regarding publishing cycles of magazines, and in particular women's periodicals, Stein presents a similar argument that 'Given their periodic appearance […] magazines were an especially effective means of inculcating new habits and standards' (Stein 1992: 149). The way in which the Season was composed and laid out for readers of either *Vogue* or *Harper's* presents yet another kind of guide to being British and female; this is achieved through the combined depiction of space, time and dress. Whether readers were players or spectators in the performance of the Season, the ways in which these annual festivities of the summer months were repeatedly pictured and/or evoked in the copy of various fashion spreads establishes a type of map (Anderson 1991: 173) that is both a model *of*, as well as a model *for* social life in post-war Britain.

'Festival Models'

The Season would be both a template and a model for the way that fashion media reported on the 1951 Festival of Britain. Organisation of the Festival was initiated in 1947, but according to Michael Frayn's account of the Festival the idea of holding a national event in 1951 had 'been in the air for a long time' (Frayn 1963: 320). This was to be a way to celebrate both the 'the mid-point of the twentieth century, and the centenary of the Great Exhibition' (ibid). The latter event had been held at Hyde Park in 1851 (O'Neill 2012:189), and was the mid-nineteenth century version of national achievement. In many ways it was a display of modernity and modernisation, a spectacle of Victorian industry, technological innovations, economic power and global trade. And it was an exhibition of articles and objects, both commercial and artistic that were of the present and of an anticipated future (Greenhalgh 1998).

In 1951 this vision of modernity as industrial endeavour was to be eclipsed, if not ignored in favour of the political left's vision of a post-war British modern identity. As proclaimed by its Director-General, Gerald Barry, a contemporary journalist and managing editor of the *News Chronicle*, the general aim of the Festival was to communicate and exhibit the 'story of the British people and the land they live in and by', rather than act as a trade fair for British trade and industry (Barry cited in Conekin 2003:29). The post-war state scenario endorsed by the left promoted the key message that the future was one in which every citizen could live in an universal and trans-social society, therefore 'few representations of 1851 were included' as the 'Victorian era was generally perceived as too "capitalist" and class-driven for the post-war moment' (Conekin 2003: 103). According to Becky Conekin's comprehensive study of the 1951 Festival the organisers of this event and post-war Labour Party colluded in their plans to encourage 'people to partake in "culture" in their leisure time, improving their tastes and consequently their material surroundings, stimulating the arts, and broadly fostering an "enlightened" citizenry' (ibid: 228). As previous chapters have discussed (Chapters 7 and 8) the message of '"enlightened" citizenry' was one that was also evident in the discourses of high fashion media at this time.

The South Bank site of the Festival featured as a photographic location in *Vogue*, *Harper's*, publicity images for the International Wool Secretariat's British couture design collaborations (now known as the Woolmark Company: LCF The Woolmark Company Archive), an advertisement for Hardy Amies' newly launched ready-to-buy Boutique range (*Vogue* October 1951: 77), and in other fashion spreads, in the fortnightly society magazine *The Queen* (*The Queen* 25 April 1951: 86), and in the international trade journal *The Ambassador Magazine* (AAD1/23–1987; see Breward and Wilcox 2012) (see Appendix 3.3).

In addition a discourse that connects the Season, fashion and the Festival can be read throughout different examples of mass media from this period. These include various national newspaper columns, largely referred to as the 'women's pages' that reported upon fashion on a daily or weekly basis. In November 1950 Winifred Jackson, writing for the *Daily Telegraph*, addressed 'Festival Fashions':

> I hope you will choose Festival Year clothes that give you room to walk […] the slow-motion knee flare and mermaid kick, two of the main features of Spring dresses are hardly calculated to help the authorities deal with the 120,000 daily visitors to the South Bank Exhibition.
>
> (AAD/1994/1/17: Winifred 1950)

In the V&A's collection of press cuttings on London couturier Victor Stiebel, it is apparent in a number of reports on the Spring 1951 London couture collections that journalists were scrutinising these fashions and making predictions for what would be worn at the Festival. In 'Clothes For the Festival' the journalist for the *Eastern Daily Press* describes how in the luxury of 'the leading British fashion salons […] designers are now showing what they hope are the finest Spring collections ever – clothes designed to take a proud place in the Festival of Britain' (AAD/1994/1/17: J.G. 1951). For Jill McBain writing for the *Birmingham Post* in March 1951 contemporary news reports on the collections gave the public the 'First Chance to Look at the Festival Fashions' (AAD/1994/1/17: McBain 1951).

In the fashion press the season, fashion, and the festival, are interchangeable. The discourse of the 'festival season' does not divide the Festival from the Season, but rather incorporates an understanding of both. As Alison Settle wrote in her regular column for *The Observer* newspaper 'From a Woman's View Point' in May 1951:

> In other years women have concentrated on buying "Ascot dresses" even if they were not attending those famous races. This year they have every reason for buying "Festival Models" since every woman will want to visit not only the South Bank but also the Pleasure Gardens.
>
> (A.S. A.51.9)

Settle's wry observations regarding the association between the 'traditional' London Season and the 'new' Festival Season are representative of a wider discourse that prevailed outside of the official Festival literature. In a copy of a formative version of the final official Festival Guide kept in the Art and Design archives at the V&A, the idea of the Season and its events is an explicit part of its introduction to the Festival. Under the

sub-heading ‘The London Season’, the copy states that ‘During the Festival period, all the normal London events, for instance the famous British Industries Fair, Chelsea Flower Show, Wimbledon, Trooping the Colour, will take place as usual’ (AAD5/52-1979: 4). Not intended for public distribution this early version of the Festival guide indicates how some of its own organisers perhaps envisioned what the Festival could mean in relation to these more traditional, and also socially and culturally hierarchal London Season events. Tellingly, in the final and publicly distributed official festival guide this type of rhetoric, and indeed any mention of the London Season, was omitted.

From its May to August summer issues of 1951 British *Vogue* dedicated a significant and continuous amount of coverage to the Festival in the forms of photo-stories, portraits, feature articles and in general continuation of news and comment. In addition to this *Vogue* published an eight-page photo-spread *Dressed for the Festival* (see figs.9.1–9.4). Located in different sites of the South Bank exhibition this fashion story is also a show-case for a number of British ready-to-wear brands that include Jaeger, Susan Small, Deréta, and Marcus, Brenner Sports, Rima and Mary Black (Howell 1975: 204).

Although this fashion story concerns high-end ready-to-wear rather than couture, and it is photographed at the Festival rather than at the spaces and places of the Season, familiar codes of dress are appropriated for the different locations of the FoB site. On the rooftop terrace of the Royal Festival Hall a concert-goer wears a black silk cape (fig.9.1), beneath a canopy of white plaster doves a grey day suit with hat is worn at the Lion and Unicorn Pavilion (fig.9.2), a black cocktail dress for an evening concert inside the Royal Festival Hall (fig.9.3), and finally a yellow worsted summer day dress by Jaeger is pictured at the Festival Gardens (fig.9.4). In high fashion media discourse the Festival at the South Bank is envisioned as a site for modern British ready-to-wear and as another fashionable site for the Season, albeit a ready-to-wear version of it.

In *Harper’s* May 1951 issue British ready-to-wear models were also photographed at the South Bank site. In this instance they are positioned in front of a selection of murals that had been commissioned to decorate the public space of the FoB (see Appendix 3.3). In the same issue Lady Patricia Ward’s feature article ‘The London Season’ brings together the Season and the space of the Festival. For Ward there are the supposedly ‘unchanging and unchanged’ social events of the London Season such as Epsom, Ascot, and Queen Charlottes Ball; thus, the Season is constructed as a seemingly safe and staid round of social engagements, being ‘familiar and nostalgic as lavender-bags in the linen-cupboard’ (Ward 1951: 59). However, as Ward points out, the Season is a changing and evolving event and at that time it was being altered through the activities of the new and younger post-war generation of Season-goers.

Part of this new and emerging landscape for the London Season takes the form of the Festival. In Ward’s opinion the South Bank will allow ‘much informal, spontaneous entertaining, particularly among the young’ (Ward 1951: 59). This rhetoric is specifically addressed to the youth of the Establishment. It suggests that it is they who can endorse

the Festival by the successful integration of the London Season and the Festival – thereby setting a possible future pattern for elite social life in post-war Britain, where the traditions of the past are retained but are also able to adjust and modernise according to changing social circumstance.

In Kynaston's description of the 'mixed reception' that the Festival received, and in particular the newly built Royal Festival Hall, he quotes part of Laski's 1951*Vogue* article 'The Visionary Gleam' as a positive response which hailed it 'as "the most exciting conception and achievement in the whole exhibition"' (Laski cited in Kynaston 2009: 9). This feature article was printed next to the aforementioned fashion spread *Dressed for the Festival*. Laski's thoughts upon the Festival expand upon the concept of a 'visionary gleam', as a way of describing a passage between the past, present and future. Laski begins the feature by outlining how:

> The Great Exhibition of 1851 was an affirmation, a confident assertion of Britain's pre-eminent position on the newly-postulated ladder of Progress. The 1951 Festival is an aspiration, the expression of a hope that the process of history will allow the fulfilment of the promise it holds out. If all goes well […] what a country we shall live in, what a Britain we shall have!
>
> (Laski 1951: 73)

Following a fairly positive description of the main sites and attractions located at the South Bank site Laski concludes her observations with the following:

> Not an affirmation but an aspiration. Not an answer but a question that stimulates to question upon question, to argument, appreciation and pleasure. Only, over everything hangs the shadow of the most important question of all – shall we remember the Festival as the beginning of the future its promises, or as the last pleasant dream before the nightmare?
>
> (Laski 1951: 78)

Next to the Laski's title page is the first page from the *Dressed for the Festival* fashion spread, here a model is posed as 'a concert-goer in a mandarin-coloured silk coat printed in cinnamon and black' on the rooftop terrace of the Royal Festival Hall (see fig.9.1). From her South Bank tower she gazes out over a new skyline view of the capital. There is the white hub-like shape of the Festival's Dome of Discovery to the left, and the familiar yet blurred structure of Big Ben looms in the distance towards the centre. Composed in relation to the accompanying text of Laski's article the image suggests that this figure is also catching a 'visionary gleam'. The image produces a sense of being caught between a movement and moment in time; the oncoming sweep of the future blows the modern print of the model's silk coat up. This is an aesthetic trick that also suggests 'a coy lifting of skirts' (Hollander 1993 [1978]: 340) and is suggestive of easing manners, 'spontaneous clothes and gestures' (ibid). Swept to the side the coat reveals the enduring black of an under-dress.

The social revolution, or at least the attempts at social revolution, of post-war Britain was arguably often a restructuring of old systems and traditional social hierarchies, and the integration of the 'old' and familiar ways with 'new' ways of living (Hopkins 1963: 483). Central to this argument is the notion of a 'Janus-faced' British

modernity and identity (Conekin 2003: 104), one which looks both to the future and to the past. What is perceived to be modern often forms from an understanding of tradition, and tradition can be justified in light of the modern (Giddens 1990: 38). In the discourses of fashion media symbolic values that concerned the temporalities of traditional social hierarchies, both reproduced in and produced by the fashion media, were bestowed upon their mediation of the FoB. Yet this is not a simple case of tradition versus modernity – rather the two are interdependent. In the periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, and in other instances of fashion media, the FoB was constructed as fashionable in relation to the London Season, and the Season was mediated as a relevant, if not essential component, of the modern Festival Season.

'**The Theatre of Fashion'**

The images, visions and gleams of the Festival present in the discourses of fashion media deviate from the official line projected by the largely male middle-class organisers of the Festival. The Festival was designed to be a passing monument to fun, pleasure and life, modern art, architecture and design. Across critical studies and amongst more populist recollections of this event, the Festival appears and reappears as a type of epitaph to the final days of power that the post-war Atlee Labour Government had prior to its political defeat in October 1951 (Conekin 2003: 230). Whether one considers the style of modern post-war architecture that took shape on London's South Bank (Frayn 1963: 335), the interior design of the exhibition sites (Hopkins 1963: 268-284) or the ways in which contemporary art was commissioned and exhibited, 'as an act of patronage on a wide scale' (Hewison 1988: 59) as a part of this national event (Burstow 2001), an inherent contradiction, or compromise resides in all the seemingly modern forms that the Festival took on.

In the summer of 1948 Barry announced to the press that the exhibition 'was to demonstrate Britain's contribution to civilisation, by way of showing "what the Land has made of the People, and what the People have made of themselves"' (Barry cited in Frayn 1963: 324). How this took shape in 1951 largely drew upon notions of 'a deep past, embedded in "universal time"' (Conekin 2003: 81). Ancient and mythical pasts were evoked and these helped to embellish the idea of innate Englishness or Britishness, an identity and way of being that was not culturally constructed but which was somehow begotten by simply being born to, and living upon, the land of the British isles. Conekin argues that the Festival's imaginings of the future and past 'were mutually reinforcing', and were 'chosen for their appropriateness to the post-war New Jerusalem, an imagined world of equality and freedom for all' (Conekin 2003: 80). In this sense the past which was eventually evoked by the Festival and its organisers was of primary importance, not only to political and social messages they wished to communicate in the present, but also illuminated some of their sincerest hopes and wishes for the future.

Following the 1946 ‘Britain Can Make It’ exhibition at the V&A the Council of Industrial Design (CoID) was invited to plan and organise exhibition displays at the FoB (Reilly 1976: 19). Following a survey on British industry at large, the CoID divided it up into 15 categories from which specialised discussion groups were formed. These groups would intermediately with the CoID in the organisation of British Design into the Festival of Britain. As fashion and the clothing industry was within the remit of the CoID, one of the discussion groups was ‘The Clothing Advisory Committee’.

Records kept of this committee (1949–1950) in the Design Council Archive at the University of Brighton detail the attendance of various industry representatives, including representatives from bodies such as the LMHG; the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers’ Federations of Great Britain; the British Fur Trade Alliance; and the Bespoke Tailor’s Guild; and Inc. Soc. (DCA 16: 5496 ‘Discussion Groups (general) 1948–1950’). A constant presence at these meetings was the Editor of British *Vogue*, Audrey Withers, who also served as a CoID panel member from 1948.

In these documents discussions are voiced regarding the best way to exhibit British fashion at the Festival. At one meeting the basic themes that would be used to illustrate the fashion industry are agreed. An emphasis should be placed on the tradition of British tailoring and on ‘everyday clothes, interpreted with that good taste and moderation that is characteristic of the best British clothing’ (DCA 16: 5496 20.07.1949: 2). In September 1949 the idea of holding fashion shows at the South Bank Concert Hall is raised as something that should be carried forward, as the CoID feel that the Clothing and Accessories industries would not be given adequate representation by the Festival alone. The Council voices its hope that:

> it would be possible to use the South Bank Concert Hall for a series of Dress Shows, which should prove of great promotional value to the trade, at home and overseas. Those shows, if they materialised, would cover all price ranges and include clothes suitable for all occasions, from Ascot to the fish queue.
>
> (DCA 16: 5496 06.09.1949: 2)

By the last recorded meeting, taken in April 1950, it was apparent that fashion shows would not be held at the South Bank. An alternative venue of a hall at the Victoria and Albert Museum had been proposed, and plans suggested ‘intended to show all types of men’s, women’s and children’s wear, and to cover all price ranges’ (DCA 16: 5496 18.04.1950: 2). As the shows would be an official Festival activity they were to be made free to all members of the public, and most importantly they were ‘*not* to be treated as a *trade show*’ (ibid – emphasis added). Whilst the committee at the time ‘whole heartedly’ agreed to these proposals, there is no evidence to suggest that these dress shows ever did materialise.

Despite the CoID’s initial intentions to present a broad representation of the British fashion industry’s products, alongside other carefully selected and ‘well-designed goods’, therefore continuing to propagate the Council’s aim to re-educate British consumers (Conekin 2003: 51), it would appear that fashion and the festival managed to fall short of

one another. Jonathan Woodham, whose work includes extensive research into the formation of CoID and its development in post-war Britain, highlights that fashion did not fit into the CoID's structural breakdown of British Industry of the period. Expanding upon this point he claims that:

> There was also perhaps something of a hidden agenda in the Council's outlook insofar as it was ideologically opposed to ephemeral styling and notions of obsolescence…Fashion, in its very essence, was readily associated with a short lifespan and was an activity about which the male modernist of the CoID felt distinctively uncomfortable.
>
> (Woodham cited in de la Haye 1997: 18)

Fashion, if it is to be understood as high fashion or designer-led fashion, did not fit neatly into the CoID's prerequisite for an ideology of modern design. The understanding of fashion as a feminine and ephemeral concept that was also bound to the traditions of a culture's social hierarchies particularly jarred with what was projected as the Festival's own ideology.

Yet fashion was never an absolute absence in the staging of the Festival. Promotional images kept in the Woolmark archive show an example of the specially designed uniforms intended to be worn by the female members of Festival staff (see Appendix 3.3). The matching skirt and jacket was the winning design submitted to the Festival Design Group's design competition, whose panel of judges included Miss Withers of *Vogue*. The designer was Olive O'Neill, who worked for the ready-to-wear brand Dorville.

Despite the apparent lack of fashion within the festival's South Bank site, there was a 'Hall of Fashion' display, designed by Natasha Kroll, and live performances at 'Theatre of Fashion', decorated by the painter Antoni Clavé, in the 'Land Travelling Exhibition', which toured throughout Britain (Levin 1976: 148-149). As part of the Festival's nationwide celebrations, the land and sea travelling exhibitions were designed by the festival organisers 'to transport a miniature version of London's South Bank exhibition to "the provinces"' (Conekin 2003: 122-123). The Land Travelling Exhibition visited the industrial towns of the Midlands, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Nottingham, throughout the Festival Season. In its displays emphasis had therefore 'been placed more on industrial design' (Conekin 2003: 125), appropriate to regional identities 'construed by the "centre"' London (ibid: 131).

The Theatre of Fashion provided a stage 'upon which plays are presented in mime' (N.A. WORK 25/207; WORK 25/209). Photographic records of the FoB kept at the National Archives in Kew show some of the nine mannequins dressed in their stage 'costumes'; there is a fur cape, daywear, and a ball gown, all of which are examples of contemporaneous dress and fashions of 1951 (see Appendix 3.3). What was worn at this show of fashion is unlisted in the festival's official catalogue for the Land Travelling Exhibition. According to the catalogue copy, 'E1600-E2061: 'The selection of leisure and fashion wear could not be compiled by the time the catalogue went to press. Details of the

items displayed can be obtained on application to the Industrial Information Bureau' (AAD/1994/9/11/9 1951: 49).

The reason or intentions behind this exhibition of fashion is clearly outlined in the festival's exhibition guide:

> To dress appropriately and well is an art – the most popular art of all, though it appeals to women more than men. The opportunities of 1951 are vividly and dramatically displayed in a Theatre of Fashion, where actress mannequins provide a continuous performance. There are other scenes showing beachwear, the latest fashions in fabrics and a range of dress accessories for use in the town, in the country and with evening wear.
>
> (AAD/1994/9/11/9 1951: 49)

Referring to the work of Tom Nairn Conekin describes the immediate post-war period and British national identity as ' 'Janus-faced', looking to the past and the future for explanation of who and what it was'' (Conekin 2003: 104). And as historians and other social commentators continue to sift and sort through the various documents, ephemera, mementos and memories that remain of this particular event arguably this is a question that is still pursued. The vision of the Festival which was both backward- and forward-looking, was not, as Conekin argues, 'at odds' with itself, but rather this back and forth vision of national modernisation 'has often combined with the most traditional imaginings of Englishness or Britishness' (ibid: 80).

In the theatre of fashion performed on the Land Travelling Exhibit, fashion would appear to have occupied a similar position of both looking forward to the future by showing new fashions at a time of austerity, but at the same time looking backwards as this performance was meant to 'educate' people in proper ways of English, or British, social and occasion dress.

In the planning and subsequent manifestation of this vision fashion occupies a somewhat liminal space; the exhibition of products from the British fashion industry was planned for the South Bank site but eventually did not take place. In the recollections and subsequent histories of the FoB fashion is largely absent, despite the fact that examples of contemporary British fashions were modelled by a trope of mannequins on 'The Theatre of Fashion' at the FoB's Land Travelling exhibition site (see Appendix 3.3).

In his study of the 1851 Great Exhibition Paul Greenhalgh argues that the analysis of how exhibits were written; that is their mediation, could provide an appropriate 'starting point for design criticism, for whilst relatively little in the way of innovation took place amongst the objects, a good deal of what was said was refreshingly new' (Greenhalgh 1988: 143; see also O'Neill 2011). Applying this strategy to the exhibition of the 1951 FoB, and looking at how it was discursively constructed 'outside' of its official literature presents a range of alternative visions of this moment in British modernity.

‘The 1951 Festival is an aspiration’

In this chapter I have examined how the temporality of the fashionable London Season constructed the 1951 FoB as a fashionable event in the discourse of fashion media at this time. In my analysis I have addressed how this particular temporality was bound up in discourses concerning elitism, femininity and ephemerality, and how these elements were not absent from the FoB, but indeed were part of its making.

This line of enquiry has lead to a number of previously neglected histories in the overall picture of the FoB. These include that of its connections with the Season, and the troupe of mannequins who performed fashion shows on its Land Travelling Exhibit. This analysis has shown that fashion was not absent from this event. It also brings into question the ways that the Festival has been subsequently remembered and re-collected.

The first page of *Dressed for The Season* fashion spread presents a moment in time, seemingly captured by the opening and closing of the camera shutter. It is an effective and staged imaginary gleam constructed for the purposes of a fashion photograph. The image of a skirt being blown up had featured in fashion spreads reporting on the Paris collections published earlier that year, yet here, set within the context of the 1951 Festival it is the idea of this momentary flash that evokes the way in which the fashion media and the Festival collaborated in an expression of post-war aspiration.

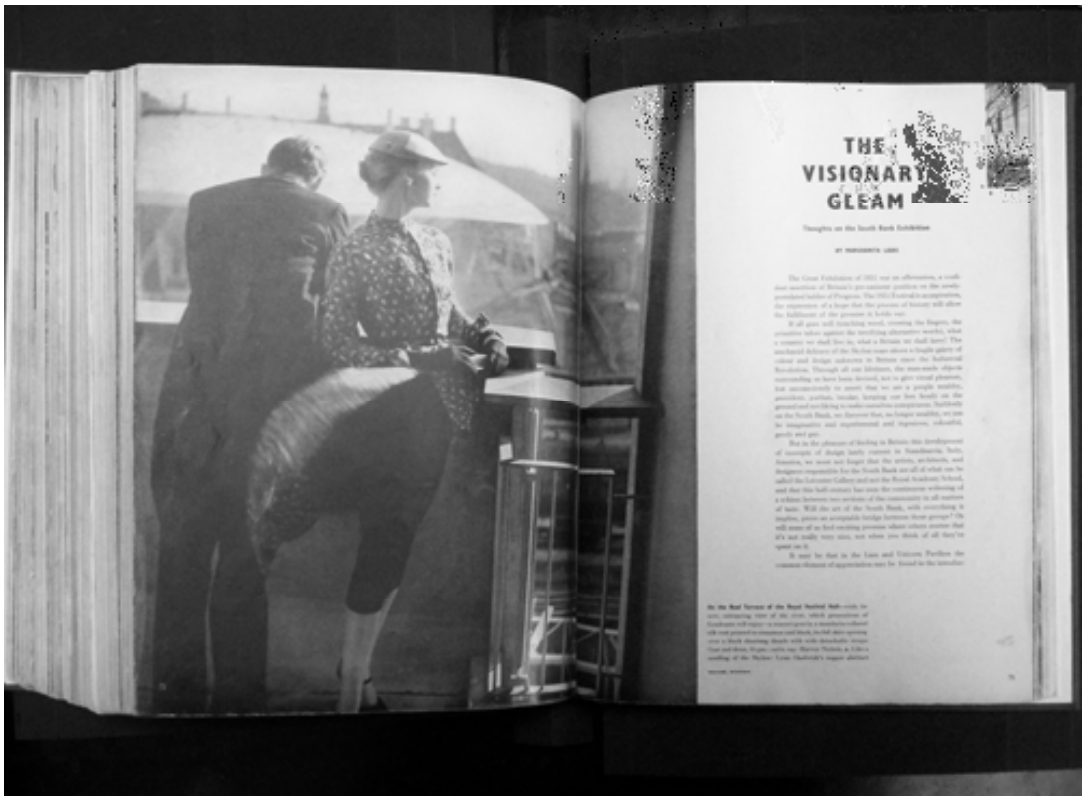


Fig.9.1 *Dressed For The Festival* photographed by Michael Wickham 'On the Roof Terrace of the Royal Festival Hall' **(**British *Vogue* June 1951: 72–73) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Fig.9.2 *Dressed For The Festival* photographed by Michael Wickham 'In the Royal Festival Hall' **(**British *Vogue* June 1951: 74–75) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Fig.9.3 *Dressed For The Festival* photographed by Michael Wickham 'In the Transport Pavillion' **(**British *Vogue* June 1951: 76–77) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Fig.9.4 *Dressed For The Festival* photographed by Michael Wickham 'In the Festival Gardens' **(**British *Vogue* June 1951: 78–79) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Overleaf Double-page spread:
Gilt-Edged Investments (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1952: 28–29)

Gilt-Edged Investments

←THE FASHIONABLY PALE TOPCOAT. The interesting pallor of this topcoat—a new and becoming complexion for coats—is high fashion to-day. For coats and dresses, pale over dark is the formula now. So this fleecy coat by Berg of Mayfair is a sound buy. 25 gns., at Marshall & Snelgrove. String beret from The Princess Boutique.

THE COAT DRESS. *Above, right:* the coat dress garnished with white that looks right in shine or shower, indoors or out, has always been a good buy. This season's edition by Harry B. Popper is good value, too. 15½ gns. at Barri-Moore, Brompton Rd. The Garbo cloche by R.M. Hats, at Woollands; de Farre bracelet; Susan Handbags satchel.

THE DRESS THAT IS ALL PLEATS. *Below, right:* a handsome return for £20 8s. this stunningly beautiful pink sheer dress, pin-pleated all over from yoke to hem; it is good for more than one season, more than one kind of event. By Dorville, at Galeries Lafayette. With it Harvane's lampshade straw, and pearls by Adrien Mann.

Maurice Tabard

10. Dress…'Photographed at the Royal Festival Hall'

This chapter examines the ways in which the newly built public space of the Royal Festival Hall (1951) was used as a backdrop in editorial photo-spreads published in *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue* throughout 1952. In histories of post-war Britain this period is often referred to as a time of transition. It was 1952, the year that followed the aftermath of the Festival of Britain, the Labour Government's parliamentary defeat by the Conservative party in late 1951 and the death of the reigning monarch King George VI in February 1952 (Hopkins 1963: 284). It would not be until the following summer of 1953 that the official coronation of Princess Elizabeth took place, thus ushering in the so-called 'New Elizabethan Age', as celebratory commentary of the time coined it (see Hewison 1997:66).

As discussed in the previous chapter the Festival Hall had featured as part of fashion stories published in *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* in the summer of 1951. Then it formed part of a backdrop to the Festival's South Bank site at large. Editorials published a year later present a less coherent image of this purposefully modern type of space. Various parts of the building's interior appear repeatedly throughout the publishing calendar of 1952, in which it is projected as a stage for couture collections, wholesale and ready-to-wear garments. Furthermore it is photographed as a space within which one's whole public wardrobe for city life – from day and street wear to evening dress – could be worn.

The focus of this analysis is the ten-page photo-spread *Gilt-Edged Investments* published in the June 1952 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*. As the leading fashion story for this 'budget' fashion themed issue, it presents the reader with a range of garments needed to create a wardrobe appropriate for any number of different social occasions: a summer dress; two-piece suit; overcoat and day dress; and evening dress.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how temporalities represented in the sequential layout of fashion photo-spreads bestow symbolic values upon the Festival Hall in terms of the fashion media's discursive construction of dress, time and space; in short how it shows what to wear, when and where. The first part of this chapter locates the spread *Gilt-Edged Investments* within wider discourses that concern codes of social dress. The second part examines this spread in relation to other instances in fashion media in which the Festival Hall was used as a backdrop for different types of dress. Lastly I address how plans laid out for the Festival Hall purposefully sought to make it into a gregarious space fit for fashionable post-war social life.

'Ideal Wardrobe'

In the June 1952 issue of *Harper's Bazaar* the location for the leading fashion feature *Gilt-Edged Investments* was the site of the Festival Hall (see figs.10.1–10.5). The Hall features as a background for British ready-to-wear clothes from branded wholesale

manufacturers such as Koupy and Dorville, and department stores that include Harvey Nichols, Fenwicks and Woodlands (see Chapter 8). In keeping with *Harper's* editorial claims that 'good style is within every woman's reach, even though all bank accounts are not created equal' (*Harper's* June 1952: 21), the overall theme for this publication is the magazine's regular budget fashion feature 'The Well Spent Pound'.

This ten-page story, shot by *Harper's* photographer Maurice Tabard, presents a version of a full wardrobe: 'the good summer suit' (ibid: 23; fig.10.1); 'the little black dress' (ibid: 24; fig.10.2); 'the essential print' dress (ibid: 25; fig.10.2); 'the two way jacket' and 'cardigan suit' (ibid: 26; fig.10.3); 'the fashionably pale topcoat' (ibid: 28; fig.10.4); 'the coat dress' (ibid; fig.10.4); the pleated dress (ibid; fig.10.5); and evening dress (ibid: 31; fig.10.5). According to *Harper's* each item of apparel is a long- term investment. It claims that:

> There are two kinds of fashion just as there are two kinds of racehorse, and the sprinter, good for the season but deader than mutton next year, will not give you a run for your money; it is staying stock that you want. The clothes we show you on these pages are all contemporary versions of pedigree strains, and it is our belief, backed by an extensive knowledge of the form, that these are classic winners bred to stay the course.
>
> (*Harper's* June 1952: 23)

Thus according to the spread's fashion copy, the 'dress that is all pleats […] is good for more than one season, more than one kind of event' (ibid: 28), and whilst a 'long ball gown is for grand evenings', here 'the evening dress that is neither long nor short […] will take you to garden party, dinner or a dance' (ibid: 31). It is a wardrobe that is designed to meet the demands of a full and fashionable social life.

Despite its emphasis on the idea of an interchangeable, inter-seasonal, and trans-temporal wardrobe that is therefore exemplary of a long-term fashion, the spread presents an example of what Paul Jobling describes as a 'strict directional relationship between numbered captions and corresponding photographs' (Jobling 1999: 72). This type of visual and textual interplay 'not only delineates a particular sequential movement from one textual element to another, but also helps to guide us from one act to the next' (ibid). The guide being provided here is for an ideal wardrobe and this is delineated by the demarcation of dress, which was common in the layout design of fashion spreads across *Vogue* and *Harper's* throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Garments are both divided up and grouped together within a narrative sequence concerning the times of the day, appropriate dress, and their occupation of particular spaces. As Jobling has argued, the editorial decision to locate particular types of dress in the layout space of the periodical is not 'merely accidental' (Jobling 1999: 91), rather an etiquette of timely dress purposefully unfolds with the turning of each double-page spread.

The relationship between dress, identity and space is referred to throughout a large body of work across a wide range of critical literature that examines the subjects of fashion and modernity (see Introduction). Evans argues that in modern modes of life found within the history of Western modernity (from the eighteenth to the twentieth

century), 'One of the ways in which individuals make a changing world their own, and mark out their place within it, is through dress' (Evans 2003: 103–104). Dress is also revealing of social divisions and reconciliations, conformity and resistance.

Choices in modern dress also negotiate divisions found in cultural concepts of social time and relational spaces. Also discussing the subject of fashion and modernity Wilson claims that:

> The coming of mass fashion (for both sexes) meant more than just the availability of low-cost fashions; it meant the proliferation of fashion as a central component of the spectacle of modern life […] Fashion served to underline the elaborate rituals of bourgeois life – there was an appropriate costume for every activity and every hour of the day or evening – but fashion also served to signal to the other strangers in the crowded streets and public places the class and status of the individual.
>
> (Wilson 2001: 54)

This relationship between fashion, consumption, identification, the time of day and the space that one occupies at a particular moment forms the basis for a number of fashion faux pas moments in novels produced throughout the 1950s. For example in Elaine Dundy's novel *The Dud Avocado* the main character, Sally Jay Gorce, a young twenty-something American college graduate spending a year 'experiencing' life in Paris, continually defines and redefines herself in the form of a first person narrative through her wardrobe and hair colour changes:

> Thus was I reflecting, standing there at the entrance of the bar that night, looking around for Teddy and painfully conscious of myself again. I was still wearing the evening dress I had on when I'd met Larry that morning and the funny thing about it was that, even though twelve hours had elapsed since then, it still wasn't particularly appropriate. I mean I really felt I could expect it to be correct attire at *some* point of the day – like a watch that has stopped, eventually just happening to have its hands pointing to the right time. I can't understand it. I have quite a lot of clothes and go to quite a lot of places. I never actually seem to be wearing the right things at the right time, though. You'd think the law of averages…Oh well.
>
> (Dundy 1993 [1958]: 40)

In post-war modernity rules and codes for appropriate dress for seasonal activities (see Chapter 8) and for different times of the day – from morning to evening – were still a form of social currency.

In Geneviève Antoine Dariaux's *A Guide to Elegance: for every woman who wants to be well and properly dressed on all occasions* (Dariaux 2003 [1964]) an 'Ideal Wardrobe' for an elegant woman is planned according to season and then by time of day. For the spring into summer: 9 am 'A tailored tweed suit'; 1pm ' A smooth, lightweight wool suit' or 'a linen suit for very warm weather' and 'a lightweight wool coat'; 6pm 'A dress or two-piece ensemble in navy or black silk, to be worn alone with a wide straw hat to cocktail parties', printed silk is optional; 8pm 'An ensemble for First Nights and black-tie dinners just like the winter ones', also 'your black crêpe will be very chic in the springtime worn under a white coat' (ibid: 85–86). Dariaux's guide is one that reproduces certain expectations of social dress and it is similar to the one reproduced in the sequence and structure of *Harper's Gilt-Edged Investme*nts photo-spread.

The representation of these garments, in terms of the way that they are modelled and the order in which they appear throughout this spread, observe a sequence that denotes particular social practices and lifestyles (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 194). In the space and layout of the fashion spread this type of sequence often forms a tableau of idealised feminine behaviour through the practice of dress. In the hierarchy of fashion at this time the type of dress that appears throughout this spread is not what these titles presented to be the pinnacle of elite fashion consumption, that of haute couture. According to *Harper's* 'Value for money is not impossible, even in these days, if you substitute a hard head for a long purse' (*Harper's Bazaar* June 1952: 23); in this instance dress is a considered ready-to-wear compromise.

As has been previously outlined high end British ready-to-wear clothes and manufacturing brands were a key component in the makeup of 'glossy' fashion media (see Chapter 8). In the discourse of these titles haute couture was obtainable for some and a visual spectacle for many, and ready-to-wear was promoted as a viable alternative for their readers to 'invest' in. From the early 1950s onwards the coverage of ready-to-wear increases within both the pages of both *Harper's* and *Vogue* – there are more adverts, more diversity of brands, and entire issues are themed around wholesale. Also specific social occasions such as the events of the London Season, a debutante's coming-out wardrobe, a bride's wedding dress and trousseau, once deemed only appropriate for couture, bespoke, or made-to-measure are increasingly produced as ready-to-wear fashion stories.

At the same time there is a continual emphasis upon taste and value with regards to the mass market of ready-to-wear. Regular features and stories such as *What to Wear With What* (*Vogue*) and *The Harper's Bazaar Look* (*Harper's Bazaar*), each identify and emphasise good or right taste, and also credit tasteful selections to the sum persona of the periodical, i.e this is tasteful according to the 'us' or 'we' of either *Harper's Bazaar* or *Vogue*. Taste as a concept is more often than used by these titles as a rhetorical tool to sell clothes. In their regular back end or back of book 'budget' fashion features (see Appendix 1) discourses around taste, quality and limitations are frequently invoked and reflected in their titles: *More Taste Than Money* (*Vogue*) and *The Well-Spent Pound* (*Harper's*).

Yet there is no clear definition of what the essential qualities of taste or good taste are, rather good taste is fluid; according to *Vogue* taste in 'dress sense cannot be brought: but it can be acquired' (British *Vogue* February 1950: 46). Musing upon the question of 'Good Taste – Your Taste or My Taste' in her pre-war semi-philosophical semi-advisory book on fashion *Clothes Line* (1937), Settle argues that:

> No one defines good taste. If you have it you suppose it to be something with which you are born. It is far more likely that life educated you into that sense of taste, as did the opinions of those around you, the things you saw and unconsciously absorbed, the things you (again uncon- or subcon-sciously) dissected and criticized, the things you read.
>
> (Settle 1937: 59)

Settle suggests that perhaps there is no such thing as 'good taste' but rather just 'taste and the lack of it' (Settle 1937: 59).

In a different context Bourdieu also points out that taste is a manifestation of the everyday choices that social subjects make in life, from what they eat to how they dress (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]). This is not in any way a 'natural' phenomena but is rather the result of a complex social web of experience, education, background and lifestyle (ibid: xxix). Taste therefore acts as both an internalised and externalised classifier: 'Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make' (ibid). Bourdieu proposes that categories of 'taste' – 'good', 'bad', 'tasteful', 'un-tasteful' – are indicative of a culture's social hierarchies at a given point in time and space.

Bourdieu's study of taste alludes to how the 'semi-legitimate legitimizing agencies such as women's weeklies or "ideal home" magazines' can affect the acquisition of objects, 'in the ordinary choices of everyday existence, such as furniture, clothing or cooking' (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 70) (see Chapter 4). In these terms *Vogue* and *Harper's* are 'legitimizing agencies' of taste; they are perceived as arbiters of taste, 'fashion motivators' (Ballard 1960: vi), and tastemakers. The glamorous pictures of the glossy fashion magazine stimulate and educate tastes in fashion. They also promote ideals regarding what is thought to be tasteful in patterns of behaviour and dress – for instance what to wear and when.

In Dodie Smith's novel *I Capture the Castle* (1949) the female protagonist Cassandra Mortmain reflects upon the nature of dress following an excursion to London from her home in rural Suffolk:

> Then my brain began to pick out the bits it wanted to think about and I realized how the day made a pattern of clothes – first our white dresses in the early morning, then the consciousness of what people were wearing in London, then Aunt Millicent's poor dead clothes, then all the exquisite things in the shop, then our fur. And I thought how important clothes were to women and always had been.
>
> (Smith 2004 [1949]: 101)

Clothes also make a pattern of the day: codes of dress order both time and space. The demarcation of dress, that is the discernable way in which a basic garment order is divided up throughout the sequential layout space of post-war issues of *Vogue* and *Harper's*, patterns social time and cultural space. Throughout a cultural discourse that discusses the ins and outs of an 'ideal wardrobe', dress, time and space are claimed as 'tasteful', and therefore are of symbolic value. The fashion media discourse bestows symbolic values that relate to an ideal wardrobe and thus gives shape to the South Bank building in terms of its representation of what to wear, when, and where.

'Stark Splendour'

The Festival Hall had been a backdrop for both *Vogue* and *Harper's* for summer fashions of the previous year 1951. In *Vogue* it was the location for ready-to-wear cocktail dresses

(see Appendix 3.3) and in *Harper's* it had been the backdrop for a couture evening gown by Victor Stiebel (see Appendix 3.4). The latter magazine's image of the Festival Hall had formed part of the sequence to its leading fashion story *Dressed for The London Season* (see Chapter 8). Here the occasions of the Season also follow a pattern of dressing throughout the day. The reader is presented with a wardrobe for the Season in a particular order; light summer suits and dresses for cricket, tennis and boating events; smarter dress 'for a garden party' and 'for Ascot'; a black cocktail dress 'for a dinner party'; full-length evening gown 'for the Opera'; and finally 'for summer evenings' more elaborate dresses (*Harper's* May 1951: 60–67). It is in the summer evenings of 1951 that *Harper's* positions the Festival Hall.

In contrast to the photographer's studio that is used throughout the other pages of this spread, the last fashion image is a full-bleed page colour photograph. Shot by Tabard it shows a model posing in the interior of a modern-style building, under the sinuous curve of its staircase. The fashion copy informs the reader that this is 'The stark splendour of the South Bank Festival Hall' (*Harpers* May 1951: 66). Here the white and green evening dress by Stiebel is placed. Its skirt, made from embroidered pleated muslin and net, is seemingly so full and voluminous that the end of its train is cut off by the edge of the magazine page. In this instance the design of the magazine layout gives meaning and value to the Festival Hall – it is a space for fashionable forms of entertainment in summer evenings, it is laid out in the sequence of the London Season.

In the year following its initial opening the Festival Hall featured as a background for a range of different editorial fashion stories published in *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. In the March 1952 issue of *Harper's* Richard Dormer's photographs of the London couture collections are set throughout the different landings, promenades, hallways and glass windows of the Festival Hall (see Appendix 2). The 16-page spread details the styles, shapes, fabrics and colours that the magazine forecasts to be the key influences that will lead and adjust the line of dress for 1952.

The fashion captions of this feature allude to the various places that these couture clothes could be worn, such as 'to Ascot, to a luncheon party, a wedding, and go on to cocktails' and then to the theatre (*Harper's* March 1952: 43). In the mid-1950s British couture designer Hardy Amies claimed that throughout his personal design process he envisions the 'proper *milieu*' in which his clothes could or would be worn. For Amies these scenarios included Bond Street, Claridges, Paris, a pleasant day at the races, or 'maybe it is just in a page of *Vogue*' (Amies 1954: 180). The *Harper's* spread suggests a new milieu to which couture garments could be worn. The Royal Festival Hall in this instance is a place to socialise, to have luncheon, evening supper, or cocktails, to attend the theatre or a concert.

The Hall was also the location for British ready-to-wear, as previously discussed in relation to *Harper's* June 1952 fashion spread *Gilt-Edged Investments*. In *Vogue* the Hall was the site for two ready-to-wear fashion stories published respectively in its July and

August issues for 1952. For its *More Taste Than Money* feature of July 1952 the Royal Festival Hall is the backdrop to this issue's *Choice of the Month* (see Appendix 3.4). Here a model is photographed perching upon a Robin Day 658 plywood and aluminium chair that had been specifically commissioned for the Hall's interior (Sparke et al 1992:156–160). Her pale-coloured dress is by manufacturing brand Linzi, and its style and cut supposedly follows a trend started by the house of Dior in that year's spring Paris couture collections (*Vogue* July 1952: 67). It is also a dress that can be acceptably worn in more than one type of social setting, it is therefore 'a perfect outfit for a holiday wardrobe – or summer in town' (*Vogue* July 1952: 67). In the layout of the double-page spread this point is made evident as the dress is shown twice, once on each page; it is worn 'in town' at the Royal Festival Hall, and then on 'holiday' in a picturesque field.

In *Vogue*'s following August issue its *More Taste Than Money* fashion feature is a six-page editorial *Wardrobe for a young girl* (see Appendix 3.4). Photographed by John Deakin (see Muir 1996) there are three different locations in this story; firstly the Festival Hall, followed by the ICA at Dover Street (see Chapter 7), and then the New Rayon Design Centre (see Moriarty 2007). As a story themed around teenage dress the layout of the spread guides its readers through several layers of transition. There is the change from of childhood to adulthood, marked at 'from the ages of seventeen to twenty-five' (British *Vogue* August 1952: 69). And then there is the transition from day to night. Here *Vogue* states that 'Clothes are designed to equip you for all kinds of occasions, all day long and every day' (ibid).

Clothes for 'Day-Time' are a skirt and twinset, an all-day dress, and a suit worn with a camel-coloured overcoat, shot at the ICA. This is followed by 'Evening-Time', a sweater blouse, black trousers or 'slacks', evening separates – a skirt and halter neck blouse – and a sherry-coloured party dress feature are shot taken at the Rayon Design Centre. The corduroy Horrockses dress modelled at the Royal Festival Hall is the *Choice of the Month* garment, and is also 'Choice of your age'. It is presented as an example of the ideal modern transitional dress; it is a garment designed for a teenager, it is appropriate from day to night, and it can be worn all year round.

The fashion imagery of these spreads, alongside advertising campaigns for brands such as Woolmark and Horrockses (see Appendix 3.4), contributed to the publicity of this building. The Hall is largely regarded as the 'first major British public building designed in the contemporary style of architecture' since the end of the Second World War (Pevsner 2001 [1953]: 347). Built as part of the 1951 Festival of Britain, this piece of modern architecture was celebrated throughout the Festival's paraphernalia (Conekin 2003: 116–119), and also featured prominently in glossy periodicals dedicated to architecture, such as *Architectural Review* and *Architectural Design*. In its May 1951 issue *Architectural Design* celebrated this new modern building alongside the new National Theatre urging that 'It should be developed as an exciting centre of social life and encourage the river to become a popular highway again, linking Hampton court,

Battersea Park, Chelsea, The Tate Gallery, the Temple, St. Pauls, the Tower, and Greenwich' (*Architectural Design* May 1951: 123).

As Beatriz Colomina points out the relationship between modern architecture and mass media is one that predates the aftermath of the Second World War and can be traced to the publicity of Le Corbusier and his work throughout the 1920s and 1930s (Colomina 1996: 140–195). Addressing the work of architects The Smithsons and James Stirling, Claire Zimmerman argues that in post-war Britain 'Images increased in importance for communication and for marketing products in an array of fields, including architecture' (Zimmerman 2012: 271). According to Zimmerman different types of photography used by architects include the depiction of the 'beginning of the design process', 'a building's completion', and 'the construction photograph' (ibid: 273). In terms of publicity all these types of photography appeared in mass media publications: 'the medium of communication for architecture was now the advertisement, the journal, the architectural photograph' (ibid: 279).

In the June 1951 issue of *Architectural Design* architectural photographs represent the interior space of the completed Festival Hall. Double-page spreads composed of wide-angle shots are devoid of human occupants; rather they are filled with lines of structure and compositional dimensions of space, the image of a spiral staircase that successfully conjoins two visible and open-plan floors, and large glass windows that line seemingly endless corridors and balconies, and which are suggestive of the new topographical views of an old city that lay beyond (*Architectural Design* June 1951: 168–169). Here designed space is mediated as pure and uninhabited, modern architecture is pictured as high art, and arguably this type of architectural photograph communicates an aesthetics of space specifically for its imagined audience.

In fashion photography the images of buildings and monuments are also reproduced; as Rocamora points out, 'A parallel is made between fashion and architecture' in the discourse of fashion media (Rocamora 2009: 174–175). According to Bradely Quinn fashion photography is distinctively different from that architectural photography due to the presence of the clothed body. Quinn claims that:

> Modern architecture, in fashion photography, is coordinated like an outfit, and ready to be worn. The parallels between architecture and fashion styles in photographs suggest that contemporary buildings should be 'worn' like fashionable clothing, as if the general attitude towards clothing should determine current attitudes towards buildings.
>
> (Quinn 2003: 190)

The space of the fashion magazine is another type of architecture that also frames how modern architecture is coordinated and worn.

In his history of magazine design William Owen argues that the magazine has 'a specific architectural integrity […that] differs from other forms of printed matter' (Owen 1991: 22). In the assemblage of double-page spreads 'mass, space, plane, proportion, rhythm' are key elements in the process of graphic design (ibid: 27). The layout design is

constructed through the use of 'the grid, structure, hierarchy and specific measurements and relationships' (Ambrose and Harris 2005: 10) (for an example see Appendix 2). This 'scaffolding' is utilised 'to the end of clear communication – to tell a story – to a closely defined audience' (Owen 1991: 126; see also Kless and van Leeuwen 2006: 184).

The sequence of certain social practices and styles of life familiar throughout the layouts of *Vogue* and *Harper's* apply this scaffolding to their representations of the Royal Festival Hall as a space for fashion in 1952. Whilst some garments, such as the corduroy dress featured as the *Choice of the Month* garment in *Vogue*'s July 1952 issue, can be seen as a break from this order, it is nonetheless a rupture that acknowledges established and hierarchal codes.

Throughout the examples of editorial spreads that used the Royal Festival Hall as a backdrop in 1952 it is made apparent that the whole range of one's fashionable wardrobe and its associated activities can be experienced within the entirety that was the multi-dimensional and functional space of the Royal Festival Hall; promenades, views, art gallery and restaurant for daywear and again, restaurants, but also bars, balconies and concert hall for evening clothes. In the discourse of British high fashion media the Royal Festival Hall is not empty and timeless but rather it is filled with the fashionably clothed body. Codes of dress, time and space are plotted out along the co-ordinates of socially structured layouts; in this space the Hall is constructed as a fashionable place for numerous passages of time and multiple changes in dress.

'Spatial Flux'

The Hall was opened by the Royal family as part of the 1951 Festival of Britain, and unlike the majority of the festival's temporary structures, this building had always been intended 'as a permanent structure to the South Bank' (Banham 1976: 70). Therefore it, and some of the site's other buildings – the Telekinema (later the National Film Theatre), the Riverside Restaurant and the walk along the Embankment – were what remained on the exhibition site following the new Conservative Government's demolition sweep of the South Bank (Conekin 2003:226; Forty 1976: 38).

In histories of post-war Britain the Royal Festival Hall is a potent symbol of post-war modernity, social democracy and the ideals of public cultural space. In his historical study of this building John McKean claims that 'For Britain, the Royal Festival Hall is in a sense the building of the welfare state and of all that those years stood for – the fragile, fledgling, hopeful culture which the Second World War had fought to protect and nurture' (McKean 2001: 2). The importance of this new, modern and 'contemporary'-style building is noted throughout a number of social histories of Britain. Hopkins describes the Hall as 'a place of space and light and simple gaiety totally unlike anything the capital had known before' (Hopkins 1963: 277). Seen as part of the process of modernisation 'consciously inaugurated in 1951 by the Festival of Britain' (Hopkins 1963: 459), this building is largely perceived as an integral stepping stone in the new

modern movement in building design, which was to alter the skyline of many cities from the mid-1950s onwards.

According to Hopkins the Hall's design was promoted as a space that facilitated high-cultural endeavours but was also purposefully modern in that it was structured to incorporate a cross-range of British society, rather than a cultural, monetary or aristocratic elite (Hopkins 1963: 277). Its centrepiece was the concert hall, able to accommodate an audience of 3,000 patrons. The Hall also incorporated restaurants, galleries, promenades, balconies, views and other types of 'open' but interior space.

In his *The Buildings of England* series Nikolaus Pevsner claims that the Festival Hall is 'Aesthetically the greatest achievement' (Pevsner 2001 [1953]: 347), which is the result of 'the management of inner space' (ibid). Pevsner describes how:

> in the staircases, promenades, superimposed restaurants, etc., are a freedom and intricacy of flow, in their own way as thrilling as what we see in the Baroque churches of Germany and Austria […] Altogether, if it were not for the fact that the Hall is raised to what corresponds to second- or third-floor level and stands on retracted pillars, nothing like this spatial flux could have been obtained.
>
> (Pevsner [1953] 2001: 347)

Cultural commentator and novelist Colin MacInnes would later argue that such 'set-piece architectural abstractions' by Pevsner, provide a 'verbal description of a building, inside and out, so as to reveal its essential *plasticity* (or lack of it)' (MacInnes 1986 [1960]: 127). For Pevsner the Hall's interior design further contributes to its continuous flow of space:

> The careful choice of materials and colours also helps, much glass opening out vistas in all directions, divers timbers, slatted or reeded wooden surfaces, grey Derbyshire marble slabs, rendering in various unobtrusive colours, excellently designed carpets and textiles.
>
> (Pevsner 2001 [1953]: 347)

The distinctive patterned carpets, granite walls and glass windows also serve as recognisable markers to a number of fashion images published as both editorial spreads throughout 1952 and in subsequent advertising campaigns (Appendix 3.4). Fashion media promoted the Hall, and its contemporary style interior, as a fashionable space. It also contributed to what Pevsner called the 'spatial flux' of this building. In the layout of fashions spreads the Festival Hall is a public space where the entire scale of a comprehensive and ideal wardrobe can be worn, from day to evening dress, from haute couture collections to ready-to-wear. The Hall is mediated as a site of transition, plasticity, and continuous change, in short a site for modern fashion.

As promotional material for the Festival Hall, produced by the LCC, outlined, 'With a body so adaptable, with such a range of cultural and social activities so agreeably provided for', it was one building with many uses (Williams-Ellis 1951: 72). The majority of the aforementioned fashion images are taken inside the Hall and provide views of the mutability of this building's interior. One is taken outside the building, and it shows a model just about to enter the building (see fig.10.4). The 'fashionably pale topcoat' (*Harper's Bazaar* June 1952: 29) is suggestive of an early evening scene in

spring or summer, an appropriate ensemble 'for First Nights and black-tie dinners' (Dariaux 2003 [1964]): 85–86).

The model's reflection in the glass door perpetuates a number of associations between that of modernity and glass buildings, public life and the urban environment. As a symbol of post-war modernity the Royal Festival Hall was viewed by the LCC as the successor to Crystal Palace, built for the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Williams-Ellis 1951: 16; see also Greenhalgh 1988). This earlier controversial glass structure is described by Berman as 'a brilliant expression of its […Britain's] own modernity' (Berman 1983: 238). For Hopkins the Festival Hall is a precursor to the later modern buildings of post-war Britain. The 'gleaming curtain walls of glass' and the aluminium grids provide Hopkins with an analogy regarding societal self-reflection, from the reflected light of these new structures the fog of the 1940s and 1950s was supposedly lifted (Hopkins 1963: 459).

In her discussion on clothes in imagery Hollander comments on how the personal reflection has 'largely merged with the public scene […] Now the mirror turns outward' through the reflecting glass found on city streets (Hollander 1993 [1978]: 414). On the reflective nature of modern buildings in early twentieth-century Paris, Benjamin observes that 'Paris is the city of mirrors […] A profusion of windowpanes and mirrors in cafés […] Women here look at themselves more than elsewhere, and from here comes the distinctive beauty of the Parisienne' (Benjamin 1999 [1927–1940]: 537). The *Harper's* fashion image plays with these different concepts, it concerns discourses about modernity, modern architecture, self-reflection, and the appearance of women in public life.

Yet this image of a mirror is also a distorted one. It not only reflects the image of a model, of fashion, and modern consumption, it also reflects an image of the Festival Hall. This reflection is productive, it is a representation that is informative about the nature of the building at this time. In his analysis of public architecture in post-war Britain Adrian Forty claims that the Royal Festival Hall is 'one of the most successful buildings of this period' (Forty 1995: 3). Forty suggests that the Festival Hall can be thought of 'as a theatre of the welfare state' (ibid: 31), which offers the opportunity for a knowledge, or self-reflection, of part of the social subject to take place. According to Forty:

> Whoever you are, once you enter through the original main entrance at ground level, and stand with the space unfolding in front of you, beside you, and above you, the volume is yours and yours alone. Of course exactly the same experience occurs for everyone else who enters the building, and so the result is the sense of an equal right to the possession of the building, and an absence of any commanding authority.
>
> (Forty 1995: 31)

However, in order to experience an 'equal' possession of the building, or have any sort of experience with architecture and public space, one has to enter it. A reflection seen in the glass windowpane of a modern building can confirm and confront the adequacy or inadequacy of one's dress. *Harper's* fashion image suggests that one has to be

appropriately dressed in order to gain entry to certain 'public' spaces in the first place. It points to a historicised problem of entrance that would be one in a number of factors to affect a social subject's experience of post-war British public space and culture.

The Royal Festival Hall may be a theatre of the welfare state, but it was also a theatre for fashion (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 301). As Quinn points out, fashion images that utilise architecture are representations that 'suggest that fashion may be gaining insight into the function of architecture – or perhaps architecture is inviting the world of fashion in?' (Quinn 2003: 190). Records and documents pertaining to the origins of the Festival Hall, the way it was organised during the 1951 FoB, and subsequent plans made for its continuation thereafter point to a number of anxieties regarding this issue of entry and patronage.

Far from being a part of the FoB, the Royal Festival Hall was in all senses an entirely separate organisation administered by the LCC and not by the FoB organisers. Tickets and passes to the FoB South Bank Site and exhibition did not permit entry to the Hall (N.A. WORK 25/253; LCC/CL/GP/2/161). The visiting public were charged an entrance fee to visit the Hall's modern foyer (ibid). Those with FoB guest passes had to be issued with separate guest passes to the Hall (ibid). And similarly those who the LCC had invited to visit the Hall during the FoB had to either request or pay for passes to visit the FoB exhibitions (LCC/CL/GP/2/161). In the organisation of entry routes to and from the FoB site the Metropolitan Police created a separate approach for 'patrons' to gain access to and from the Hall that was away from the FoB 'crowds' (N.A. MEPO 2/8667).

The Hall was a permanent structure implementing a long-term plan to be an exemplary centre for culture and high art on the world stage. In documents regarding its position on 'casual' visitors who may enter the building during the FoB, many boundaries are enforced so to pre-empt the possibility that the Hall may become the wrong sort of centre of culture. For example after some discussion it is decided that allowing 'casual' visitors in during the FoB was a danger since the Hall held a public licence and had a number of bars. According to the LCC 'the result would be that that people would be able to use the Hall very much as they would a public house' (LCC/CL/GP/2/161).

Another concern for the LCC following the end of the FoB was how to continue to attract the 'right' kind of patron (LCC/CL/LEA/01/044). Much of the discussion around what kinds of food were to be served in the Hall's restaurants and bars, and at what tariff to charge, are revealing of an overwhelming desire to cap visitors to the Hall off at the lower middle classes (ibid). In a conference on the Hall's future policy, a council member pointed out that the lack of visitors to the Hall during the early half of 1952 could be attributed to a lack of publicity in the mass media and the 'failure to provide music for all tastes' (ibid).

The image of the fashionable, and appropriately dressed, woman mediated in the glossy pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's* was quite probably the right sort of patron that the organising committees of the Royal Festival Hall wanted to attract. In LCC's publicity

material for the Hall a section is dedicated to the 'purposeful planning' that went into the arrangement of 'cloakrooms, ladies' powder rooms, lavatories and all the rest' (Williams-Ellis 1951: 74). The ladies' powder rooms are described as containing 'mirrors with intelligently arranged lights [which] encourage that attention to personal appearance which the Royal Festival Hall would wish to foster as a proper contribution due from every woman towards its own total amenity' (ibid). Whilst *Vogue* and *Harper's* advise one how to dress appropriately for different scenes in social life, the Festival Hall requires it.

Making Modern Space Tasteful

This chapter has examined how post-war British fashion media attributed symbolic values to the temporality of dress. This concerns how one dresses and changes one's dress throughout the day and in accordance with the social setting to which that type of dress is worn. The discernable way in which a basic garment order divided up the sequential layout space of post-war issues of *Vogue* and *Harper's* is a demarcation of dress that gives shape to the public spaces in which it is photographed. In this context the space of the newly built Royal Festival Hall was the setting for a full and 'tasteful' wardrobe throughout a number of editorial photo-spreads published throughout 1952. This analysis has addressed how standards and rules of dress endorsed by the fashion media − what to wear, when, and where − participated in the cultural production of the Royal Festival Hall, thus making this modern space appear tasteful to readers of *Vogue* and *Harper's* at this time.

The term 'spatial flux' used by Pevsner to describe the modern post-war frame of the Royal Festival Hall engages with the ideas of process and flowing forms and it also suggests that this flow is the result of continuous change. The experience of architecture and public space is historical. In terms of the Festival Hall it was not until the early 1980s that the Greater London Council invited a wider public into the Hall with its 'open foyer' policy (April 1983) (Hewison 1995: 239; McKean 2001). 'Glossy' magazines that utilised the Festival Hall as a background for fashion spreads in the early 1950s are productive of what Quinn calls 'the perception of 'fashionable' architecture' and this itself 'suggests mutable façades rather than sustainable architecture. In this sense, clothing is not understood as an accessory to urban architecture, but its very condition' (Quinn 2003: 190). The spatial flux of the Royal Festival Hall is between the inside and outside, and is between the past and the present, and these are all elements that, like fashion, are in a perpetual process of change. At its formation the Hall invited the world of *Harper's* and *Vogue* into its unfolding space so that its adaptable body could be dressed up in a tasteful manner befitting gracious living in post-war Britain.

Fig.10.1 *Gilt-Edged Investments* photographed by Maurice Tabard 'Photographed at the Royal Festival Hall' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1952: 22–23) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.10.2 *Gilt-Edged Investments* photographed by Maurice Tabard (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1952: 24–25) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.10.3 *Gilt-Edged Investments* photographed by Maurice Tabard
(*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1952: 26–27) © Hearst Magazines UK.

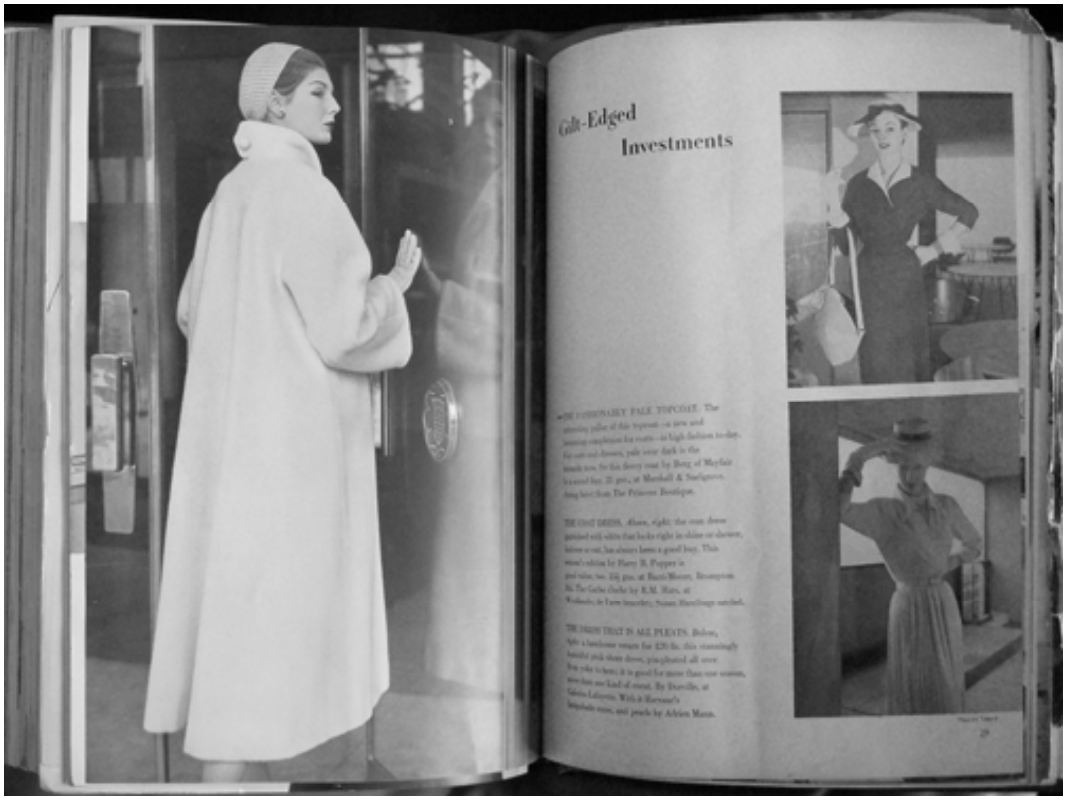


Fig.10.4 *Gilt-Edged Investments* photographed by Maurice Tabard
(*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1952: 28–29) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.10.5 *Gilt-Edged Investments* photographed by Maurice Tabard 'All Photographs on pages 22–31 were taken at the Royal Festival Hall. For provincial shops and prices please turn to page 90'. (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1952: 30–31) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Overleaf Double-page spread:
Clothes in a Setting (British *Vogue* March 1958: 166–167)

Clothes in a setting

The clothes

Navy blue jersey in straight outline form,
the narrow, casually-opened coat
clued to a matching jersey skirt,
and white knitted overblouse
banded at neck and hem in red and blue.
Navy calf makes the flat bag
and bowed, slenderly pointed shoes

[illegible]

The setting

This month Vogue breaks new ground—on page 177 Anthony Denney edits our [illegible] Fashions in Living portfolio, and to introduce this, our latest enterprise, we [illegible] to photograph four of the season's most important fashion looks against backgrounds that illustrate the latest trends in decoration. Here part of the new G-Plan Gallery in St. George Street, for the recent re-planning of which Anthony Denney was [illegible]. He has also completely re-designed Busto House in Sussex (opposite) for Mr. [illegible] a director of G-Plan, and on page 169 photographs part of his own house at [illegible]

For other shops at which to buy the clothes: see page 242

The clothes

Two new reasons for a suit's importance: first its colour—a glow of muted pumpkin tweed, echoed by hat, shoes and bright reptile bag. Second, its shape—lean, loose and casual, the jacket longer and softly tied

The setting

In the war the Gommes' house in Sussex—Victorian successor to an earlier Soane house—was burnt to the ground. Now while converting the surviving stables, also by Soane, Mr. Gomme is living in nearby Busto House. Architecturally unpretentious outside, the interior has been gutted and entirely replanned, using modern fabrics and furniture (largely G-Plan) but still retaining its old and essential country character. The living room, predominantly a glowing orange sharpened with black and white, has a brass-rimmed fireplace set in a rough flint wall, a tiled floor, and beamed ceiling. The sofa continues round to the far wall beneath a large Coetzee painting

11. Location…'Clothes in a Setting'

This chapter examines how mock-room sets in the showrooms of the mass manufacturing furniture brand G-plan provided a photographic location for editorial spreads published in the fashion media throughout the late 1950s. In accounts of post-war British design, the furniture showroom has been addressed in terms of providing an environment in which members of the public could come into contact with a modern design aesthetic (Moriarty 2007). In many instances these showrooms also displayed forms of modern and contemporary art, contributing to an image and experience that produced notions of the ideal interior and therefore of an idealised lifestyle (Sparke 2008: 57). The showrooms of G-Plan, otherwise known as the G-Plan Gallery, were an environment in which avant-garde art, largely in the form of abstract paintings, was incorporated into its aesthetic throughout the mid to late 1950s.

Penny Sparke points out that from the nineteenth century onwards interior decoration has been absorbed into the fashion system, therefore in mass market women's magazines 'a mix of different kinds of information related to interiors, fashion and leisure activities' can be read in a single publication (Sparke 2008: 57). Throughout fashion stories, features, and advertising campaigns, the G-Plan brand was strategically reproduced in fashion magazines. The double-page spread therefore presents an instance in which design, art and fashion are staged together. The furniture showroom and exhibition is yet another reconstructive site for intersecting cultural values and identities in post-war Britain.

The focus of this chapter is *Clothes in a Setting*, a four-page spread published in the March 1958 issue of British *Vogue*. It accompanies the magazine's new regular interior decoration feature *Fashions in Living*, it features the G-Plan gallery, and introduces Anthony Denney as its editor. In the pages of Condé Nast publications *Vogue* and *House & Garden* the room-set aesthetic of G-Plan is often accredited to Denney, a designer-photographer who worked on both of these publications. In these instances Denney is positioned as a photographer, an editor, a decorations advisor, a set-designer, and a collector of avant-garde art. Overall he is presented as an informed tastemaker.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how symbolic values associated with the roles of tastemakers discursively constructed modern artworks as fashionable objects of decoration for the modern post-war interior. The first part of this chapter locates this spread and its accreditation to the figure of Denney within wider discourses that surrounded the role and position of the fashion photographer. The second part examines how modern furniture, design and art were promoted in the pages of post-war British fashion magazines. Finally I discuss how this analysis affords a different view of the modern interior as 'a stage set within which identities' upon which 'formed and re-formed' (Sparke 2009b: 71).

'The Influence of Anthony Denney'

Published in March 1958, *Clothes in a Setting* accompanies the launch of *Vogue's* new interior decoration feature *Fashions in Living* (see figs.11.2–11.3). It shows four different interiors and their accompanying clothes, the sequence of which is divided and ordered in accordance with the transition from day to evening wear (see Chapter 10). The first two pages present daywear in the form of a skirt, jacket, and suit ensemble, and the following pages show two cocktail dresses for the evening. Alongside editorial credits for the ready-to-wear brand names that have provided the clothes for this story – including Jaeger, Aquascutum and Susan Small – the locations are also accredited (see Chapter 8). There is the G-plan Gallery in St. George Street London (left of fig.11.1); the Sussex home of Mr Donald Gomme, a director of G-Plan (right of fig.11.1); the entrance hall of Mr Gomme's home (left of fig.11.2) and finally the Hammersmith house of the *Vogue* photographer who shot the editorial, Anthony Denney (left of fig.11.2).

In addition to the credits attributed to the clothes and their settings, a number of the artworks that decorate the background of these images are also accredited by the fashion captions. For instance, in the living room of Mr Gomme 'The sofa continues round to the far wall beneath a large Coetzee painting' (*Vogue* March 1958: 167), and 'A Bernard Buffet self-portrait in coldly Nordic blues and greys hangs above a black commode in the corner of a grey and black tiled hallway in Anthony Denney's house' (ibid: 169).

In the first page of this fashion spread details of these settings and their relation to the latter 'Fashions in Living' portfolio are highlighted as follows:

> This month *Vogue* breaks new ground – on page 177 Anthony Denney edits our first Fashions in Living portfolio, and to introduce this, our latest enterprise, we asked him to photograph four of the season's most important fashion looks against backgrounds that illustrate the latest trends in decoration. Here part of the new G-Plan Gallery in St. George Street, for the recent re-planning of which Anthony Denney was responsible. He has also completely re-designed Busto House in Sussex (*opposite*) for Mr. Donald Gomme, a director of G-Plan, and on page 169 photographs parts of his own house at Hammersmith.
>
> (*Vogue* March 1958: 166)

The prominent name in this feature, and in subsequent 'Fashions in Livings' features, is that of Denney. The repetition of Denney's name and his multiple roles is a 'constructive' aspect of *Vogue's* discourse and its circulation throughout the late 1950s. The status of this name, what it signifies, and how it is reproduced in this instance, and comparatively not in others, reveals 'the manner in which discourse is articulated on the basis of social relationships' (Foucault 1979 [1969]: 28). Here the advertising of clothes and their modern settings are symbolically valued, and therefore advertised and sold, partly by recourse to the name, position and attributed taste of Denney.

Throughout the late 1940s and 1950s in the pages of *Vogue* Denney's name is mostly associated with that of his position as a fashion photographer. In histories of fashion photography, the photographer is often positioned as a creator, sometimes akin to an artist, and is often discussed as the author of fashion images (see Chapter 1). The

fashion photographer is also credited as a 'model maker' (Wyndham 1964). In discourses that surround the twentieth-century fashion photographer the relationship between him, or her, and the photographic model is largely played out as a Pygmalion myth in reverse, whereby the photographer is able to shape and mould moving flesh into a static image of staid beauty. Whether this is described as a relationship of sexual, paternal, maternal, or economic proportions, it is often telling of the power that a photographer could wield in the field of fashion (see Chapter 12).

The taste of a fashion photographer was often called upon in the judging of model contests. This position also afforded the photographer extra publicity. In archives kept at the V&A on the British fashion photographer John French, press cuttings from the 1950s reveal how his work involved the photographing of fashion, and also his judgement in matters of contemporary female beauty. At this time French was the regular fashion photographer for national newspaper the *Daily Express* (see also Conekin 2010); he also judged their national model competitions, gave tips and advice to aspiring young models, and presented his selection of Britain's top models or next new faces (AAD 9 – 1979 PL 24 (3/4)).

Model contests that ran in *Vogue* throughout the 1950s also used their staff photographers as judges. *Vogue*'s first modelling contest, launched in June 1952, outlines how a group of novice models were selected by a team of British *Vogue* photographers: Cecil Beaton, Norman Parkinson, Anthony Denney and John Deakin. The introduction to this feature states 'Four of photographers picked a model each, and you will see how they make their choice, what type of clothes they selected, read why the girl they chose appealed to their particular requirements in a model' (British *Vogue* June 1952: 55). According to the copy each of the model winners are chosen according to particular characteristics that suit the styles and tastes of these image makers: Beaton likes 'mature chic'; Parkinson chose 'variety and mobility' of lively 'expressive features'; Denney selected 'distinguished and eloquent' repose; and Deakin prefers an 'established, worldly, classic beauty, a temperament, often a certain exotic strangeness' (*Vogue* June 1952: 57–63). Here the personal taste or preference of a photographer is credited as the deciding factor in a winning model, and it also marks their own status as professional connoisseurs and creators of female beauty.

Fashion photographers are also credited as space-makers, that is to say in the same way that they are attributed with the success and fashion for a certain model, look, or version of 'beauty'; this can be applied to spaces that they chose to use as locations for fashion imagery. Helen C. Ribeiro (2009) addresses how, in this way, the fashion photography of Richard Avedon, produced for American *Harper's Bazaar*, 'rebuilt' post-war Paris. Ribeiro argues that Avedon's photographs of the Paris couture collections suggested 'a new narrative for Paris […] an alternative Paris mythology via an alternate cityscape peopled with lithe American models draped in French couture' (Ribeiro 2009: 41). Ribeiro's analysis claims that these images not only depict fashion, as in the

garment, 'but [are] also landscapes' (ibid: 42). Thus the settings that Avedon chooses from the City 'become not only a backdrop […but are] part of the sale' (Ribeiro 2009: 42). This is a landscape that includes various cultural markers, such as the Eiffel Tower, and in this way the work of Avedon also 'sells Paris itself' (ibid; see also Rocamora 2009; Gilbert 2000; 2003; Chapter 8 of this thesis).

In his examination of British and Parisian haute couture, Breward points to the importance of both studio and location shoot settings in the history of couture and its visual cultures during the late 1940s and 1950s (Breward 2007). The former *Vogue* fashion editor Ballard recalls that as cameras and lighting equipment became less cumbersome, smaller and easier to transport, various locations outside of the studio could be used more often, such as 'someone's well-decorated house or to a museum or shop' (Ballard 1960: 40). These 'interesting locations' (ibid) would become an important part of what Breward terms 'the developing iconography of fashion imagery in the post-war years' (Breward 2007: 187).

Reflecting on her experience at various location shoots, former 1950s British fashion model Jean Dawnay observes that 'Photographers are always hard pressed to find original backgrounds for their pictures. When they do find one, they jealously guard it and ask the models not to go round telling the other photographers' (Dawnay 1956: 97). The selection of a location, and what took place in the process of these shoots, was by no means a one-man job – rather they were often the results of a combined effort between photographers, assistants and editorial staff from the fashion feature departments of magazines (Carter 1974: 71–84; Scott-James 1952: 164–172). However, certain locations are often associated with the work of particular fashion photographers, and in this way the image of a certain kind of space, along with that of the photographic model, becomes part of a signature style (Yoxall 1966: 101).

The location associated most with the fashion photography of Denney is that of the domestic interior. According to the managing director of post-war British *Vogue* Harry Yoxall, Denney could:

> effect this magic with interiors. By tact he would persuade the owner of the house to allow him to rearrange the furniture in a more significant composition, by camera-angle eliminate some of the more dubious objects, But it went further than that. By a curious kind of visual alembic, independent, it seemed of his camera, he could make a room look far lovelier in the lens than it did to the human eye.
>
> (Yoxall 1966: 108)

In the 1952 *Vogue* modelling contest Denney's work in interior decoration is signalled out to the reader, 'He loves houses, furniture and new ideas in decoration […] He collects paintings, and his still-lifes and interiors in *House & Garden* demonstrate his love for and close study of interior décor and colour' (British *Vogue* June 1952: 61). And, coincidentally, his choice of winning model, a Mrs Brooker, also worked as a stage designer (ibid).

For these reasons Denney was featured in series of articles produced by advertising executive Mary Gowing (Head of Women's Department S.H. Benson Ltd) in 1956 for industrial design journal *Art and Industry* (Gowing 1956abcde). Addressing the work of several commercial photographers then working in Britain – John French, Denney, Hans Wild, Norman Parkinson, and Zoltan Glass – Gowing sought to explore the relationship between fashion, mass marketing and consumption. Under the title 'Photographer and the Woman: The Influence of Anthony Denney', Gowing claims that 'his widest influence' (Gowing 1956b: 14) was on the modern interior in the home. Noting his various commercial activities, including his photographic/decoration work for *House & Garden* in both the UK and US and the French periodical *Maison et Jardin*, and in particular G-Plan advertising campaigns and sale catalogues, Gowing claims that Denney's 'creative and genuinely educative ideas' find their way into 'the pleasant homes of a multitude of ordinary families. Families where the woman home-maker sets the scene' (ibid).

Although this type of commercial work is 'inevitably anonymous', according to Gowing there are nevertheless certain factors that make a Denney image recognisable. For Gowing it is Denney's own collection of modern art, including 'the pictures of such men as Francis Bacon, Buffet, Tchelitchew, Stefan Knapp, Clavé Coetzee and Gordon Cook' (ibid: 21), that participate in the creation of this photographer's particular signature style.

Throughout the photo-images of ideal modern interiors produced for *Vogue's Fashions in Living* feature, numerous abstract paintings are regularly featured and therefore contribute to an aesthetic that frequently marries contemporary furniture design and modern art within the context of fashion media (see Appendix 3.5). This can also be found in Denney's work as a fashion photographer, in which contemporary clothes and fashion models are located in modern interiors, often posed next to or nearby a piece of abstract art (see figs.11.1–11.2). In the discourse of fashion media a genre of modern and abstract painting was constructed as fashionable in connection to the attributed prowess of Denney and its placement within a modern style interior.

'Fashions in Living'

The remit of high fashion periodicals such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* was 'every aspect of Gracious Living – fashion, beauty, décor, entertaining' art and theatre (Scott-James 1952: 18; see Chapter 4). Their promotion of modern design and art placed within interior settings was propelled by this very prerogative to report upon what was both new and held up to be examples of elite culture. Modern design and contemporary art graciously fulfilled these requirements.

Thus amongst the homes and houses of the country-based gentry there are features on contemporary design, fashion stories that use furniture and textiles from stores such as Heals as props, fashion stories that use the homes of art collectors and interior designers as locations (see Appendix 3.5), and reports on CoID activity such as the opening of the

Design Centre in 1956 ('Vogue's Eye View of getting your eye in' May 1956: 103). This was also an aesthetic that could be seen in the advertising pages for British ready-to-wear manufacturing brands such as Susan Small, Daks and the fake fur (fureleen) company Astraka (see Appendix 3.5).

As Sparke points out, since the mid-nineteenth century the promotion of idealised domestic interiors within various forms of mass media had been used 'as a mechanism for stimulating desire and mass consumption', coinciding with the growth of the publishing industry and consumer market (Sparke 2008: 59). Women's magazines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries could be seen to extend 'their promotion of fashionable clothing items to include components of the interior and complete interiors' (ibid; see also Breward 1994). Therefore Sparke argues that a 'close alliance between dress and interiors' was developed and sustained by the modern mass market of women's magazines, in part because of 'their common cultural meanings, the shared commercial strategies of their creators and the commonality of the commercial sites that framed them' (Sparke 2008: 89).

As part of its programme of expansion in the late 1950s British *Vogue* began to formerly publish special 'portfolio' issues dedicated to a number of their already regular feature pages, Travel, Beauty, and Young Idea. Addressing their readers' 'growing interest in decoration and entertaining', a relatively new subsidiary to this group was added in the form of *Fashion in Living* pages (Withers 1957: 119). *Clothes in a Setting* is an editorial that provides an introduction to this later feature. Here modern design and avant-garde provide a visually stimulating location for a range of clothes, and these elements are made to appear fashionable because they are chosen to be the location for the photographing of clothes by a high fashion magazine.

In an article for the Royal Academy of Art (RCA) student-led periodical *ARK*, Independent Group associate Roger Coleman (Massey 1995: 105) addressed the subject of advertising and visual culture, drawing attention to the glossy world of fashion media (Coleman 1957; del Renzio 1957; Garlake 1998; Smithson and Smithson 1956). In 'Dream Worlds, assorted' Coleman draws upon particular themes that constituted some of the backgrounds and narratives to spreads produced in British glossies *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* at that time. In addition to modern offices, automobiles and aeroplanes, Coleman looks at how these fashion magazines integrate avant-garde art into their imagery, as similar markers of modern luxury consumer-led lifestyles.

In his essay Coleman points to a fashion story photographed at a 1956 Nicolas de Stael exhibition staged at the Whitechapel Gallery, and then to a spread that features the space of a design showroom. It is here he argues that:

> for us the camera has created a new world. One girl sits on a tubular steel chair at a tubular steel table, while the other holds a photograph displaying modern furniture designs. Stretching behind them is a Piranesi engraving blown up to mural size […] Everything is so magnificently casual that even Piranesi takes on a

an air of luxurious expendability.

(Coleman 1957: 32)

Coleman's argument is that the 'dream world' attached to these luxury items, whether painting or interior design, can be momentarily attained through this type of representation. The fashion spread does not cut its reader off from this lifestyle and its associated products, rather it invites its audience to speculate, aspire to, and accumulate a world of such dreams.

Coleman broadly defines this 'dream world', created using modern interior design and painting art and the avant-garde, as not being separate from this glossy pop culture. Rather fine art is integrated within the visual world of fashion, 'the frame of the photograph bestowing a congruity upon the material it contains' (Coleman 1957: 32). This leads Coleman to conclude that 'One wear's one's culture and social position as easily as one's clothes' (ibid). This in itself is also a dream, or is part of the ideological construction of a 'dream world', where culture and position can be obtained through the masquerade of clothes and possessions.

Coleman notes that the fashion caption states this setting is 'a show-room' (Coleman 1957: 32). This acknowledgement of a scenic location is part of the sale to which he refers; that is one type of 'dream-world' – the showroom – is effective in the selling of another 'dream-world' – that of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, and vice versa. The showroom, its location in various forms of media, and the name that is attributed to its design are not empty signifiers; rather, at one time or another they are significant elements in the construction of this 'dream world' where modern and contemporary art are objects that stand upon its open-planned shelves, are balanced upon its polished coffee tables, and decorate its walls.

Sparke argues that taking the values of domesticity into the market place poses a challenge 'the idea of separate spheres' (Sparke 2008: 74) in which the private/public divide is distorted. The representation of the furniture showroom in fashion magazines suggests a further distortion or overlap in the different types of 'dream-worlds' and domestic interiors being presented to their readers at this time. As a location for fashion stories the G-Plan Gallery appears as a stage for two possible scenarios to take place. It is pictured as either a 'real' home in which a model enacts an action of domestic living, or it is pictured as a specific retail site within the urban shopping drama of central London. Complying with the first narrative *Harper's Bazaar* November 1957 spread *Winter Warmth* shot by Richard Dormer, pictures a model in a mohair dress casually about to turn on the TV set, a marker of social status in itself (Fisher 2011: 140), and picking up a book as if in her own home.

In *Vogue's* June 1957 issue the G-Plan Gallery transforms into the climactic scene for a Summer Season fashion story. Shot by Antony Armstrong-Jones it is photographed in what Wilson calls an aesthetic of 'candid camera or family snapshot styles', whereby Armstrong-Jones produced images of 'his models supposedly caught off guard, tripping

over in boats' (Wilson 2003 [1985]: 46). Here the suggestion of sexual drama enacted by a model in a yellow evening dress glancing back as she steps towards the reclining suited man who is watching her, is no less candid. The potential for 'realistic' drama is somewhat diffused by the fashion copy's assurance that 'the setting here is not a private house, but a place where decoration ideas blossom: the new showroom for G-Plan furniture, in St. George Street, Hanover Square' (*Vogue* June 1957: 56).

The Queen's April 1958 fashion spread *New Lines In Fashion In Furniture* utilises the second type of narrative, the shopping trip, placing the G-Plan Gallery in amongst a number of London-based furniture stores showrooms. Shot by David Olins and Peter Alexander, the new lines in fashion are all forms of casual spring daywear such as cotton shirtdresses, separates and knitwear, and the spaces used as locations are as follows: Heal's 'New Design Exhibition' and 'Continental Show Room'; the G-Plan Gallery; and the 'contemporary showroom' at Harrods (*The Queen* 1 April 1958: 60–67).

In these instances the G-Plan Gallery is a type of 'once removed' interior (Martin 2011: 3) in that it is a 'virtual idealized' interior. Here modern life for the post-war woman is one of looking effortlessly chic or glamorous at home, or shopping to create the modern interior. This image may constitute an enviable 'dream-world' for the majority. Significantly this is also not the image of the 'happy housewife heroine', which Angela Partington argues is more a part of feminist mythology than the actual practices of consumption that the female consumer of the 1950s participated in (Partington 1989: 211). In the editorial photo-spreads cited here the fictitious consumer of this 'dream world' is a modern consumer/connoisseur of modern design, art and living. In the pages of *Harper's* and *Vogue* 'home' and the modern interior is where the work of gracious living, entertaining and fashionable self-presentation is conducted – a world not commonly found, but one to aspire to.

The showroom is staged as both a public and private space, which is presented as a fashionable, and therefore idealised, modern interior. And part of what constitutes this 'dream-world' is avant-garde art. As other studies note, this decorative combination of art, fashion and design does not begin in post-war Britain (Attfield and Kirkham 1998; Fisher, Keeble, Beatancourt and Martin 2011; Kinchen 1996; Nava 1997; Sparke 2008; 2009a; 2009b), but the discursive production of this theme, in the late 1950s, points to altering variants in its construction and in addition its suggestive proposition to its imagined consumers.

Here editorials posit fashion in explicitly modern-style decors where contemporary design objects and modern works of art provide a celebrated frame. Rather than iterating a discourse that necessarily 'genders mass culture and the masses as feminine' and 'high culture, whether traditional or modern' as masculine (Huysssen 1986: 191–194), in this instance feminised forms of mass media present another vision of how 'masculine' high culture in the forms of modern design, contemporary art and painting was absorbed and reproduced in the post-war modern domestic interior.

In *Vogue* modern design, contemporary art and the domestic interior were promoted in conjunction with the figure of Denney. In feature articles dedicated to the subjects of interior decoration and art Denney sought to educate the *Vogue* readers in these matters of style and taste. In a 1957 feature entitled 'Why "Art Auture"' [sic. Auteur], *Vogue* and Denney claim that this once 'lawless teddy-boy of [modern] art' (Gilliatt 1957: 138) was being bought and displayed within the fashionable homes of many collectors. This is accompanied by a number of interior shots of Denney's own house in St Peter's Square, which show some of his art collection in situ. Furthermore the article invites readers who were also members of the Contemporary Art Society to 'go through it in reality' on an open-house day, where the home is momentarily transforms into yet another type of public viewing space (ibid).

Denney and *Vogue's* argument that 'anyone' could *live* with this type of art disseminates a particular view of avant-garde culture to its readers. This does not mean that all the readers of *Vogue* magazine went onto becoming avid collectors of avant-garde painting, but it is given value by its inclusion within the feminised spaces of interior decoration and fashion. In *Vogue* this look for the modern interior, and therefore the 'dream' life of modern post-war Britain, is constructed and mediated through the figure of a particular and recognised tastemaker, which in this instance is Denney.

Denney was not a lone figure in promoting avant-garde and contemporary art in the modern domestic interior; rather, he forms part of a group of interior decorators that emerged as media personalities in the late 1950s and 1960s, including David Hicks, Tom Parr, John Siddeley and Oliver Messel. A *House & Garden* article published in 1960 categorises this group as 'The Arbiters of Taste' (*House & Garden* March 1960: 49). According to the report these interior decorators are 'now appearing and reappearing in the news', and whether every reader recognises them or not *House & Garden* claims that in 'the fashionable world' their 'latest moves and moods are studied as carefully as are those of Balmain and Balenciaga – or almost!' (ibid). Throughout both *Vogue* and *Harper's*, and other fashion titles such as *Queen*, the work of these interior decorators was featured (see Appendix 3.5). The exhibition of art, both modern and not, were an important component to their styling of interiors – both 'real' and artificial.

These arbiters of taste do not quite fit the projection of 'masculine professionalism' that would come to define certain 'designers' in the post-war public arena (Sparke 2008: 188). According to Sparke, 'Latter-day Modernists saw the work of decorators as feminized, trivial and superficial […] Furthermore they associated interior decoration with social aspiration and an excessive proximity to the media' (ibid). Yet, it was perhaps these very characteristics that at the same time popularised and thereby valorised the role and image of the male interior decorator for a particular audience of fashion magazine readers. Raised in this way to the status of tastemaker, the interior decorator was one of the emerging spokesmen 'in the new bourgeoisie of the vendors of symbolic goods and services' (Bourdieu (2010 [1984]: 309), who constructed modern and contemporary art as

fashionable in the space of the magazine and in the dream space of post-war modern home.

'Home & Beauty'

In post-war Britain the promotion of taste, modern design and art through room-sets, exhibitions and media coverage had been endorsed in a number of government state-sponsored public exhibitions. For institutional bodies such as the CoID it was a generally held belief that good taste played a vital role in the formation of an enlightened society (Woodham 1996b). In ventures such as the *Britain Can Make It* exhibition held at the V&A in 1946, the 1951 Festival of Britain (FoB), and the series of *Sculpture In The Home* exhibitions (1945–1958) (Burstow 2008a; 2008b), modern furniture and textiles selected by the CoID were displayed to an public audience in the form of room sets and were often decorated by objects of modern art (see Bulllivant 1986; Burstow 2008a; Burstow 2008b; Conekin 2003; Sparke 1986). Burstow points out that the featured pieces of furniture from manufacturers such as Heals, Dunn's of Bromley, and Primavera, 'were prohibitively expensive for all but the middle classes and stocked by only a few upmarket retailers' (Burstow 2008a: 46).

Claire Langhamer argues that in post-war Britain an emphasis was also placed upon gendered relations which saw 'the modern home and its inhabitants' being represented 'as the symbolic and actual, centre of post-war reconstruction' in Britain, and elsewhere in Europe (Langhamer 2005: 342). Elsewhere it is argued that through 'an idealizing vision of modern art's role in the lives of modern home-makers' (Burstow 2008a: 48), art and design were exhibited to the British public through these contemporaneous distinctions of gender, class and taste.

The history of the G-Plan brand interconnects with these discourses of good taste, modern design and mass consumption. In his discussion of the lasting 'influence' of the Festival of Britain, design critic Reyner Banham points to the connection between the tastemaking polices of public exhibitions organised with the state, and then the subsequent taste-inducing marketing activities such as E. Gomme Ltd's G-Plan brand. He argues that whilst:

> the Festival was not a 'turning point in taste' itself, it was part of the raw material that fed the influence that did help to modernize public taste: the media. Television – above all, commercial television instituted in 1955 – and increasingly sophisticated illustrated magazines […] Indeed, in this sense, the Festival may have had some real if marginal influence on public appreciation of 'good design' since, as Leslie Julius of Hille Furniture could be heard to say at times in the middle fifties, 'Anything that sells more G-Plan enlarges the market for modern design generally'.
>
> (Banham 1976: 196)

In his social history of post-war Britain, Hopkins also claims that G-Plan was one of the large manufacturers that 'began quantity production and publicising of a wide range of

well-designed and inexpensive furniture, acceptable alike in home of banker or vanman' (Hopkins 1963: 329) in the 1950s.

The G-Plan brand emerged from the High Wycombe furniture company E. Gomme Ltd. The firm, founded in 1898, had been a producer of the government's wartime utility scheme furniture prior to its re-launch as the G-Plan in 1953. When austerity measures were phased out in the early 1950s the company embarked upon a programme of mass-production and modern design (*Art and Industry* 1954: 164–167). Unlike store-branded furniture that had dominated the mid to high-end pre-war market of furniture design, Gomme Ltd, primarily sold its products through mail-order catalogues and the outlets of other retailers.

According to Basil Hyman and Steve Bragg the G-Plan was 'revolutionary' because it did away with the necessary purchase of 'suites of matching furniture' (Hyman and Bragg 2007: 30). This, they argue, enabled a wider consumer group to engage with not just contemporary modern design and also facilitated lifestyle aspirations. Kynaston offers an alternative view and argues that the 'moderate cost' factor promoted by the G-Plan advertisements 'probably failed to penetrate below a certain point in the socio-economic scale' (Kynaston 2009: 666).

As Hyman and Bragg point out a fundamental aspect 'to the G-Plan revolution was the brand itself, and the way in which it was marketed' (Hyman and Bragg 2007: 32). In order to promote its brand the G-Plan engaged services of the established J. Walter Thompson (JWT) advertising agency, whose Copy Group Head Doris Gundry is credited with conceiving the name and overall concept of the G-Plan brand (Hyman and Bragg 2007: 37; Rayfield 1996: 68). Thereafter G-Plan the brand was officially launched in 1953.

In catalogues, newspapers, magazines, and other media outlets such as the cinema, the promotion of this brand placed 'the emphasis […] on a better home, even a better lifestyle, through G-Plan furniture' and later 'sumptuously well laid-out rooms would enhance a well-established brand image' (Hyman and Bragg 2007: 32). An important part of this 'brand image' was the use of abstract paintings as part of its interior decor and overall look. Advertising copy contained messages such as 'Home and beauty: *You don't have to be a millionaire these days to have a beautiful home*' (*House & Garden* May 1957: 12–13) (see Appendix 3.5). Published in Condè Nast's *House & Garden*, *Vogue* and a variety of other print media such as national newspapers (JWT HAT/GD/ 063) these adverts often show colourful and 'modern', or 'contemporary'-style furniture composed and shot alongside large canvases of non-figurative and contemporary painting.

The consumption of the G-Plan product did not necessarily begin and end with the object, it also took place in the experience of its image (Hebdidge 1988; see Chapter 1), whether that was through the page, screen, billboard or in the space of an exhibition room. The use of the G-Plan Gallery and its furniture in editorial spreads is distinctively

different from that of its advertisements. The promotion of the G-Plan brand within editorial pages lends it an authority of editorial decision (see Chapter 4). Also, it was not until the 1960s that models were used in its nationwide advertising campaigns and associated catalogues (HWFA), therefore the narrative sequence of a fashion spread offers a different view from the unoccupied spaces that dominated the G-Plan advertising imagery at this time. In this way a 'dream world' is created through a complex network of production, marketing and advertising interests that also take into account variants amongst their intended audiences.

Hyman and Bragg observe that in the later half of the 1950s G-Plan 'stepped up their advertising campaign' (Hyman and Bragg 2007: 54–55), and this also coincided with the 1957 opening of the G-Plan Gallery in central London. Documents from the JWT archive, now housed in the History of Advertising Archive (HAT), record aspects pertaining to the development of this brand throughout the mid- to late 1950s. In an initial report that predates the 1953 launch JWT set out a number of proposals that they envisaged would successfully promote the products of the Gomme firm (JWT HAT 50/1/75/2/1). The JWT report outlines how a manufacturer's showrooms in cities could be a place 'where the goods are displayed but not actually sold' (ibid: 5), and that through the enticement of advertisements members of the public would be invited 'to visit the showrooms' (ibid). Further promotional spaces highlighted include exhibition space in trade fairs and appearing in print media.

JWT's campaign report for 1956–1957 points to the importance of the Gallery as a place in which 'The press have shown considerable interest […] many have visited it and photographed there' (JWT HAT50/1/75/2/3: 1). British *Vogue* is singled out as a leading example of where the G-Plan gallery was used as a 'Background for fashion shots' published in its June 1957 issue (JWT HAT50/1/75/2/3:8; see Appendix 3.5). Other titles include the *Ambassador*, *Ideal Home*, *Modern Woman*, *Woman* and *Woman's Journal*, indicating a preference for the mid to high-end range of glossy publications in the construction of the G-Plan's brand image at that time.

The G-Plan Gallery was an acknowledged location for the photographing of fashion throughout a variety of British women's magazines. Throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s the G-Plan Gallery featured as a background location, not only in the pages of *Vogue* (figs11.1–11.2), but also in *Harper's Bazaar*, *The Queen*, *Vanity Fair* (see Appendix 3.5) and a number of other women's titles (JWT HAT50/1/75/2/3). The promotion of this brand in fashion media, as a showroom, a dream world, and part of a fashionable lifestyle, was another way in which the post-war female consumer was targeted (Partington 1989).

The formal naming of Denney and his involvement with the image-making of G-Plan is largely absent from this history and the archival material connected to the JWT firm. In Tom Rayfield's *Unofficial History of JWT London 1945–1995*, former JWT employee and Art Director on the G-Plan, Harold George, campaign, recalls how 'Our

advertising was very up-market. It was all *Vogue* photography, we used their people to take the photographs and design the sets. It was way in advance of anything else at the time' (George 1996: 194).

In a JWT report 'Brief History of the G-Plan Furniture Account', filed post-1958, a *Vogue* staffer is attributed credit for the G-Plan brand image. Under the sub-heading 'Art Treatment' we learn that JWT felt it was 'most important that G-Plan furniture should be beautifully arranged and "Dressed-up", because by itself with no accessory [to] help it tends to look dull. Photographic Art treatment was chosen to give the needed sense of reality' (JWT HAT50/1/75/2/3: 7). Here it is stated that 'a real identity for G-Plan' has been built through working with 'a very good photographer on *Vogue* who has also been an interior designer and it is he who arranges the rooms and does the décor' (ibid). In addition to the treatment of photographic images it is also noted that 'The Gallery is designed and set up by our *Vogue* photographer' (ibid: 8).

Whilst Denney is not credited as an author it is his signature styling of interior decor and set designs that the JWT advertising company are using in order to influence a consumer market. In *House & Garden* it is claimed that 'his influence is clearly to be seen in their advertisements and in their new Hanover Square Gallery. Denney's decrees, therefore, affect a large slab of the middle-class market, and he is very conscious of this crusading aspect of his work' (*House & Garden* 1960: 53). In many respects part of Denney's crusade was to both validate and popularise avant-garde and contemporary art. And in the case of the G-Plan brand this was achieved by depicting this style of abstract art and avant-garde culture as fashionable within the feminised space of interior decoration and the modern domestic home.

The wider public that consumed the G-Plan brand, as both an object and an image, may or may not have recognised the figure of Denney, yet it was his signature style that according to advertising executives like Gowing found their way into the homes of many 'ordinary families' (Gowing 1956b: 14). For those consumers who were also readers of glossy magazines on the subjects of interior decoration and fashion Denney may have been more familiar. For these readers the G-Plan brand was discursively constructed as fashionable due to its association with Denney and his prowess as a tastemaker in fashion, decor and contemporary art. In this way the G-Plan brand, modern design and avant-garde art is being 'dressed-up' through the accessory of Denney's name and his status as a fashion photographer, interior decorator, art collector and *Vogue* editor.

'Art Treatment'

This chapter has examined how notions of 'authorship', 'position', and specific 'tastemakers' were constructed as symbolically valuable in the discourses of British high fashion media in the late 1950s. The focus of this discussion has been the figure of Anthony Denney, a fashion photographer and interior decorations editor for *Vogue*. Here

I examined how Denney's styling and advertising work for the G-Plan brand promoted modern design and avant-garde in the feminised space of the domestic interior.

The ways in which fashionable dress and the interior come together in *Clothes in a Setting* presents an example of a type of photographic art treatment in which objects are 'dressed-up' in the sequence of a fashion photo-spread. The double-page spread juxtaposes a black and white print next to a colour one, this both emphasises a separation and, yet at the same time, brings to mind the idea of reproduction, the colour image that is printed from the negative, suggesting that the public prefabricated space of the G-Plan gallery showroom mirrors its positive: the more colourful image of Mr Gomme's Sussex private home.

Both spaces present a scene for fashion, and both rooms are for show. The fashionably clothed body passes seamlessly between the two, suggesting that the performance of modernity is not contained by boundaries of public or private space, rather, it is a type of performance that is contained and carried in the bodies of passengers, travelling through these alternative and overlapping environs of 'real', 'un-real', 'virtual' or 'simulated' place.

Different spaces layer upon one another, the domestic interior is placed in 'the public context of mass consumption' (Sparke 2008: 74), which in this instance is both the public space of a retailer's gallery, and in the 'representational spaces of women's magazines' (ibid), and fashion magazines. *Clothes in a Setting* is an example of how the modern interior and mass fashion media were advertised in conjunction with one another. It offers an image of an environment in which design, art and fashion are staged together. In the frame of a fashion narrative and editorial spread, the showroom is photographed as another type of modern space; it is pictured as a stage for idealised forms of post-war British modernity.

Fig.11.1 *Clothes in a Setting* photographed by Anthony Denney 'Here part of the new G-Plan Gallery in St. George Street, for the recent re-planning of which Anthony Denney was responsible'. (British *Vogue* March 1958: 166–167) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Fig.11.2 *Clothes in a Setting* photographed by Anthony Denney 'The setting. Looking from the stone-flagged entrance hall of Busto House', 'The setting. A Bernard Buffet self-portrait […] in the corner of a grey and black tiled hallway in Anthony Denney's house' (British *Vogue* March 1958: 168–169) © Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Overleaf Double-page spread:
The Fine Art of Young Fashion (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1962: 48–49)

Opposite: a pin-trim coat in white wool sports global brass buttons. By Rogaire, approx. 15½ gns. at Peter Robinson, Oxford Circus; E. Francis & Son, Leamington Spa. Silk beret by Chez Elle at Harvey Nichols Little Shop; Roger Graham, Wolverhampton.

THE SHIPSHAPES

Below: brilliant scarlet blazer, with its own sleeveless white sheath and made by Sumbo, where yet another ex-RCA student, Jeanette Godfrey, is a designer. 7 gns., at Debenham & Freebody's Little Shop; Fenwicks, Newcastle. Chez Elle hat, Liberty.

RICHARD DORMER

12. Model…'The Fine Art of Young Fashion'

This chapter discusses how the fashion model in discourses of fashion media gave symbolic value to the field of art. Entwistle and Elizabeth Wissinger point out that 'despite their apparent triviality, models actually occupy an interesting and influential place within the social world' (Entwistle and Wissinger 2012: 1). Wissinger further argues that fashion models are types of 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]), in that they are social agents positioned 'between production and consumption […] since our encounters with commodities are heavily mediated by the way these are sold to us through the selection, styling and dissemination of images populated by models' (Wissinger 2012: 158). The following analysis addresses how the status and fashionableness of the model girl in early 1960s Britain participated in the discursive construction of the art school and its young female occupants.

The focus of this discussion is a *Harper's Bazaar* fashion story, *The Fine Art of Young Fashion*, published in its June 1962 issue. In the photo-spread youth fashions are modelled in the design workrooms and teaching studios of the newly opened Kensington Gore site of the Royal College of Art (RCA). In the discourse of high fashion magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper's* the model girl was increasingly becoming a recognisably 'significant author' of fashion discourse (Radner 2000: 134–136). As a prototype for young fashionable femininity the model girl is therefore an important bearer of symbolic values, which are also contingent upon the combined cultural status of youth and personality. In fashion media discourse she is both validated, and also brings validation, to the various cultural products that she is posed to sell.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how the figure of the model girl bestowed symbolic value upon the image of the London art school in early 1960s Britain. The first part locates the model girl within wider discourses concerning fashion modelling in post-war Britain. The second part examines how different kinds of role models were constructed in the textual space of the fashion magazine. Lastly I address how the photographed model girl and the female art school student are part of a wider discourse that concerns the constructed image of women in modern post-war Britain.

The 'dolly bird' (Breward 2004:168–173); the 'single girl' (Radner 2000); 'fashion girls' (McRobbie 1998), and the 'nice' girl (Conekin 2010) all refer not only to one type of look, constructed identity, or occupation, but are also discursive categories that intersect with one another. Each term is suggestive of how young women were positioned as different kinds of 'model girl' throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The image of the model girl at art school opens up onto a history of various guises and roles that the model of modern female citizenry in post-war British society could take (see Chapters 7–11).

'Model Contest'

Harper's June 1962 issue takes its regular youth, or teenage, fashions feature *The Young Outlook* as its central theme. The leading fashion story for this publication presents a range of 'youthful', British designed, ready-to-wear garments, modelled in various locations of the Royal College of Art (RCA); its millinery room; its fashion studios its screen print studio; and its weaving and textiles studio (see figs.12.1–12.6). According to *Harper's* the fine art of wearing young fashions is:

> not just choosing the clothes and wearing them. It's thinking – living – laughing – twisting them to your individual character. It's a mental outlook. Spontaneous acceptance of new ideas. Better still, anticipation of what's up and coming. Being first with a Young Outlook master plan for a summer crammed full of what's new, pretty, feminine and exciting. *Harper's Bazaar's* own blueprint for Young Outlook is set at the Royal College of Art whose fashion school is bursting at the proverbial seams with ideas and from which a positive welter of talent spills every year.
> (*Harper's Bazaar* June 1962: 43)

The Season had previously provided key themes for the summer issues of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* throughout the late 1940s and 1950s (Chapter 9). However 1958 marked the last formal presentation of debutantes at the Royal Court, and the decline of the Season (MacCarthy 2006). Although aspects of it continued throughout the 1960s MacCarthy notes that 'All aspects of the Season were affected by the youth cult' (ibid: 216). British *Vogue* editor (1960–1964) Ailsa Garland recollects that 'With the new decade new standards and attitudes were emerging and the emphasis was changing, even in the glossy magazine world' (Garland 1970: 152). In the late 1950s and 1960s summer issues of *Harper's* and *Vogue* were increasingly built around the subject of popular fashions in youth culture.

In the early 1960s the launch of new 'sub-glossy' fashion magazines, such as *Flair* (1960) and *Honey* (1960), aimed specifically at a teenage market contributed to the formation of a recognisable reader demographic that was made up of the 'young female wage-earner […who] may have as much as £12 a week to spend on clothes, cosmetics and hair-dressing' (White 1970: 172). According to White's study of the women's magazine industry in Britain 'The high-fashion demands of teenagers have, in fact, transformed the "rag trade" and the journals associated with it' (ibid: 170). The demands of this relatively new group of 'young female wage-earners' were also addressed in the pages of the 'old' glossies. Indeed, at the end of *Harper's* fashion spread *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* its copy informs its readers that '*Harper's Bazaar Young Outlook* is a regular feature, shows the fine art of young fashion twelve times a year and tells where to find the clothes in shops all over the country' (*Harper's Bazaar* June 1962: 52).

Conekin points out that the new youth fashion features produced in high fashion periodicals were accompanied by a new aesthetic in fashion photography, one that would encourage the sale of 'teenage' fashions to an audience of girls and young women. Referring to British *Vogue's Young Idea*, officially launched as a regular feature in January 1953, Conekin notes how it self-consciously utilised fashion photography 'in

action', because 'we [*Vogue*] mean to keep on photographing you, wearing clothes for the occasion – the *young* clothes for the *young* occasion' (*Vogue* January 1953: 71). In this instance youthful dynamism is captured by photographer Norman Parkinson, 'a slim young blonde bending over a chair and kicking her leg out as she changed an LP', on one of the era's key symbols of youth, 'a phonograph' (Conekin 2011: 289–290).

The Fine Art of Young Fashion, shot by *Harper's* longstanding staff photographer Richard Dormer, utilises a photographic style common to both *Vogue*'s *Young Idea* and *Harper's* own *Young Outlook* fashion pages. It presents a staging of spontaneity; its images appear to capture its different models laughing, leaning, and occasionally looking introspective. The style of photography adopted here communicates the message of its fashion copy: be spontaneous, be individual, laugh, live, be young, and at the same time it also sells the pictured garments through these same notions (see figs.12.2; 12.4). The documentary aesthetic is not consistently maintained throughout this narrative, in its final pages images of cocktail dresses and evening gowns are posed in a more formal manner amongst the machinery of the college's printing and weaving rooms (see figs.12.1–12.6).

In Toni del Renzio's essay on fashion and mass communications, first published in 1956, he discusses the mechanics of fashion imagery, beginning with particular fashion producers (media, manufacturer and couturier) and the products that they wish to sell. This is then translated into an enticing message to be read by a potential consumer via a team of 'technicians' such as photographers, artists, art-directors and layout men. Del Renzio emphasises the involvement of the photographer in this process, 'A dramatisation of the garment must be achieved […] The rightness of the photographer's job is shown by the subsequent behaviour of the women who buy and wear the dress' (del Renzio 1958: 10). The fashion model is part of an on-set 'collaboration' that enables 'the final photograph […to tell] the story' (ibid), and therefore 'The models play some part in the invention of these typical poses, but the photographers realise them and fix them and transmit them to a wider currency' (ibid). Yet, in the currency of post-war British fashion imagery and culture, the model as both an image and as a recognised social agent had more of a part to play in the 'dramatisation' than just posing.

With regards to photographic fashion modelling, post-war Britain is often described as a period of change from which two distinctive model styles emerge; there is the dominant 'lady-like' and 'haughty' look of the 1950s models, and then that of the 'nice', 'relaxed', 'friendly', and the exaggerated 'realness' of 1960s model girls (Conekin 2010: 293). Yet, as Conekin, has argued such narratives of radical breaks, particularly in the history of Britain in the 1960s, (ibid) can be 'simplistic and unhelpful as a way of thinking about the history of fashion, photography, the media, and society in post-war Britain' (ibid: 284). Whilst the image of 'top' fashion models in post-war Britain may represent a break from one type of dominant look and persona to another, i.e from 'haughty to nice' (Conekin 2010), the ways in which they acquire a name and personality through the media show a number of continuities between the two.

The Fine Art of Young Fashion features a number of different models, and although they remain unaccredited in the magazine copy, some faces are perhaps more recognisable than others, such as those of blonde Celia Hammond and the dark-haired Marie-Lise Grès, both of whom would become celebrated 'star' fashion models of the 1960s (see figs.12.1–12.2; AAD9–1979 PL 19; AAD9–1979 PL 20). The wider cultural recognition of the photographic model largely coincides with the development of 'new photographically based advertisements' during the First World War era that required photographic models for their creation (Browne 2013: 50). Wissinger also acknowledges that the:

> role modelling played in the post-Second World War boom, in which newly available glossy magazines put slick images into the hands of targeted consumers, was significant. The glamorous images found in *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Life* and *Look* magazine showed the way towards the commodification of more and more realms of contemporary life
>
> (Wissinger 2012: 160)

In this context the fashion model, as both a specific social role and media personality, became more visible, more prominent, and more established.

Radner's examination of the 'Single Girl' image in early 1960s fashion photography argues that here the model emerges 'as a significant author in fashion discourse, as a recognisable and recognised agent in the production of the fashion spectacle' (Radner 2000: 128). Referring in particular to the early career of British model girl Jean Shrimpton, Radner claims that Shrimpton 'always projected a defined and recognisable self' (ibid). The image of Shrimpton therefore constitutes her status as an author, or cultural intermediary, which precludes the formal transition of naming her 'alongside […] the photographer' (Harrison citied in Radner 2000: 134).

Whilst Shrimpton is often credited as the 'star' photographic model of the early to mid-1960s, in that she was the personification of the 'look of the moment' (Garland 1970: 163), in the history of British fashion photography the model as a recognisable, and celebrated author of fashion discourse can be seen to emerge prior to the 1960s. This suggests an overlapping, or rupture that spills over these two 'types' of model, their discursive constructions, and their appeal in the wider culture of post-war Britain.

Janey Ironside recollects that in the early to mid-1950s 'In London Barbara Goalen, Jean Dawnay and Sheila Wilson epitomised the ideal model of the moment' (Ironside 1970: 67). In her own account of *The women we wanted to look like* former fashion editor Brigid Keenan points out that 'top' photographic models, such as Goalen, Dawnay and Wilson 'were the darlings of the newspapers' in 1950s Britain (Keenan 1977: 147–148). Throughout the 1950s national newspapers such as the *Daily Express* printed continuous articles on Britain's top models, usually selected and shot by the fashion photographer John French (AAD9–1979 PL 24; see Chapter 11 of this thesis). In the early 1950s the archetypal 'haughty' model Barbara Goalen (Conekin 2010) was personified in its fashion pages; she was 'page three's Barbara Goalen' (AAD9–1979

PL24 (3/4)), and in other instances was presented as its authority on matters of fashion, 'Barbara Goalen selects her Holiday Hat' (ibid). Another example can be drawn from the couture and photographic model Jean Dawnay. Upon the publication of her book *Model Girl*, an autobiographical account of life as a working model from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s (Dawnay 1956), Dawnay drew some media acclaim and appeared on national television as part of its promotion (ADD9–1979 PL 24 (4/4)).

In her essay on modelling work in the early twentieth century Elspeth H. Brown points out that 'Before the 1920s, the term model – when referencing a woman – connoted a number of related social types' (Brown 2012: 40) rather than denoting an occupation within the field of fashion (see also Evans 2013: 15–20). The celebrated fashion models of 1950s and 1960s post-war Britain were arguably defined and recognised by both their occupation and their association with certain social types and 'scenes' (Wissinger 2012: 166–169). This involves both aesthetic and entrepreneurial labours (ibid: 164): aesthetic labour – the management of appearance, grooming, the creation of personal "style"' (ibid), and in entrepreneurial labours – the cultivation of 'potentially lucrative relationships through engaging in social interaction in the "right" places and with the "right" people' (ibid).

Out of the many nameless fashion models that have worked in the industry Keenan reflects that 'Only a handful who reach the very top acquire a name, a personality and a private life that inevitably gets into the gossip columns' (Keenan 1977: 136). According to Keenan the 'top' models of the 1950s included Barbara Goalen, Fiona Campbell Walter, Ann Gunning, Susan Abraham and Browen Pugh: 'They were the last society girls […] they wore hats and gloves and pearls and dressed as elegantly off the set as on. They spent their nights fox trotting in smart clubs like The Four Hundred, escorted by wealthy upper-class men whom they often married' (ibid: 147–148). These were models that, in part, were celebrated because of their association with rich men and aristocrats, and this also represented a traditional, and popularised image of English society.

The 'star' models of the 1960s were largely part of, or associated with, the 'New Aristocracy' - a term coined by the contemporary press and other forms of popular media (Booker 1999 [1969]: 19). This 'new' group of people, as defined by Christopher Booker, are professionals 'concerned with the creation of 'image' – pop singers, photographers, pop artists, interior decorators, writers, designers or magazine editors' (ibid). Personalities and their associated professions listed in this group include 'the model girl Jean Shrimpton […and] the fashion designer Mary Quant' (ibid). Formed from a mixture of classes and educational backgrounds – aristocratic, middle and working class, university educated, art school trained, or early school leavers – they were the proponents and players in a post-war media-orientated culture (see also Melly 1970).

Patricia Soley-Beltran argues that 'Concerning modelling as a professional option for women, two myths surface: the traditional myth of the model who marries into money or society, and the newer myth of the model as an autonomous self-possessed woman'

(Soley Beltran 2012: 108). The fashion model types that embodied either 1950s elitist grace or 1960s classless cool are also personas, which perpetuate what Soley-Beltran defines as myths of modelling. These two myths might appear to separate the popularised and contrasted image of 1950s ladylike model from the 1960s model girl. The traditional fairytale romance and the gain of class status, is supposedly different to that of democratic emancipation through consumption and individualism. However, these two model myths converge in their shared and underlying narratives, one of which tells the tale of an escape.

These 'myths' are discourses that reside in other histories and experiences of post-war modernity. For Steedman young women from working class backgrounds whom experienced some aspect of social mobility during the 1960s 'could not be heroines of the conventional narratives of escape […] the cut and fall of a skirt and good leather shoes can take you across the river and to the other side: the fairy-tales tell you that goose-girls may marry kings' (Steedman 1986: 15-16).

Different locations and backdrops form the scenery for these social fairytales – the castle, the English country house and the debutante ball are integral elements in the telling of one type of tale. The modern urban environment, its buildings and its public spaces provide picturesque scenery for 'the "ordinary girl on the street"' (Wilson 2003 [1985]: 178) thus equating certain clothes, particularly mass-produced ready-to-wear clothes aimed at a youth market, with 'the modern, the convention-breaking and the democratic' (ibid). In *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* the London art school is a theatrical backdrop for the latter, for the modern post-war British model girl it presents another place of escape.

'Their Business is Fashion'

The work of the fashion model can be traced to the staging of the first fashion shows held in department stores and couturier salons in the late nineteenth century (Evans 2013). In these instances she performed a vital role in the marketing of garments, as she paraded a multitude of clothes it was her job to make to them desirable through a potent combination of performance and persona (Brown 2012: 45; see also Evans 2001). Early fashion models are often referred to as 'mannequins'; however, Evans points out the terms 'model' and 'mannequin' are historically specific and can mean a variety of things when referring to the work of women in the fashion industry (Evans 2013: 15–20). In Paris the term 'mannequin' was widely adopted to describe the work of fashion models after 1870 (ibid). Descriptions of mannequins often invoked references to dolls, and in a sense they were the living versions of the dolls that dressmakers had previously used to market their designs to clients (ibid: 17–20; 2001; 2005). In this context 'model' referred to the model dresses that mannequins modelled as part of their work – they were the design models from which copies were brought and manufactured (ibid: 15–17).

Contemporaneous descriptions and accounts of modelling work in the post-war British fashion industry often employ these two terms separately; 'mannequins' work in the salons of couturiers, the manufacturing and wholesale trade, and department stores located both in London and in the provinces, whilst 'models' are photographic models (Clayton 1968; Shrimpton 1965; Ironside 1962; Settle 1963; Newby 1985 [1962]). By and large photographic models working in the realms of the publishing industry are granted more status through their fame, however fleeting. Writing in 1965 Shrimpton claimed that:

> One of the most encouraging things from my point of view, as far as my future is concerned, is that I have established a name as well as a face. Models are usually anonymous. But if you do manage it, like Fiona Campbell Walter, Suzy Parker or Barabara Goalen it remains a medal for the rest of your life.
>
> (Shrimpton 1965: 153)

The circulated image of the fashion model could potentially earn her recognition, and this played a prominent part in how cultural products, spaces and events were commoditised, mediated and thereby made fashionable. The naming of models also acknowledged that they were performing a working role, and therefore contributed to the further establishment of its professional status.

In the 1950s there was a growing awareness and cultural status attaching itself to the international photographic fashion model. In *The Fashion System* Barthes notes the appearance of model names, observing that 'the cover girl tends increasingly toward stardom: she herself becomes a model, *yet without masking her profession* (Barthes 1990 [1967] endnote 14: 256). In the pages of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* the name of the fashion model was largely omitted, but on the rare occasions that she is named it is explicitly in conjunction with her status or role as a type of recognisable 'worker' in the field of fashion. For instance, in *Vogue*'s model contest, which ran throughout the 1950s, the professional details of working models and winners are outlined in the text of these features (see British *Vogue* 'Model Contest' August 1954: 30–37).

A model was also called a model in regular fashion features that ran throughout the 1940s and 1950s, such as *Their Business is Fashion* (*Vogue*) *People and Clothes* (*Harper's*) *The Way They Wear It* (*Harper's*) and *The Clothes They Love Best* (*Vogue*). Here professional models occasionally appeared alongside a whole host of other credited women of fashion, who included fashion editors and journalists, press and publicity agents, designers and buyers, the wives of politicians, 'titled' women and debutantes, actresses, singers, dancers and other women who worked and performed in the field of the arts (in many instances such women embodied multiple roles – wife of a titled politician, couture customer, muse, works as a fashion journalist, and is an avid collector of modern art). In the first post-war edition of *Vogue's Their Business is Fashion* feature the group consists of Madge Garland (Lady Ashton) the newly appointed Professor of Fashion at the RCA; Mrs Charles Creed, employee of *Vogue* and wife of the Inc. Soc

couturier; Mrs Peter Thorneycroft (wife of the politician) and Inc. Soc couturier Bianca Mosca (*Vogue* June 1949: 78–85).

The naming of these mostly non-professional models is part of a longer and established system of obtaining society women to pose for fashion photographs in glossy magazines. In print they would be given a 'personal credit', which according to Yoxall meant 'a woman, not a professional model' (Yoxall 1966: 99). In a later context Scott-James referred to non-professional models as 'the "names" class, consisting of girls who just missed having titles, of actresses and film starlets […] We used them sometimes to get variety, and for the dubious extra caption interest of the words "Miss So-and-so posed"' (Scott-James 1952: 170). Throughout the 1940s and 1950s non-professional models were frequently grouped together in their portrayal of 'real' lives and their equivalent choice of clothes that either originated from their own wardrobes or were selected for advertising purposes. The post-war incarnation of the creditable model included society women and actresses, but they also often included women who worked as significant 'players' in the 'field' of post-war British fashion (see Entwistle and Rocamora 2006).

In editorial spreads such as those listed above the world of fashion work is an overarching theme that links all these personalities and figures together. In *The Fashion System* Barthes refers to these other types of models as 'Socio-professional models', claiming that in the fashion media their work is presented as a pleasurable and fantastic dream. Whilst their work is named, it is however 'only a simple reference' that provides an identity but 'immediately loses its reality' (Barthes 1990 [1967]: 253; see also Jobling 1999: 79). Yet the 'work' of all these socio-professional models, be it leisure, professional, or a mixture of both, and the status that is attributed to it in these fashion media texts, offers a view of the occupations that a group of women, albeit an elite group, had at this time.

Images of 'doing' visibly manual work are rare and these figures are more often than not photographed in the stance of a posed fashion model. In this sense 'Journalists, models, artistic directors and photographers become objects of imitation in their own right' (Richoux-Bérard 2004: 176). Sylvie Richoux-Bérard argues that the way in which journalists themselves have acted as models in magazine features throughout the twentieth century is a conceptual way of reaching out to the reader, and 'Thus it is that an elite comes into being, compromising a group of initiates at the heart of the fashion world, not only interesting but approachable' (ibid). The fashion press therefore is not only arbiters of taste, 'not just an almanac of the way people dress during a given period, or, exclusively, an indicator of the coming trends; it is a prescriber of lifestyles' (ibid: 177). Both professional and non-professional models are, therefore, involved 'in the symbolic production of meaning around things such as art and popular culture' (Wissinger 2007: 160).

In contemporary advertising campaigns for Ryvita biscuits and the UK government's Milk Marketing Board, which appeared in *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and other fashion titles such as *Queen*, these socio-professional models are played by professional fashion models (see Appendix 3.6). The advertising group Coleman Prentis & Varely's campaign for Ryvita crackers in the mid-1950s targeted female audiences by communicating the basic message that 'in order to be successful you must be slim, and in order to be slim you must eat Ryvita' (CPV HAT21/70/6/1–13). For an audience of fashion magazine readers, 'success' was translated into various professional roles that included a fashion designer (1957), a secretary (1958), an interior decorator (1959), a fashion photographer (1960), and a beauty editor on a magazine (1960). In a campaign purposefully designed to appeal to the 16-30 age group (*Dairy Mirror* January 1960: 4) the government's milk advertisements, again in fashion periodicals, included images of a Ballet Dancer; an Interior Decorator; the professional photographer's 'Prop-girl'; and a Fashion Editor.

Throughout the 1950s, in both *Vogue* and *Harper's* respective teenage fashion pages, a younger audience was continually addressed in editorials that featured professional and non-professional models, both of which provided socio-professional models to aspire to. Whilst older readers were given personas to engage with such as Mrs Exeter in *Vogue* (see Halls 2000; Twigg 2010), and in *Harper's* there was the regular fashion feature *At my Age* (*Harper's Bazaar* September 1954: 90–93), this model was constructed as a fictive characterisation. The woman of forty and over was played by a rotation of models, both drawn and photographed. Whereas the models in younger fashion features were often girls photographed playing themselves, for example the consecutive use of Jane Ingram as *Vogue's Young Idea* model (1954–1955). According to *Vogue* Ingram is 'the synthesis of all *Vogue* readers of twenty or thereabouts – puts young ideas into practice' (British *Vogue* November 1954: 134).

Work, as in starting a career, is a regular motif throughout these fashion stories for younger teenage readers. Careers as 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]) were particularly endorsed these included the arena of fashion journalism - younger members of both *Vogue* and *Harper's* editorial staff featured as either *Young Idea* or *Young Outlook* models, usually photographed on the job (see British *Vogue* April 1958: 179–184; *Harper's Bazaar* April 1953: 67; February 1961: 36–49), and fashion modelling (*Vogue* ran its own annual model contest starting in 1952; see Coddington 2013), These are all roles that concern the work of 'presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decorations and so forth)' (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 359–362). According to Bourdieu these are roles that are mostly taken up by 'the new petite bourgeoisie' (ibid) and furthermore 'a large proportion of these new positions are occupied by woman' (ibid: 359–363). Bourdieu claims that this is largely due to a type of gendered 'aesthetic disposition' that makes women particularly able to fulfil these roles (see Chapter 4 of this thesis).

In the textual space of *Vogue* and *Harper's* the RCA is constructed as a space for younger readers interested in a future career in fashion (see also Ironisde 1962; Settle 1963). As Conekin points out the *Vogue*'s 'Young Idea' feature published in January 1953 featured designs produced by current RCA students that could also be purchased through the magazine's own pattern service, thus 'Pioneering a connection between fashion, pop culture, commerce, and the London art schools that was to define the 1960s' (Conekin 2011: 290). Throughout the narrative of *The Fine Art of Fashion* the fashion model takes on a variety of guises that each ruminate upon the image and persona of a socio-professional model. She is either the photographic model posing (fig.12.6), or she is a fit model/mannequin working amongst actual RCA students and designers whom form a large part of the college background (figs.12.2; 12.4). And on occasion she appears as an art school student seemingly photographed in an unguarded moment (fig.12.3). In this narrative two types of model girl and two types of space are drawn together; that of the photographic model girl in the youth fashion pages of a glossy magazine and the model female student in the fashion and textiles department of an art school.

'The Renaissance of the British Girl'

Writing on the subject of post-war Britain and the social and cultural changes that occurred in this period of history, Christopher Booker draws attention to the first issue of *The Sunday Times* colour supplement launched in February 1962. Booker describes how its front cover was:

> decorated with eleven pictures of a girl in a grey flannel dress, inset with one of a footballer. It bore the headline 'A SHARP GLANCE AT THE MOOD OF BRITAIN', while the sub-headline announced 'a new James Bond story by Ian Fleming'. In small print on the inside, it revealed that the grey flannel dress was designed by Mary Quant, the girl was Jean Shrimpton and the photographs had been taken by David Bailey.
>
> (Booker 1999 [1969]: 47)

The issue, as Booker observes, is 'devoted to short profiles of 'PEOPLE OF THE '60's', who included Quant and her husband Alexander Plunket Greene and Peter Blake, one of the 'young "pop artists" from the Royal College of Art, whose paintings had been the avant-garde sensation of the previous year' (ibid; *The Sunday Times Colour Section* 4th February 1962).

Booker argues that the first edition of this new type of glossy magazine 'was a perfect expression of the "dream image" of the time' (Booker 1999 [1969]: 48), yet the type of social revolution which it represented 'was far from over' (ibid). Editions of *The Sunday Times Colour Section* that followed throughout its inaugural year point to other 'dream images' of modern post-war Britain in the early 1960s. An image that reappears across the supplement's front cover is that of the modern British girl. Shrimpton was the first face to feature, and she is followed by other representatives of the nation's young female inhabitants: 'The Renaissance of the British Girl', photographed by Patrick Ward

4 March1962; ‘English Girl’s Schools Are They Worth It?’, photographed by Eve Arnold 1 April 1962; ‘The Reality Behind the Art Student Image’, photographed by Ward 1 July 1962; ‘Consumer Queens’ 25 November 1962 (see Appendix 3.6).

As Wilson points out in her history of women in post-war Britain, a number of ideals for women emerged from the new welfare state (Wilson 1980). Wilson observes that many of these were deeply contradictory, such as the ideological image of the ‘dual role’ whereby women were able to successfully mesh ‘their new role in the work force with their continuing responsibilities as mothers and housewives’ (bid: 40). The ‘model girl’ is another ideological figure for the welfare state, therefore the ‘model girl’ applies not only to the fashion model but also to an idealised vision of a new way of being within a modern post-war world. In Radner’s assessment she is ‘young and single, but not necessarily economically or socially privileged, seemingly as accessible to the typist as to the duchess’ (Radner 2000: 130).

In a March 1962 issue of *The Sunday Times Colour Section* this phenomenon was called ‘The Renaissance of the British Girl’. The article and photo-story address what is then seen as the rising status of the nation’s female occupants, using the figure of the ‘model-girl’ as a marker of status. American journalist Fleur Cowles, claims that the dominance of ‘the twinsets and pearls’ has been defeated. Job opportunities, the rise of incomes, a levelling of society, all play their familiar part in this female revolution. According to Fleur the ‘levelling-off’ of ‘painful class distinctions’ is achieved by the British girl, partly due to her hairdresser, and largely because of the image she is able to project through her ability to be well-dressed and fashionably presented (Fleur 1962: 10).

This change is partly attributed to the status bestowed upon the model – ‘When top social status was granted to the model girl, her career became the goal of every girl – if not to be one, at least to look as if she was’ (ibid). In a series of portraits a number of ‘typical’ British girls are pictured as successfully achieving this newfound sense of ‘prettiness’ in a variety of cultural roles. They are fashion or art students, they are shop assistants, consumers, and fashion buyers, and in their own way they are each a model girl.

In post-war Britain the ‘levelling-off’ of class distinctions was planned to be achievable, not just through raised incomes and opportunities of work in new types of industry, but that it would also take force in the nation’s education system. A number of educational reforms initiated by an inter- and post-war Labour government, including the 1944 Butler Education Act, mandatory secondary school education for both boys and girls up to the age of fifteen (Hopkins 1964: 143–152), and the national eleven-plus examination – were integral components in the ‘building’ of post-war British education.

These policies and their implementation were intended to create a fairer, or more equal, society, yet they can be seen to have also been contributing factors in the creation of a culture market, whereby different forms of capital ensure different kinds of success

(see Bourdieu 2010 [1984]). Steedman describes how her passing her eleven plus meant that she fulfilled certain expectations and dreams that her working class mother had:

> I was a better deal than my sister, because I passed the eleven plus, went to grammar school, would get a good job, marry a man who would in her [Steedman's mother] words 'buy me a house and you a house. There's no virtue in poverty.' In the mid-1960s the Sunday colour supplements were full of pictures of student life, and she came to see a university as offering the same arenas of advantage as the good job had done earlier.
>
> (Steedman 1986: 43)

Steedman eventually attended the University of Sussex in the mid-1960s. Alongside universities located in Bristol, York, Essex, Keele, Kent, Lancaster, and Warwick, Sussex was one of the 'Shakespeare Seven', a group of new 'red-brick' universities built throughout the 1960s in order to accommodate an increasing influx of students who had benefited from the expansion of education at primary and secondary school levels (Woodham 2012: 84–85). According to Carol Dyhouse the new universities were not simply an answer to the post-war baby bulge of higher education seekers coming from a more integrated class culture, but that they also concerned issues surrounding the gendering of higher education. Dyhouse argues that in comparison with the established colleges of Cambridge and Oxford, the 'new universities of the 1960s proved particularly attractive to women. They offered broad curricula, particularly in the arts, and carried no tradition of gender segregation or discrimination against female students' (Dyhouse 2006: 100).

Another important space of further education in the history of post-war Britain and its model girls of modernity is that of the Art School (McRobbie 1998). According to a *Sunday Times Colour Section* article 'The Reality Behind The Art-School Student Image' (1 July 1962) the image and the reality of art school education were drastically changing. Whilst 'going to art school, except for the dedicated artist, used to be something of a soft option: for girls a way of filling in time until marriage, for young men often a way of postponing a career', the news report claimed that the new approach being taken by art schools in post-war Britain was currently producing modern professionals in the fields of 'fine art, graphic design, three dimensional design (furniture etc), and textiles and fashion' (Elliot 1962: 5) (see Appendix 12.6). At this time, achievable and recognised professionalism in art and design coincided with recommendations made by the first Coldstream Report of 1960. Commissioned by governing bodies in national education, the investigation reported on the state of further education in art and design. It recommended that The National Diploma, previously awarded by art colleges upon completion of a course, was to be replaced by a Diploma in Art and Design, which would not necessarily be 'vocational', but 'would be of degree standard' (McRobbie 1998: 33).

The staging of *Harper's Bazaar Fine Art of Young Fashion* photo-spread in the workrooms and studios of the RCA's Fashion and Textiles department, in June 1962, coincides with the institution's opening of its new and modern building at Kensington Gore and with its initial implementation of first Coldstream Report (1960). The aptly

modern building had been planned since 1948, when the modernisation of the RCA had been initiated under its new Principle Robin Darwin (Frayling 1987; see also Martin 2012). The building was designed by the architect H.T. Cadbury-Brown in association with Sir Hugh Casson and R.Y. Goodden, in 1962 it received attention from the national press as well as from leading architectural journals *Architectural Design* (November 1962) and *Architectural Review* (October 1962) (see also Cherry and Pevsner 2002b [1991]: 494). In the latter journal its reviewer proclaims that 'As the highest national institution for teaching in the arts and design, the Royal College of Art occupies an important position in the cultural life of the nation' and commends the long awaited new building that would adequately facilitate and boast of its purpose (*Architectural Review* October 1962: 242).

As a location featured in *Harper's Young Outlook* fashion pages the new RCA building is promoted as a model of fashionable modern architectural space (see Chapter 10), and in the process these fashion images participate in the cultural production of this London art school. The spread also promotes particular departments: the millinery room; fashion studios, the screen-print studio; and its weaving and textiles studio (see figs.12.1-12.6). These are all spaces that enable a future career in fashion to take place (Ironside 1962; Settle 1963). In *The Fine Art of Young* fashion the model girl sells the young fashions that she is wearing and the commodities of education and culture that are associated with the space in which she poses.

As Wissinger points out, models are types of 'cultural intermediaries' that mediate our encounters with commodities (Wissinger 2012: 158). In this instance an encounter with teenage fashion and the London art school is sold through 'images populated by models' (ibid). The position of the fashion model often overlaps with the socio-professional model posed as a fashion model, and different kinds of model girls who also sold the idea of art school. In her study of British fashion education Angela McRobbie points out that the 'world of popular culture' in post-war Britain detracted from 'the status which fashion wishes to secure for itself through its associations with the people, with mass commercial culture, with youth culture and, once again, with women' (McRobbie 1998: 53). At the same time it was also the world of popular culture and mass media that 'validated fashion education in art schools in a way in which the fashion educators did not expect' (ibid: 37). Figures such as the RCA Professor of Fashion Janey Ironside (1956-1968) and the art-school trained fashion designer Mary Quant attracted 'celebrity attention', in 'the form of profiles and interviews' – thereby increasing an awareness and 'interest in what it meant to study or to teach fashion' (McRobbie 1998: 37; see Ironside 1957). In this way both Ironside and Quant featured in the media as socio-professional models for fashion and art school.

Different images of the art school student in the late 1950s and early 1960s emerge from the realms of memory and popular culture. In his history of the RCA, Christopher Frayling describes the RCA student as 'a visual equivalent of John Osborne's angry

young man (and there was an emphasis on the man, with a mini-skirted Jean Shrimpton lookalike on his arm)' (Frayling 1995:12). In his examination of the media portrayal of the male artist RCA student in the film *The Rebel* (1960), Alistair O'Neill points out that fantastical narratives such as this join a wider coverage that the RCA received 'both in the arts and in the lifestyle sections of British newspapers and magazines' (O'Neill 2009: 146). Popular representations 'and their role in forming society's opinions towards an understanding of art and art practice should not be underestimated' (ibid: 158; see also Krause-Wahl 2009; Walker 1993;Whiting 1997). The place of the post-war British art school is tied up with images of female art school educators and students both of whom are constructed as types of modern model 'girl'. Both professional and non-professional – these models make the art school appear fashionable and therefore desirable.

The 'mini-skirted Jean Shrimpton lookalike' in Frayling's above description aptly applies to the way that young female art school students were portrayed in popular culture. In the late 1950s less conventional debutantes, such as Suna Portman (Keenan 1977: 47) and Lola Wigan (MacCarthy 2006: 39–40) challenged the traditional image of the English society with their 'bohemian' lifestyles. Both were art school students whose photogenic looks appeared in contemporary media. Later figures such as the RCA trained painter Pauline Boty provided a face for the modern art-school girl. Nicknamed the 'Wimbledon Bardot', blonde Boty was 'one of the founders of British Pop Art' (Watling 1998: 1; Mellor 1993; 1998). She would feature in Ken Russell's 1962 film *Pop Goes the Easel* for the BBC's Monitor series, and received coverage in high fashion magazines such as *Vogue* and *Queen* (*Vogue* January 1963: 52-53; *Queen* 17 July 1962: 2–3).

The mixture of social backgrounds that informed the make-up of the British art school population was much celebrated. Ironside claimed that:

> One of the best results of the social revolution in Britain since the Second World War has been the release of many young designers to the world […] By a system of local and Government grants, young people are enabled to go to art schools and colleges and to have freedom to experiment with the arts, instead of going straight to work, however much of a dead-end sort, directly on leaving school. They might have been miners or domestic servants.
>
> (Ironside 1970: 113)

The rebel debutante, the girl from Wimbledon, and numerous other girls such as the 'Dunedin girl made good' (RCAA: *The Times Educational Supplement* 11 July 1958), and the fashion design duo Sally Tuffin and Marianne Foale, are all woven into a veil of discourse that concerns model girls, modern Britain, and post-war democracy (RCAA press cuttings collection). They are celebrated for their individual and professional successes, valued for their prettiness and at the same time held up as models of, and for, post-war culture.

Doreen Massey argues that there are varying levels 'at which space, place and gender are interrelated […] Particular ways of thinking about space and place are tied up, both directly and indirectly, with particular social constructions of gender relations (Massey 1994: 2). As Massey further argues, the spatial is 'formed out of social

interrelation at all scales […] one view of a place is as a particular articulation of those relations, a particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings' (ibid: 5). In this way the identities of space and place are unfixed, multiple, open and porous (ibid). The space and place of the art school, and in this instance the RCA, is altered according to the different images that accompany it. These, more often than not, are constructed using the idea of the art student, who is simultaneously a model that helps to sell that space and aspects of contemporary culture associated with that place.

In *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* higher education in the form of the London art school is presented as a type of transitory space that enables other types of transformation to take place. Fashion modelling, art school, higher education, and the eventual world of work present themselves as newer pathways to which post-war girls can aspire. Throughout the spread, different poses suggest counter narratives, in a double-page spread the fashion model is both a design student's fit model and possibly a student (fig.12.4). The actual students and their realities blur into either the foreground or background of the images. This juxtaposition of images plays upon the tangible roles that young women could occupy at that time – a fashion model, an art-school student - but they are also an artificial ideal. The *Fine Art of Young Fashion* forms part of a wider discourse on the modern model British girl. The fashion images depict her, both as a model for fashion and as a socio-professional model – at once a photographic fashion model, a model art student, and a model for post-war British modernity.

Modelling Modernity and Culture in Post-war Britain

The 'model girl' refers to the image of the young photographic fashion model and to images of other women who were held up as the model girls of post-war British modernity – independent and successful wage earning or further educated young women who were also well-groomed and fashionably dressed. In the case of the British model girl of the early 1960s this was an interchangeable concept that was applied to a wide-range of young British female citizens of the early 1960s who all presented different socio-professional models.

As Enwistle and Wissinger have argued, in the representation, and therefore also reception, of the fashion model 'the distinctions between real/representation, material/immaterial break down' (Entwistle and Wissinger 2012: 18) and the model 'influence' can be seen as a performance that takes place across a multitude of platforms. The status of the model girl is aligned with that of model 'work', her success depends upon both aesthetic and entrepreneurial labours (Wissinger 2012: 164). The necessity to sell an idea of one's self in order to achieve success is not an entirely new phenomenon, nor is it simply the work of the fashion model. Alongside fashionable objects, fashion models and socio-professional models sell various commodities – their services, their talents, their connections, their expertise, their image. Both types of model also

significantly participate in the marketing and successful sale of fashion, art and modernity (see Chapters 7–12).

Fig.12.1 *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* photographed by Richard Dormer 'Location: the RCA millinery room where Peter Shepherd, an ex-student, teaches' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1962: 42–43) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.12.2 *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* photographed by Richard Dormer (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1962: 44–45) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.12.3 *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* photographed by Richard Dormer ‘These pictures were taken in the screen print studio at the Royal College of Art’ (*Harper’s Bazaar* UK June 1962: 46–47) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.12.4 *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* photographed by Richard Dormer (*Harper’s Bazaar* UK June 1962: 48–49) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Fig.12.5 *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* photographed by Richard Dormer (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1962: 50–51) © Hearst Magazines UK.

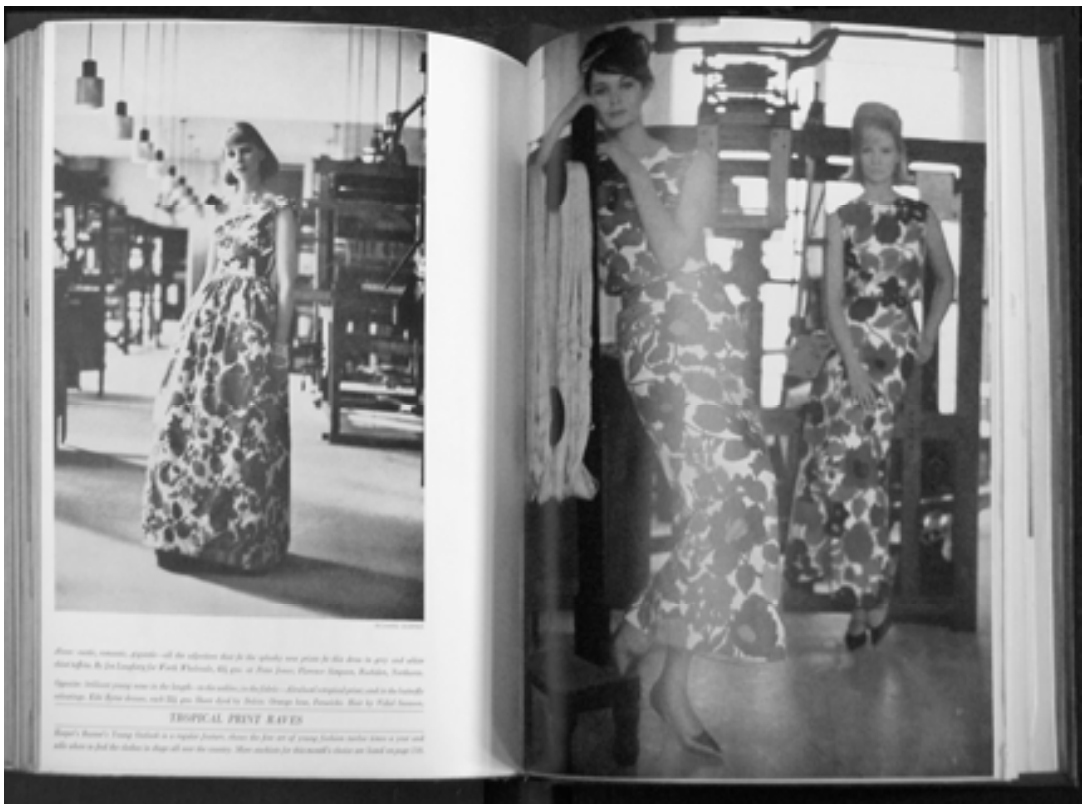


Fig.12.6 *The Fine Art of Young Fashion* photographed by Richard Dormer (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1962: 52–53) © Hearst Magazines UK.

Conclusion

The way that one responds to a historical question or problem is often described as a process of finding, tracing and journeying. For Foucault this process is an 'archaeology' (see Chapter 3 of this thesis), Benjamin also employs the terms 'archaeology' and 'excavation' to describe an 'alternative model of history writing' (Hebdige 1992:336) whereby the 'present accommodates the recollector' (Leslie 1999: 108; see also Walker 1989: 79). De Certeau claims that some historians are prowlers: 'the historian moves in the direction of the frontiers of great regions already exploited' (de Certeau 1988a [1975]: 79), exploring the margins of historical narratives.

For Evans, Benjamin's concept of the trace and the figure of the nineteenth century city ragpicker is akin to the historian's methods of picking through the debris of the past and present (Evans 2003: 12). One can follow 'the historical trace as a clue' (ibid) and thus the historian is also a type of scavenger (ibid: 13). Referring to the work of Pile and Thrift (1995), O'Neill employs the term *wayfinding* as a strategy that enables 'cultural mapping' of fashion, histories, and spaces to take place (O'Neill 2007: 21–22). Archaeology, excavation, re-collection, prowling, scavenging and wayfinding all provide metaphors and methods that describe and direct the possible routes and pathways that historical analysis can take.

In this thesis the archaeological analysis of British fashion periodicals *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* has provided a number of different and overlapping moments, traces, and spaces that explore a history of post-war Britain, fashion, modernity and art. In addressing the ways in which representations of art and fashion have been meaningfully constructed for the intended readership of high fashion magazines, this research affords new insights into these interrelated histories.

The cumulative research chapters (Chapters 7–12) contribute to a wider understanding of this cultural landscape and the history of its dissemination in the fashion press. Chapters 7–8 addressed the New Look and the branding of the British ready-to-wear industry, examining how these elements in the discourse of fashion media bestowed symbolic values upon the notion of 'public' and state-funded art, and events such as the 1948 open-air sculpture exhibition in Battersea Park. Chapters 8–9 focused upon the symbolic value of different temporalities in early 1950s British fashion media. This section addressed how the fashionable London Season and the codes of a tasteful wardrobe mediated the 1951 Festival of Britain and the Royal Festival Hall as fashionable spaces to visit. Chapters 10–11examined the roles of tastemakers and authors, in the construction of fashion media discourse in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The focus was on how the figure of the fashion photographer bestowed symbolic values upon avant-garde art and a modern mass furniture brand, and how the model girl was located in the newly built RCA building in Kensington Gore.

Across the six chapters a key representation that has emerged is that of the fashion model and her location in specific sites of a post-war British cultural landscape; one which is constructed out of the spaces and places pertaining to the field of art. From images of cultured leisure and good citizenry, to those of the self-reflexive, dynamic, young and working fashion model, each deals with a different type of model – that is, a model citizen who is also a fashion model type. The two are interchangeable; the model girl of the 1960s was not revolutionary, but was, and is, contingent upon that which preceded her and that which has proceeded.

The post-war democratic ideals that the latter model girl embodies, requires further investigation. Her continuity disrupts and ruptures 'any naïve evolutionary belief that the present […marks] a state of progress' (Benjamin cited in Savage 2000: 39-40). Rather, this post-war model of modern British womanhood – educated, well-dressed, and mobile – continues to reveal the present not as progress 'but as the latest episode of the "ever-same"' (ibid: 40). In examining the subjects of art and fashion, and their various meeting points throughout this period, this thesis does not simply provide a linear story that leads one to the social and cultural 'revolution' of the 1960s. By critically engaging with British fashion media of the 1940s and 1950s this study has reflected upon, and contributed to, a history of emergence, adaptation, fragmentation and contradiction.

The theoretical framework employed by this study is key to the manifestation of this thesis's research chapters and its findings, and it also contributes to the further knowledge and application of Foucault's and Bourdieu's theoretical propositions (Part II: Chapters 3–6). In Chapter 3 I outlined how I have engaged with Rocamora's model of fashion media discourse (2009) and then applied it to a historical analysis of fashion magazines. Continuing to bring together the work of Foucault on discourse and Bourdieu's concept of 'field', this thesis contributes to a better understanding of fashion media. In its focus on the question of symbolic exchange – specifically the symbolic value that the field of fashion has bestowed upon the field of art – this thesis has shown the further ways in which this theoretical model can significantly contribute to other arenas of historical study, namely the study of the arts and culture in a wider context of cultural history (Chapter 4).

By following the principles of Foucault's archaeological enterprise I have sought to ground the results of this research within an analysis that accounts for 'its conditions of possibility', rather than reinforcing the notion of history's 'growing perfection' and progression of modernity (Foucault 2002a [1966]: xxiii–xxiv). Kendall and Wickham observe that 'Foucault's work does not allow us to reach general conclusions about the context of modern life – the point is to show precisely how some event has its own specificity' (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 120). In the application of this theoretical framework to the methodology of discourse analysis I have been able to bring together a number of materials and other archival resources that had 'previously been seen as quite unrelated' (Rose 2007: 149). Looking at fashion media as a type of discourse that is

active in the cultural production of art has therefore brought together a number of histories, archives, materials, sources and spaces.

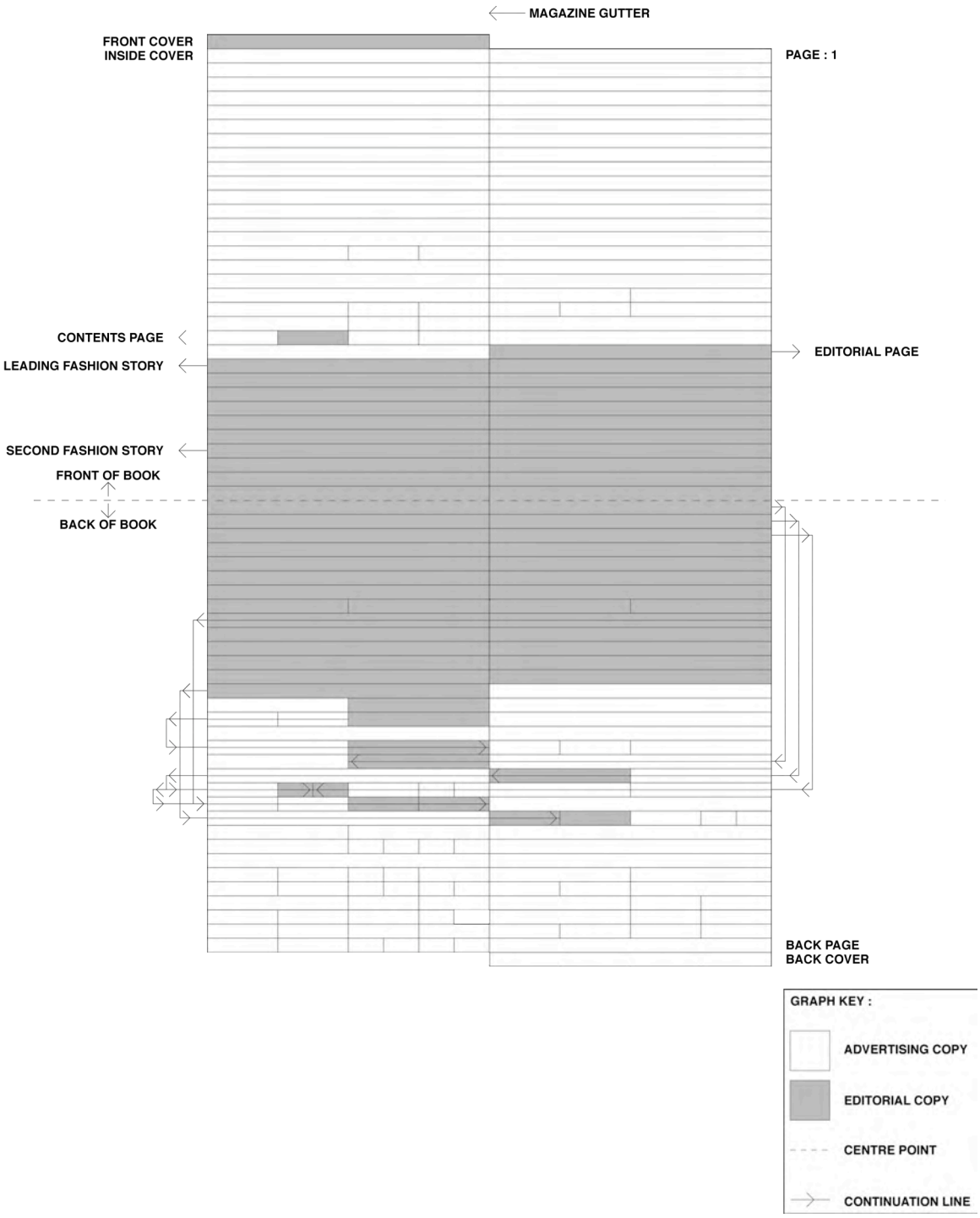
Massey argues that space is 'always under construction' and that 'Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey 2005: 9); therefore 'space is indeed […] "an event"' (Laclau cited in Massey 2005: 45). Thrift also describes space as an event; where spatial formations are contingent and multiple. By paying attention to 'a situated multiplicity or perspectives […and] intersecting spatialities' Thrift argues that one is able to communicate 'the brightness of the event' (Thrift 1996: 47), that is its space, time and history.

The methodology of this thesis (Chapter 3) contributes to the scholarly study of fashion imagery and media, and outlines the ways that it can be studied within a historical project which concerns histories of fashion, modernity and space (Breward 2004: 11). My methodological approach to the study of fashion periodicals and the archive also engages with an analysis that takes into account elements of historical time and constructed space (Chapter 5).

This framework can be adapted and employed in the study of different fashion archives, periodicals and periods of time, both historical and contemporary. With this in mind, an archaeology of this sort could be fruitfully utilised in the analysis of both print and digital fashion media, and in other fashion materials, texts and forms of documentation that participate in the discursive production of fashion. This thesis lays the foundation for the further study of different mediums within fashion discourse that emerge from a multitude of periods.

The next stage in this research is the further development of its analysis of fashion discourses stemming from the mid-twentieth century. This will involve a continued examination of the materials of fashion that have been integral in the formation of fashion histories but which have also, thus far, been overlooked or taken for granted as subjects of study in themselves. Potentially this could take the form of an archaeology of autobiographies, memoirs and educational texts authored by various figures who worked in the post-war fashion industry. Although these are not 'scholarly' works, they nonetheless have proved significant to a historical understanding of the industry and are referenced as such throughout a number of other related studies of cultural history and fashion (for example Breward 2007). The continued critical study of fashion histories has significant implications for future research that looks into both past and contemporary culture.

Appendix 1. Fashion Magazine Model Map



* *Harper's Bazaar* UK November 1951

(see p.76 of this thesis)

Appendix 2. Fashion Story Layout Grid

* *London Collections Harper's Bazaar* March 1952: 38-53

(see p.76 of this thesis)

Appendix 3.1 Layout Board: Editorial…'Cocktail Party Receipt'

3.1.1 *In and out of London: Afternoon in London* photographed by Clifford Coffin 'taken at the Redfern Gallery's Show of Paul Delvaux' (British *Vogue* June 1946: 42–43)

3.1.2 *The Big News From Paris* photographed by Richard Avedon (*Harper's Bazaar* UK October 1948: 36–37)

3.1.3 *London Art: the Men who Build the Collections* photographed by Maurice Ambler 'Sir Kenneth Clark; Mr. Philip Hendy; Mr. Philip James; Sir Leigh Ashton; Mr. John Rothenstein' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK September 1948: 42–43)

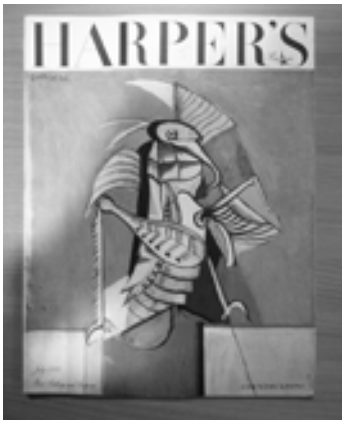
3.1.4 *People and Pictures* photographed by Cecil Beaton 'Contemporary Art Society Evening Party at the Tate; Mr. John Rothenstein and Miss Clarissa Churchill', 'National Art Collections Fund Party at the National Gallery; Mr. Philip Hendy and Miss Siriol Hugh Jones' (British *Vogue* June 1949: 76–77)

3.1.5 *Indian Art in London* photographed by John Deakin ' "The Human Form in Indian Sculpture" is the title of the exhibition of Indian sculpture and painting now at the Victoria and Albert Museum' (British *Vogue* November 1947: 58–59)

3.1.6 *Signs of Spring* photographed by Anthony Denney 'Photographed at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Dover St' (British *Vogue* March 1951: 106–107)

3.1.7 *"Dames et licornes"* photographed by Clifford Coffin 'The setting is the exhibition of French tapestries at the Victoria and Albert Museum' (British *Vogue* May 1947: 62–63)

3.1.8 *Fur Foregrounds the Exhibitions* photographed by Clifford Coffin 'At the Tate Gallery', 'At the Victoria and Albert Museum' (British *Vogue* August 1946: 36–37)



3.1.9 *Grasshopper* Front Cover by Graham Sutherland (*Harper's Bazaar* UK July1948)

3.1.10 *Britain Can Make It* photographed by Anthony Denney, Cyril Readjones, Felix Fonteyn, Council of Industrial Design. Drawings by Lydia Kemeny. Arrangement by Alec Kroll. (British *Vogue* October 1946: 64–65)

3.1.11 *Photograph of a Formal Dinner at the Tate Gallery, 1953* photographed by George Konig © Keystone Press Ltd (Contemporary Art Society Collection, Tate Archive: CAS TGA 9215/13/4/5)

3.1.12 *Photograph of a Formal Dinner at the Tate Gallery, 1953* photographed by George Konig © Keystone Press Ltd (Contemporary Art Society Collection, Tate Archive: CAS TGA 9215/13/4/3)

Appendix 3.2 Layout Board: Advertising…'At the Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park'

3.2.1 *London Season: Painting and Sculpture* photographed by Cecil Beaton (left) Norman Parkinson (right) (British *Vogue* 1948: 56–57)

3.2.2 *Exit Lines the bathing-suit back* unaccredited 'Front view – back view. Two pretty dresses and Henry Moore's Three Standing Figures in Battersea Park (*Queen* 24 May 1961: 52–53)

3.2.3 *Jamaican Girl* sculpture by Rosemary Young (1954) photographed by the Daily Mail (LCC/SC/PHL/02/1039 'Open-Air Sculpture Park Exhibition' London Metropolitan Archives)

3.2.4 *Mother & Child* sculpture by Liphitz (1951) (LCC/SC/PHL/02/1036 'Open-Air Sculpture Exhibition' London Metropolitan Archives)

3.2.5 *Autumn Coats* photographed by John Cole 'In the background is Archioenko's "Standing Woman", '(Below) Photographed by the side of Henry Moore's "Draped Reclining Figure' (*The Tatler and Bystander* 25 August 1954" 340–341)

3.2.6 *Pared Points in Skyline by Clarks* Advertisement (British *Vogue* September 1958: 28–29)

3.2.7 *Terylene ICI Polyester Fibre* Advertisement 'The happy state of mind about a lovely state of dress is called terylenity' (*The Queen* 16 April 1956: 4–5)

3.2.8 *Susan Small* Advertisement 'The knowing eye sees in this suit not only a present joy – but an investment' (British *Vogue* mid-February 1960: 17)

3.2.9 *Two Talented Women* (Actress Claire Bloom & Sculptor Barbara Hepworth) photographed by Naywood Magee (*Picture Post* 11 March 1950: 24–25)

3.2.10 *Texture and Form: The Fabric Is Wool* photographed by Richard Dormer 'Photographed by Richard Dormer in the Sculpture Room of the Tate Gallery (*Harper's Bazaar* UK November 1951: 60–61)

3.2.11 *Eight New Ways With Fur* photographed by Norman Parkinson 'at the LCC Sculpture Exhibition at Holland House – open, weather allowing, till early October' (British *Vogue* October 1957: 130–131)

3.2.12 *The young outlook: autumn suits on view* photographed by Michael Mollinare 'On view for autumn – the Young Outlook suited for cooler days and photographed at the young and lively exhibition at the Waddington Galleries' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK August 1961: 42–43)

Appendix 3.3 Layout Board: Season…'Dressed for the Festival'

3.3.1 *Fashion For Summer – The Haute Couture* unaccredited 'Silhouetted against the Festival of Britain site on the South Bank' (*The Queen* 25 April 1951: 86–87)

3.3.2 *Looking to 1951 Slim Suits* photographed by Lee Miller 'The scene, opposite and page 113, is the South Bank site of the Festival of Britain' (British *Vogue* October 1950: 110–111)

3.3.3 *'Safe Bet' a wool ensemble by Digby Morton* (1951) photographed by Alan Boyd (The Woolmark Company Archive London College of Fashion Library)

3.3.4 *Women staff at the Festival of Britain exhibition next summer sill wear this uniform* designed by Olive O'Neill/Dorville (The Woolmark Company Archive London College of Fashion Library)

3.3.5 *Trompe L'Oeil Furs* photographed by Henry Clarke 'Photographed on the Festival of Britain' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK September 1950: 74–75)

3.3.6 *Handsome in the Rain* photographed by Lee Miller 'Photographed outside the Dome of Discovery, on the Festival of Britain site' (British *Vogue* October 1950: 112–113)

3.3.7 *Shirt from Hardy Ameis' Boutique in "Daccaline"* Advertisement (British *Vogue* October 1951: 77)

3.3.8 *Festival Nights* photographed by Jay 'Britain "en fête" is no less hospitable, impossible mixture of yesterday and to-morrow than she is when seen in her more responsible workaday garb' (*The Ambassador* July 1951: 102–103)

3.3.9 *Barbara Ann Davis (19 born in Folkestone and never left England. Father is Welsh (Cardiff) and mother from London. Hobby: Tennis* (FOB/3452 Work 25/207 National Archives, Kew)

3.3.10 *The Land Travelling Exhibition, Festival of Britain 1951. The Fashion Theatre* (FOB/3506 Work 25/207 National Archives, Kew)

3.3.11 *Festival Murals: London Fashion* photographed by Maurice Tabard 'Racing, the evocation of Outside Broadcasts, is the theme for Barbara Jones' wall painting in the Television Pavilion' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK May 1951: 92–93)

3.3.12 *Festival Murals: London Fashion* photographed by Maurice Tabard 'The scientist's conception of the Creation takes shape under the brush of John Tunnard, whose mural dramatises the walls of the Regatta Restaurant' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK May 1951: 94–95)

Appendix 3.4 Layout Board: Dress…'Photographed at the Royal Festival Hall'

3.4.1 *Dressed For the Festival* photographed by Henry Clarke (left) Maurice Tabard (right) 'Photographed in the stark splendour of the South Bank Festival Concert Hall' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK May 1951: 66–67)

3.4.2 *London Collections* photographed by Richard Dormer (*Harper's Bazaar* UK March 1952: 50–51)

3.4.3 *Roter Models, National Fabric Fair, Royal Festival Hall* (1954) photographed by Peter Clark (The Woolmark Company Archive London College of Fashion Library)

3.4.4 *London Collections* photographed by Richard Dormer (*Harper's Bazaar* UK March 1952: 42–43)

3.4.5 *South Bank Evening* photographed by John Cole 'Photographed amidst luxurious vegetation and contemporary décor at the Royal Festival Hall, we show four evening dresses for the concert-goer' (*The Tatler and Bystander* 28 July 1954: 172–173)

3.4.6 *South Bank Evening* photographed by John Cole (*The Tatler and Bystander* 28 July 1954: 174–175)

3.4.7 *Horrockses* Advertisement (*Harper's Bazaar* UK March 1958: 51)

3.4.8 *Woodlands* Advertisement (*Harper's Bazaar* UK March 1953: 6)

3.4.9 *More Taste Than Money: Wardrobe for a Young Girl* photographed by John Deakin 'Photographed at the Royal Festival Hall' (British *Vogue* August 1952: 68–69)

3.4.10 *Choice of the Month* photographed by Henry Clarke 'Photographed, opposite page, in the Royal Festival Hall' (British *Vogue* July 1952: 66–67)

3.4.11 *Horrockses Fashions at Dalys of Scotland* Advertisement (*Harper's Bazaar* UK March 1953: 4)

3.4.12 *Horrockses* Advertisement (British *Vogue* March 1958: 51)

Appendix 3.5 Layout Board: Location…'Clothes in a Setting'

3.5.1 *Summer Life* photographed by Antony Armstrong-Jones 'The setting here – not a private house, but a place where decoration ideas blossom: the new showroom for G-Plan furniture (British *Vogue* June 1957: 56–7)

3.5.2 *At Home…To Jersey* photographed by John French 'at the G-Plan Gallery' (*Vanity Fair* January 1962 John French Collection AAD9–1979 PL 24 (2/4))

3.5.3 *Home and Beauty G-Plan* Advertisement (British *Vogue* March 1958: 188–189)

3.5.4 *Fashions in Living: Evening party décor* photographed by Anthony Denney 'Decorative details: a brass samovar and "*objet peint*" picture by Kemeny' (British *Vogue* September 1958: 164–165)

3.5.5 *DAKS* Advertisement (British *Vogue* October 1958: 20)

3.5.6 *The Young Outlook: Yolande Turner* photographed by Richard Dormer 'Photographed in the flat of Mr. Tom Parr, the interior decorator' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK June 1958: 47–48)

3.5.7 *Winter Warmth* photographed by Richard Dormer 'Photographs taken at the G-Plan London showrooms' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK November 1957: 88–89)

3.5.8 *A New View of Maternity Clothes* photographed by Richard Dormer 'Photographed in the William IV house of Mr. David Hicks, interior decorator, who has opened a shop' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK December 1956: 72–73)

3.5.9 *New Lines In Fashion In Furniture* photographed by David Olins 'Background, both pages: The G-Plan Gallery, St. George Street W.1, home of decorating plans' (*The Queen* 1 April 1958: 64–65)

3.5.10 *New Lines In Fashion In Furniture* photographed by David Olins 'Background: New Design Exhibition showroom at Heal's' (*The Queen* 1 April 1958: 66–67)

3.5.11 *Susan Small* Advertisement (*Harper's Bazaar* UK May 1958: 8)

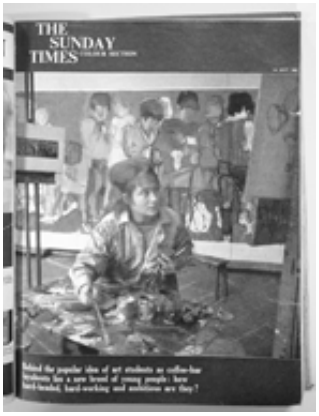
3.5.12 *Astraka* Advertisement (British *Vogue* November 1957: 19)

Appendix 3.6 Layout Board: Model…'The Fine Art of Young Fashion'

3.6.1 *Results of Vogue's Model Contest: John Deakin chose Cassie Chaney* photographed by John Deakin 'Miss Chaney, an artist, has never modelled before' (British *Vogue* June 1952: 62–63)

3.6.2 *Young Idea: Special Edition on College Clothes* photographed by Norman Parkinson 'How to Get a Job…Wearing the suit is Miss Pearson Henry, deliciously pretty blonde debutante from Florida' (British *Vogue* August 1955: 72–73)

3.6.3 Front Cover 'A sharp glance at the mood of Britain' photographed by David Bailey (*Sunday Times Colour Section* 4 February 1962)



3.6.4 Front Cover 'Behind the popular idea of art students as coffee-bar layabouts lies a new breed of young people' photographed by Patrick Ward (*Sunday Times Colour Section* 1 July 1962)

3.6.5 *Lead* photographed by Victor Singh 'Many of the young bloods bringing new life into dress-designing are recent graduates of the Fashion Department at the Royal College of Art. Some have quickly become famous…' (*Honey* November 1960: 30–31)

3.6.6 *Lee Target* Advertisement 'Nothing could be less abstract, yet more avant-garde, than this snugly, hip-hugging sweater with the new square shoulder' (British *Vogue* mid October 1960: 67)

3.6.7 *Renaissance of The British Girl* photographed by Patrick Ward 'She knows how to outline her eyes and not end up a clown' (*Sunday Times Colour Section* 4 March 1962: 8–9)

3.6.8 *Weave Studio* (1962) RCA photographed by Keystone Press Agency (Royal College of Art Archive, publicity photographs for the Kensington Gore site (1962): 1622-4-33)

3.6.9 *Mary Kessel draws fashion dolls* photographed by Norman Parkinson 'Mary Kessell, painter of pictures which combine feminine sensibility with feminine strength, has a personality with the colour and gusto of red wine' (British *Vogue* December 1953: 100–101)

3.6.10 *2 Pop people* (Evelyn Williams & Pauline Boty) photographed by Peter Laurie 'Boty, sometimes actress, with a wool haired doll in a military orange box' (British *Vogue* January 1963: 52–53)

3.6.11 *Drink a Pinta Milka Day* Advertisement 'Prop-girl's pinta. She drives a car, has an eye for antiques, knows clothes, is at home in film studios. Who is she? She is a property-girl ('Props' for short) in an advertising agency' (*Queen* 12 October 1960: 61)

3.6.12 *Ryvita* Advertisement 'Focusing on Success? Then put slimness in the picture too. Slimness comes high on the list of career-girl priorities' (*Harper's Bazaar* UK August 1960: 4)

Bibliography

Archival Sources

British Library, London

Newspaper & Print Room

Buckinghamshire New University, High Wycombe

The High Wycombe Furniture Archive (HWFA)

History of Advertising Trust, Norwich (HAT)

– Coleman, Prentis & Varley Collection (CPV)

– J. Walter Thompson Collection (JWT)

The Henry Moore Foundation, Perry Green

Henry Moore Archive (H.M.)

– Henry Moore bibliography

– Henry Moore letters archive

Liverpool John Moores University Library

Special Collections

London Metropolitan Archives, the City of London (LMA)

– Greater London Council Collection (GLC)

– London County Council Collection (LCC)

– Special Collections (SC)

Museum of London (MoL)

– Printed Ephemera Collection

The National Archives, Kew (N.A.)

– Home Office Records (HO)

– Records of the Festival of Britain Office

– Records of the Metropolitan Police (MEPO)

Royal College of Art Archive, London (RCAA)

Tate Archive, London

– Contemporary Arts Society, London, Collection (CAS)

– Institute of the Contemporary Arts, London, Collection (ICA)

University of Brighton

– Alison Settle Archive (A.S.)

– Design Council Archive (DCA)

University of Brighton Library

Periodicals Collection

University of Sussex, Special Collections.

Mass Observation Archive (M.O.)

University of the Arts London

Central Saint Martins Library

– Periodicals Collection

London College of Fashion Library

– Periodicals Collection

– The Korner Archive

– The Woolmark Company Archive

Victoria & Albert Museum, Blythe House, London

Archive of Art & Design Archive (AAD)

– 'The Ambassador', export magazine for fashion and textiles, records, 1933–1987

– Festival of Brighton, records, 1949–1951

– John French, fashion photographer, papers, ca. 1948–1985

– Frederick Starke, fashion designer and promoter, press cuttings, 1949–1969

– Victor Stiebel, fashion designer, press cutting albums, 1932–1969

Victoria & Albert Museum, London

National Art Library

Primary Sources from Contemporary Print Media

Architectural Design (1951) 'The South Bank', May: 123.

— (1951) 'The New Architecture in Britain: The Royal Festival Hall, London', June: 157–176.

— (1962) 'The Royal College of Art, London', November: 510–522.

Architectural Review (1962) 'Royal College of Art, South Kensington', October: 242–249; 275–278.

Art and Industry (1954) 'New Design for an Old Craft', *Art & Industry* May 1954: 164–167.

Beckett, M. (1947) 'Paris Forgets This Is 1947', *Picture Post* 27 September 1947: 26–31.

— (1948) 'Empire Style a rival to New Look?', *Picture Post* 16 October 1948: 23–25.

— (1949) 'The First Professor of Fashion', *Picture Post* 19 February 1949: 23–26.

Coleman, R. (1957) 'Dream Worlds, assorted', *Ark* 19 Spring: 30–32.

Collis, M. (1948) 'Art Patronage – Modern Style', British *Vogue* February: 62–63; 97.

De Stone, H. S. (1945) 'French Fashion Survives Nazis', *Art and Industury* Vol.39 (229): 2–15.

Del Renzio, T. (1957) 'Shoes, Hair and Coffee', *Ark* 20 Autumn: 27–30.

— (1958) 'after a fashion…', *ICA Publication: Number Two*.

Denvir, B. (1947) 'Paintings and People', *Harper's Bazaar* UK July-August 1947: 49; 80.

Dairy Mirror (1960) 'Drinka pinta milka day', January: 4.

— (1961) 'Top national award for NMPC advertisement', March: 4.

Elliot, J. (1962) 'The Reality Behind The Art-Student Image', *The Sunday Times Colour Section* 1 July: 2-11.

Fashion and Fabrics: Directory of Textiles Trade Marks and Trade Names (1947) 'About your Trade Marks: How to Register and Protect Them': 12–13.

— (1949) 'Bery': 36.

Fleur, C. (1962) 'Renaissance of the British Girl', *The Sunday Times Colour Section* 4 March: 8–13.

Gilliatt, P. (1957) 'Why "art autre"?', British *Vogue* October: 138–139; 235.

Gowing, M. (1956a) 'The Photographer and The Woman – the John French Look', *Art and Industry* June Vol.60 (360): 198–203.

— (1956b) 'The Photographer and The Woman – the Influence of Anthony Denney', *Art and Industry* July Vol.61 (361): 14–21.

— (1956c) 'The Photographer and The Woman – The Imperturbable Hans Wild', *Art and Industry* August Vol.61 (362): 52–57.

— (1956d) 'The Photographer and The Woman – Norman Parkinson', *Art and Industry* September Vol.61 (363): 84–89.

— (1956e) 'The Photographer and The Woman – Zoltan Glass', *Art and Industry* October Vol.61 (364): 134–139.

Grigson, G. (1948) 'Who paints now in England?', *Harper's Bazaar* UK November: 50–51; 74.

Hard's Year Book for the Clothing Industry 1953 (1953) 'Some facts about Women's labels for garments': 210–211.

Harper's Bazaar, UK edition:

— (1946) 'A Season Again', May: 22.

— (1947) 'The Importance of Paris', October: 29.

— (1947) 'It can be done on coupons'. December: 27.

— (1948) 'The New Kind of Country Living', July: 27.

— (1948) 'White Without A Blemish', July: 58-59.

— (1948) 'London Art: The Men Who Build the Collections', September: 42–43.

— (1948) 'background to fashion: the Statues of London', September: 48–49.

— (1951) 'Dressed For The London Season' May: 58–67.

— (1952) 'London Collections' March: 38–51.

— (1952) 'The Well Spent Pound', June: 21.

— (1952) 'Gilt-Edged Investments', June: 22–31.

— (1953) 'Debutantes in 1953', April: 64–67

— (1954) 'At my Age', September: 90–93.

— (1957) 'Winter Warmth', November: 88–91.

— (1961) 'The Harper's Bazaar Look': 36–49.

House & Garden (1957) 'Home and Beauty: the G-Plan' May: 12–13.

— (1960) 'The Arbiters of Taste', March: 49–55.

Hurth, A. (1965) 'New Girl at Oxford', Queen 13 January: 44–45.

Ironside, J. (1957) ‘The Young Outlook In Fashion Design’, *Harper’s Bazaar* UK July: 49-50.

Laski, M. (1946) ‘London is a Fine Town’, British *Vogue* June: 35; 88.

— (1947) ‘Civilisation is passing us by’, British *Vogue* February: 62–63; 96.

— (1951) ‘The Visionary Gleam’, British Vogue June: 73–79.

Maley, M. (1954) ‘Fashion Mirror’, *Hard’s Year Book for the Clothing Industry 1954*: 302–303.

Melville, R. (1952) ‘The New Sculptors’, *Harper’s Bazaar* UK January: 32–35; 73.

Miller, L. (1948) ‘Venice Biennale: Modern art and artists are seen in the ancient city’, British *Vogue* August: 66-67.

— (1949) ’40,000 Years of Modern Art’, British *Vogue* January: 68-69; 82.

Newton 1948 sculpture exhibition open-air

Richards, P. (1947) ‘Paris Letter: Sensation of the Season, Revolutionary Designs’, *The Queen* 17 September 1947: 24.

Rothenstein, J. (1946) ‘The Tate Reopens’, British *Vogue* April 1946: 66–67.

Settle 1945

Sitwell, S. (1945) ‘The Arts in England’, British Vogue August 1945: 32–33; 76; 82.

Stanley, L. T. (1948) ‘August And London’, *The Queen* 4 August: 16; 45.

Strauss, P. (1948) ‘Foreword’, in *Souvenir Catalogue of the Open Air Exhibition of Sculpture At Battersea Park May to September 1948*. London: The County Hall: 3–4.

Steegman, J. (1945) ‘Museum Revival’, British *Vogue* November: 42–43; 86.

Smithson, A. and Smithson, P. (1956) ‘Personal Statement: But Today We Collect Ads’, *Ark* Autumn 1956: 4850.

The Queen (1951) ‘The Festival of Britain, 1951 Supplement’ 25 April: 45–76.

— (1951) ‘Fashion For Summer – *The Haute Couture*’ 25 April: 86–87.

— (1958) ‘New Lines In Fashion In Furniture’, 1 April: 60–67.

— (1962) ‘Here & Now: Pauline Boty’, 17 April: 2–3.

The Sunday Times Colour Section (1962) ‘A sharp glance at the mood of Britain’, 4 February.

— (1962) ‘The Renaissance of the British Girl’, 4 March.

— (1962) ‘ English Girl’s Schools Are They Worth It?’, 1 April.

— (1962) ‘The Reality Behind the Art Student Image’, 1 July.

— (1962) ‘Consumer Queens’, 25 November.

Vogue, American edition (1951) ‘Jackson Pollock’s Abstractions’, 1 March: 156–159.

Vogue, British edition:

— (1945) ‘What We Want…’, June: 37.

— (1947) ‘Invitation to the garden party…’ April 1947: 55–57.

— (1948) ‘Vogue’s Eye View’, February: 33.

— (1948) ‘Cocktail Party Receipt’, February: 60–61.

— (1948) ‘Editor’s Note’, February: 97.
— (1948) ‘Vogue’s Eye View’, June: 37.
— (1948) ‘Painting and Sculpture’, June: 55–56.
— (1948) ‘At The Sculpture Exhibition in Battersea Park’, June: 57–58.
— (1948) ‘Smart Fashions for Limited Incomes’, June: 76–79.
— (1948) ‘The London Collections’, September: 54–55.
— (1949) ‘Shophound’s Good Causes’, January: 90.
— (1949) ‘Their Business is Fashion’, June: 78–85.
— (1951) ‘The rise of Ready-to-Wear’, February: 64–71.
— (1951) ‘Festival Season’, June: 62–71.
— (1951) ‘Vogue’s Eye View of Christmas Giving’, January: 23; 84.
— (1951) ‘The New Patronage’, February: 116; 120.
— (1951) ‘Signs of Spring’, March: 106–110.
— (1951) ‘Shophound’s Christmas Notebook’, December: 80.
— (1952) ‘Vogue’s Eye View of Our Advertising Award’, January: 27.
— (1952) ‘Results of Vogue’s Model Contest’, June: 55–59.
— (1952) ‘Choice of the Month’, July: 66–67.
— (1952) ‘More Taste Than Money: Wardrobe For A Young Girl’, August: 68–73.
— (1953) ‘Vogue’s Eye View of the Vogue Reader’, November: 95.
— (1954) ‘Model Contest’, August: 30–37.
— (1954) ‘Young Idea: Jane Ingram goes shopping again – for a dress to dance through a season of parties’, November: 134–135.
— (1956) ‘Vogue’s Eye View of getting your eye in’ May: 103.
— (1957) ‘Summer Life’, June: 48–57.
— (1958) ‘Clothes in a Setting’, March: 166–169.
— (1958) ‘Young Idea: Clothes for a career starring Vogue’s own staff’, April: 179–184.
— (1963) ‘Pop people: Evelyn Williams and Pauline Boty’, January: 52–53; 86.
Ward, P. (1951) ‘The London Season’ *Harper’s Bazaar* UK May: 59; 119.
Withers (1957) ‘Editor’s Letter’, British *Vogue* October: 119.
Wyndham, F. (1964) ‘Taste 64: The Model Makers’, *The Sunday Times Colour Magazine* 10 May: 16–21.

Selected Archival Documents and Material

Alison Settle Archive (A.S.):
— A.S. A.51.9 ‘From a Woman’s View Point’, *The Observer* 13 May 1951.
— A.S. L.50.9 ‘Alison Settle’s recollection of what she said at the discussion groups at 44 Begrave Square on November 25th 1952’.
— A.S. L.50.19 ‘Letter form Mary Gowing to AS asking if she would give a “repeat performance”, of the talk she gave in 1952, to the Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, as so many people asked to her again. Dated 30th August 1954’.

— A.S. L.50.20 ‘A Synopsis of what form the talk might take, on November 23rd 1954 from Mary Gowing’.

— A.S. L.20.21 ‘Notes by AS on her talk to the Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, on November 23rd 1954, entitled “Don’t let the woman to whom you are appealing be a disembodied personality, she isn’t a robot’.

Archive of Art & Design Archive, V&A (AAD):

– ‘The Ambassador’, export magazine for fashion and textiles, records, 1933–1987

— AAD1/23-1987 *The Ambassador* July 195

– Festival of Brighton, records, 1949–1951

— AAD5/52-1979 ‘Advance Programme for the Festival of Britain 1951’.

— AAD/1994/9/11/9 ‘The Land Travelling Exhibition’ programme 1951.

– John French, fashion photographer, papers, ca. 1948–1985

— AAD9–1979 PL 19 ‘Folders containing loose photographs mainly organised according to model’.

— AAD9–1979 PL 20 Folders containing loose photographs mainly organised according to model’.

— AAD9–1979 PL 24 (1/4) ‘John French Press Cuttings Albums’.

— AAD9–1979 PL 24 (2/4) ‘John French Press Cuttings Albums’.

— AAD9–1979 PL 24 (3/4) ‘John French Press Cuttings Albums’.

— ‘Scrap Book 1950 *Daily Express* clippings’.

— ‘Album from Jan 56 to Dec 63: Newspaper clippings’.

— ‘Album 1956-1958 Newspaper clippings’.

— AAD9–1979 PL 24 (4/4) ‘John French Press Cuttings Albums’.

– Frederick Starke, fashion designer and promoter, press cuttings, 1949–1969

– Victor Stiebel, fashion designer, press cutting albums, 1932–1969

— AAD/1994/1/17: Winifred, J. (1950) ‘Festival Fashions’, *Daily Telegraph* 27 November.

— AAD/1994/1/17: J.G. (1951) ‘Clothes for the Festival’, *Eastern Daily Press* 23 July.

— AAD/1994/1/17: McBain, J. (1951) ‘ First Chance to Look at the Festival Fashions’, 1 March.

Design Council Archive (DCA):

— DCA 16: 5496 ‘Discussion Groups (general) 1948–1950’.

— DCA 16:5496 23.06.1948 ‘Report on the 1951 Discussion Group on Dress Textiles Held in Manchester Town Hall on 23/06/48’.

— DCA 16:5496 17.03.1949 ‘Digest Report of Combined Meeting of Clothing Associations Thursday March 1949’.

— DCA 16: 5496 20.07.1949 ‘Draft Report of a Meeting of the Clothing Advisory Committee Wednesday 29 July 1949’.

— DCA 16: 5496 06.09.1949 ‘Draft Report of the Discussion Group on Clothing Accessories 6 September 1949’.

— DCA 16: 5496 05.10.1949 ‘Draft Report of the Discussion Group on Lace and Embroidery Wednesday 5 October 1949’.
— DCA 16: 5496 18.04.1950 ‘Report of the Third Meeting of the Clothing Advisory Committee 18 April 1950.
Henry Moore Archive (H.M.):
– Bibliography collection
— H.M.0008530: *Architectural Review* (1948) ‘the background and the sculpture’, August.
— H.M.0008560: *The Lady* (1948) ‘In Battersea Park’, 27 May.
— H.M.00085666: Heron, P. (1948) ‘Sculpture in the Park’, *New Statesman* 29 May.
— H.M.0008569: Lloyd, A.L. (1948) ‘Henry Moore prepares for Battersea’, *Picture Post* 15 May: 25–27.
— H.M.0008571: Sorrell, M. (1948) ‘Battersea Fantasia’, *The Queen* 4 August: 26–27; 48.
— H.M.0008864: Grigson, G. (1945) ‘Henry Moore’, *Harper’s Bazaar* US June.
History of Advertising Trust, Norwich (HAT):
– Coleman, Prentis & Varley Collection (CPV)
— CPV HAT21/70/6/1–13 ‘Coleman, Prentis & Coleman Guard Book’.
— CPV HAT21/73/4/1–35 ‘Coleman, Prentis & Coleman Guard Book’.
– J. Walter Thompson Collection (JWT)
— JWT HAT/GD/063 ‘JWT Guard Book G-Plan Furniture 1953–1957’.
— JWT HAT/GD/044 ‘JWT Guard Book G-Plan Furniture 1958–1962’.
— JWT HAT50/1/75/1 ‘Gomme’.
— JWT HAT50/1/75/2/1–4 ‘Gomme’.
— JWT HAT50/1/75/2/1 ‘Gomme Mixed Data (research/planning’.
— ‘Gomme Furniture’ c.1950–1952.
— JWT HAT50/1/75/2/3 ‘Gomme Mixed Data (PR)’.
— ‘E. Gomme Limited – Public Relations 1953–1954’.
— ‘Report on the general public relations campaign to publicise G-Plan furniture. November 1st, 1956 to October 31st, 1957’.
— ‘Brief History of the G-Plan furniture account’ post-1958’.
London Metropolitan Archives, the City of London (LMA):
– Greater London Council Collection (GLC)
— GLC/AR/SW/5/3 ‘Material on Royal Festival Hall’.
— GLC/AR/SW/5/4 ‘Architects Press’.
— GLC/AR/SW/5/8 ‘Royal Festival Hall South Bank of the Thames LCC’.
– London County Council Collection (LCC)
— LCC/CL/GP/2/161 ‘Visits to South Bank Site River Wall and Royal Festival Hall; special arrangements, including issue of passes’.
— LCC/CL/LEA/01/005 ‘Royal Festival Hall – General Papers’.

— LCC/CL/LEA/01/044 ‘Royal Festival Hall Conferences’.

– Special Collections (SC)

— LCC/SC/PHL/02/1036 ‘Open-Air Sculpture Park Exhibition’ c.1948–1957.

— LCC/SC/PHL/02/1038 ‘Battersea Park Sculpture Exhibition’ c.1961–1966.

— LCC/SC/PHL/02/1039 ‘Holland Park Sculpture Exhibition’ c.1954–1957.

— LCC/SC/PHL/1040 ‘Holland Park’ c.1957–1961.

Mass Observation Archive (M.O.):

— M.O. SxMOA1/2/4/5 ‘TC4 Topic Collection Shopping 1939–63’.

— M.O. SxMOA1/2/4/6 ‘TC4 Hat Survey 1948, Design Quiz 1948, Skirts 1948’.

— M.O. SxMOA1/2/18 ‘TC18 Topic Collection Personal Appearance & Clothes 1938–54’.

— M.O. SxMOA1/2/18/5 ‘TC18 Hats 1939–48’.

— M.O. SxMOA1/2/18/5 LS 20.10.47 ‘Preliminary random notes’.

— M.O. SxMOA1/2/18/5 LE 30.10.47 ‘Random notes on Hats’.

— M.O. SxMOA/1/7/3/12 ‘File Report 1143: Report On Utility Clothing Scheme’ March 1942.

— M.O. SxMOA/1/12/10/1 ‘File Report Bulletin No. 12 Oct-Nov 1947: Skirt in Transition’ October 1947.

— M.O. SxMOA1/3/114 ‘Directive: September 1948’.

— M.O. SxMOA1/3/103 ‘Directive Replies 1948: September’ 1948.

— M.O. SxMOA1/1/14/3/1 ‘File Report 3095: A Report On The New Look’ March 1949.

The National Archives, Kew (N.A.):

– Home Office Records (HO)

— N.A. HO ‘Royal: Title Royal: Festival Hall: grant of title ‘Royal’ and associated crown motif’ 1950.

– Records of the Festival of Britain Office

— N.A. WORK 25/207 ‘Fashion Theatre of Land Travelling Exhibition, Location: Manchester’ 30.4.51.

— N.A. WORK 25/209 ‘Stage of Fashion Theatre, Land Travelling Exhibition., Location: Leeds’ 27.6.51.

— N.A. WORK 25/253 ‘Festival of Britain: records: miscellanea’ 01 January 1951–31 December 1951.

— ‘Invitations, Tickets and Passes – Official Privilege and Other Passes: Day Pass – Press Review’.

— ‘Invitations, Tickets and Passes – Official Privilege and Other Passes: Royal Festival Hall – Day Pass’.

—‘Invitations, Tickets and Passes – Official Privilege and Other Passes: Folding Privilege Pass in Gold – Available for all Exhibitions’.

– Records of the Metropolitan Police (MEPO)

— N.A. MEPO 2/8667 ‘Royal Festival Hall: general arrangements’ 1950-1951.

Royal College of Art Archive, London (RCAA):

— prospectuses (1949-1962)

— press cuttings

— press cuttings book RCA 1940s–1970s.

— press cuttings book RCA Fashion School 1950s–1966.

— photographic collection

— publicity photographs for the Kensington Gore site (1962).

Tate Archive, London:

– Contemporary Arts Society, London, Collection (CAS)

— CAS TGA 9215/10/1 ‘Contemporary Art Society press and publicity – correspondence files 1953–1957’.

— CAS TGA 9215/14/1 ‘Contemporary Art Society press cuttings – loose cuttings’ [c 1920–1980s].

— CAS TGA 9215/13/4 ‘Contemporary Art Society photographs – functions, visits and excursions 1953–1984’.

— CAS TGA 9215/13/5 ‘Contemporary Art Society photographs – people’ [c. 1930s–1960s].

— CAS TGA 9215/13/6 ‘Contemporary Art Society photographs – miscellaneous 1950s’.

— CAS TGA 9215/7/1 ‘Contemporary Art Society functions, visits and excursions – correspondence files 1949–1976’

– Institute of the Contemporary Arts, London, Collection (ICA)

— ICA TAM 48 ‘Eleven volumes of press cuttings from the Institute of Contemporary Arts’ (1937–1969)

— ICA TAG 955/13/1/1 ‘General publicity for the ICA and its membership scheme 1950s’.

— ICA TAG 955/1/2/1 ‘Miscellaneous administrative correspondence 22 Jan 1946–14 Jul 1950’.

— ICA TGA 955/1/3 ‘Membership papers 1948–1968’.

All Other Sources

Allen, M. (2005) *An Oral History of British Fashion*. Interview by A. O’Neill. National Sound Archive, British Library. C1046/13 [BL Ref].

Alloway, L. (2011) ‘Introduction 1: Design As A Human Activity [1956]’, in Crosby, T. (ed.) *This is Tomorrow*. London: Whitechapel: n.p.

Ambrose, G. and Harris, P. (2005) *Basic Design 02: Layout*. 2nd ed. Switzerland: AVA.

Amies, H. (1954) *Just So Far*. London: Collins.

— (1976) 'No clothes…no fashion', in Banham, M. and Hillier, B., (eds.) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 188.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflection on Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* 2nd. London: Verso.

Appleford, K. (2011) *Classifying Fashion and Fashioning Class*. PhD Thesis. London: University of the Arts London.

Arnold, R**.** (2008) 'Looking American: Louise Dahl-Wolfe's Fashion Photographs of the 1930s and 1940s', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress. Body and Culture*, Vol.6 (1): 45–60.

— (2009a) *The American Look: Fashion, Sportswear and The Image of Women in 1930s and 1940s New York.* London: I.B. Tauris.

— (2009b) *Fashion: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 29–47

Ashelford, J. (1995) ' "Utility" Fashion', in Geffrye Musseum *CC41 Utility Furniture and Fashion 1941-1951*. London: Geffrye Museum Trust: 33–36.

Attfield, J. (1989) 'Inside Pram Town: A Case Study of Harlow House Interiors, 1951-61', in Attfield, J. and Kirkham, P., (eds.) *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*. London: The Women's Press: 215–238.

— (2000) *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.

Attfield, J. and Kirkham, P. (1989) 'Introduction', in Attfield, J. and Kirkham, P., (eds.) *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*. London: The Women's Press: 1–4.

Atkinson, H. (2012) *The Festival of Britain: A Land and Its People*. London: Routledge.

Bachelard, G. (1994) *The Poetics of Space*. (trans.) M. Jolas. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Ballard, B. (1960) *In My Fashion*. New York: David McKay.

Ballaster, R., Beetham, M., Frazer, E., and Hebron, S. (1991) *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine*. London: MacMillan Press.

Banham, M. (1976) 'A National Enterprise', in Banham, M. and Hillier, B. (eds.) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 70–73.

Barthes, R. (1977a) *Image Music Text*. (trans.) S. Heath. London: Fontana Press.

— (1977b) 'The Photographic Message' [1961], in *Image Music Text*. (trans.) S. Heath. London: Fontana Press: 1531.

— (1977c) 'The Rhetoric of the Image' [1964], in *Image Music Text*. (trans.) S. Heath. London: Fontana Press: 32–51.

— (1989a) *The Rustle of Language*. (trans.) R. Howard. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

— (1989b) ‘The Discourse of History’ [1967], in *The Rustle of Language*. (trans.) R. Howard. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press: 127–140.

— (1989c) ‘The Reality Effect’ [1968], in *The Rustle of Language*. (trans.) R. Howard. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press: 141–148.

— (1989d) ‘Writing the Event’ [1968], in *The Rustle of Language*. (trans.) R. Howard. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press: 149–154.

— (1990) *The Fashion System (Système de la Mode*) [1967]. (trans.) M. Ward and R. Howard. Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

— (2000) *Camera Lucida: reflections on photography* [1980]. 3rd ed. (trans.) R. Howard. London: Vintage.

— (2000a) *Mythologies* [1957]. (trans.) A. Lavers. London: Vintage.

— (2000b) ‘Novels and Children’ [1957], in *Mythologies*. (trans.) A. Lavers. London: Vintage: 50–52.

— (2000c) ‘Ornamental Cookery’ [1957], in *Mythologies*. (trans.) A. Lavers. London: Vintage: 78–80.

— (2006) *The Language of Fashion: Roland Barthes*. (trans.) A. Stafford. Oxford: Berg.

Batchen, G. (1999) *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press.

— (2010) ‘An Almost Unlimited Variety: Photography and Sculpture in the Nineteenth Century’, in Marcoci, R. (ed.) *The Original Copy: The Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*. New York: MoMA: 20–26.

Baudelaire, C. (1995) *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* [1863]. 2nd ed. (trans.) J. Mayne. London: Phaidon Press.

Beard, A. (2003) ‘ “Put in Just for Pictures”: Fashion Editorial and the Composite Image in *Nova* 1965–1975’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress. Body and Culture* Vol.6 (1): 25–44.

— (2008) ‘Hairstyling in the Fashion Magazine: Nova in the 1970s’, in Biddle-Perry, G. and Cheang, S. (eds.) *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*. Oxford: Berg: 229–240.

Beaton, C. (1954) *The Glass of Fashion*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Beetham, M. (1996) *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and desire in the women’s magazine, 1800-1914*. London: Routledge.

Beetham, M. and Boardman, K. (2001) *Victorian Women’s Magazines: An Anthology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Benjamin, W. (1999a) ‘The Work of Art in the Mechanical Age of Reproduction’ [1936], in Arendt, H. (ed.). *Illuminations*. (trans.) H. Zohn. London: Pimlico: 211–244.

— (1999b) ‘Theses on The Philosophy of History’ [1940], in Arendt, H. (ed.) *Illuminations*. (trans.) H. Zorn. London: Pimlico: 245–255.

— (2002) *The Arcades Project* [1927-1940]. (trans.) H. Eiland. and K. McLaughlin. USA: Harvard University Press.

Berger, J. (1972) *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin Books.

Berman, M. (1983) *All That is Solid Melts Into Air: the Experience of Modernity*. New York: Verso.

Beyfuss, D. (2001) 'Audrey Withers: Determined editor who, over 20 years, transformed the culture of *Vogue* – despite having little feeling for fashion', *The Guardian* Wednesday 31 October. [Online] Available at: http.www.guradion.co.uk/news/2001/oct/31/guardianobituaries [Accessed: 14 May 2012].

Bezzola, T. (2010) 'From Sculpture to Photography as Plastic Art', in Marcoci, R. (ed.) *The Original Copy: The Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*. New York: MoMA: 28–35.

Bird, M. (2008) *The St Ives artists: a biography of place and time*. Aldershot: Lund Humphries.

Black, M. (1976) 'Architecture, Art and Design in Unison', in Banham, M. and Hillier, B. (eds.) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 82–87.

Blum, D. (2002) 'Painting by the Yard: American Artist-Designed Textiles 1947–57', in Schoeser, M. and Boydell, C. (eds.) *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the Study of designed objects*. London: Middlesex University Press: 109–124.

Bok Kim, S. (1998) 'Is Fashion Art?', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress. Body and Culture* Vol.2 (2): 51–72.

Booker, C. (1999) *The Neophiliacs: The Revolution in English Life in the Fifties and Sixties* [1969]. London: Pimlico.

Borrelli, O'Shea, L. (1997) 'Dressing Up and Talking about It: Fashion Writing in *Vogue* from 1968 to 1993', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress. Body and Culture* Vol.1 (3): 247–260.

Boston, R. (2009) 'Anne Scott-James: Exuberant Fleet Street pioneer who paved the way for a generation', *The Guardian* Friday 15 May. [Online] Available at: http.www.guradion.co.uk/media/2009/may/15/anne-scott-james-obituary-journalist [Accessed: 14 May 2012].

Bouchard, D. F. (1977) 'Introduction', in Bouchard, D. F. (ed.) *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault*. New York: Cornell University Press: 15–25.

Bourdieu, P. (1993a) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. (trans.) R. Johnson. Cambridge: Polity Press.

— (1993b) 'The Metamorphosis of Tastes' [1980], in *Sociology in Question*. (trans.) R. Nice. London: Sage: 108–115.

— (1993c) 'Haute Couture And Haute Culture' [1974], in *Sociology in Question*. (trans.) R. Nice. London: Sage: 132–138.

— (1993d) ‘But Who Created The ‘Creators?’ [1980], in *Sociology in Question*. (trans.) R. Nice. London: Sage: 139-148.

— (1996) *The Rules of Art* [1992]. (trans.) S. Emanuel. Cambridge: Polity Press.

— (2010) *Distinction* [1984]. (trans.) R. Nice. London: Routledge.

Bourriaud, N. (2009) ‘Michel Foucault: Manet and the Birth of the Viewer’, in *Manet and the Object of Painting* [1967–1971]. London: Tate Publishing: 9–19.

Bowlby, R. (2000) *Carried Away: The Invention of Modern Shopping*. London: Faber & Faber.

Braithwaite, B. (1995) *Women’s Magazines: The First 300 Years*. London: Peter Owen Publishers.

Braithwaite, B. and Barrell, J. (1988) *The Business of Women’s Magazines*. 2nd ed. London: Kogan Page Ltd.

Braybon, A. (2008) ‘About *Town*: A Case Study from Research in Progress on Photographic Networks in Britain, 1952-1969’, *Photography & Culture* Vol.1 (1): 95–106.

Breward, C. (1994) ‘Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal’, *Journal of Design History* Vol.7 (2): 71–89.

— (1995) *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

— (1998) ‘Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* Vol. 2 (4): 301–314.

— (2000) ‘In The Eye of the Storm: Oxford Circus and the Fashioning of Modernity’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* Vol. 4 (1): 3–26.

— (2003) *Oxford History of Art: Fashion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

— (2004) *Fashioning London: Clothing and the Modern Metropolis*. Oxford: Berg.

— (2006) ‘Preface’, in Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. *Fashion’s World Cities*. Oxford: Berg: ixx.

— (2007) ‘Intoxicated on Images: The Visual Culture of Couture’, in Wilcox, C. (ed.) *The Golden Age of Couture: Paris and London 1947–57*. London: V&A: 175199.

— (2006) ‘Introduction’, in Breward, C., Gilbert, D. and Lister, J. (eds.) *Swinging Sixties: Fashion in London and beyond 1955-1970*. London: V&A: 8–21.

Breward, C., Conekin. B. and Cox, C. (2002) ‘Introduction: ‘Dyed in the Wool English?’, in Breward. C., Conekin, B. and Evans., (eds.) *The Englishness of English Dress*. Oxford: Berg: 1–12.

Breward, C., Ehrman, E. and Evans, C. (2004) *The London Look: fashion from street to catwalk*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with The Museum of London.

Breward, C. and Evans, C. (2005) ‘Introduction’, in Breward, C., and Evans, C. (eds.) *Fashion and Modernity*. Oxford: Berg: 1–7.

Breward, C., Gilbert, D. and Lister, J. (2006) *Swinging Sixties: Fashion in London and beyond 1955-1970*. London: V&A.

Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. (2006) *Fashion's World Cities*. Oxford: Berg.

Breward, C. and Wood, G. (2012) *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*. London: V& A.

Breward, C. and Wilcox, C. (2012) *The Ambassador Magazine* London: V&A.

Blow-Up (1966) Dir. Michelangelo Antonio. Bridge Films: UK

Bright, S. (2005) *Art Photography Now*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Brooks, R. (1997) 'Fashion: Double-Page Spread' [1980], in Evans, J (ed.). *The Camerawork Essays: Context and Meaning in Photography*. London: Rivers Oram Press: 205–217.

— (2003) 'Sighs and Whispers', in Cotton, C. and Verthime, S. (eds.). *Guy Bourdin*. London: V&A: 127–133.

Brown, E. H. (2012) 'From Artist's Model to the 'Natural Girl': Containing Sexuality in Early-Twentieth-Century Modelling', in Entwistle, J. and Wissinger, E. (eds.) *Fashioning Models: Image, Text and Industry*. London and New York: Berg: 37–55.

Bryson, N., Ann Holly. M., and Moxey, K. (1994) 'Introduction', in Bryson, N., Ann Holly. M., and Moxey, K. (eds.) *Visual Culture: Images & Interpretations*. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press: xv–xxix.

Bullivant, L. (1986) ' "Design For Better Living" And The Public Response To Britain Can Make It', in Sparke, P. (ed.) *Did Britain Make It? British Design in Context 1946-86*. London: The Design Council: 145–155.

Burke, P. (1992) *History & Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

— (2001) *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Books.

Burstow, R. (2001) 'Modern Sculpture in the South Bank Townscape', in Harwood, E. and Powers, A. (eds.) *Twentieth Century Architecture 5: Festival of Britain*. London: Twentieth Century Society: 95–106.

— (2006) 'Modern sculpture in the public park', in Eyres, P. and Russell, F., (eds.) *Sculpture and the Garden*. Aldershot & Burlington: VT: 132–143.

— (2008a) ''Sculpture in the Home': selling modernism to post-war British homemakers', *Sculpture Journal* Vol.17 (2): 37–50.

— (2008b) *The Sculpture In The Home Exhibitions: Reconstructing The Home And Family In Post-War Britain*. Leeds: Henry Moore Institute.

Calvocoressi, R. (1981) 'Public Sculpture in the 1950s', in Nairne, S. and Serota, N. (eds.) *British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century*. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery: 135–153.

Cartner-Morley, J. (2011), 'Vogue launches online archive of every American issue in its 119-year history' *The Guardian* 16 December. [Online] Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2011/dec/16/vogue-launches-online-archive-magazines [Accessed: 14 March 2013].

Cherry, B. and Pevsner, N. (2001a) *The Buildings of England: London 2: South* [1983]. London: Penguin Books.

— (2001b) *The Buildings of England: London 3: North West* [1991]. London: Penguin Books.

Church Gibson, P. (2006) 'New Stars, New Fashions and the Female Audience: Cinema, Consumption and Cities 1953-1966', in Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. *Fashion's World Cities*. Oxford: Berg: 89–106.

Clark, T.J. (1982) *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*. 2nd ed. London: Thames & Hudson.

— (1990) 'Jackson Pollock's Abstraction', in Guilbaut, S. (ed.). *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris and Montreal 1945-1964*. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press: 172–243.

Clayton, L. (1968) *The World of Modelling: and how to get the London model-girl look*. London: Harrap.

Colomina, B. (1996) *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Conekin, B. (1999) ' "Here is the Modern World Itself": The Festival of Britain's Representations of the Future', in Conekin, B., Mort. F., and Waters, C. (eds.) *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain 1945-1964*. London: Rivers Oram Press: 228–246.

— (2001) 'Fun and Fantasy, Escape and Edification: The Battersea Pleasure Grounds', in Harwood, E. and Powers, A. (eds.) *Twentieth Century Architecture 5: Festival of Britain*. London: Twentieth Century Society: 127–138.

— (2003) *'The autobiography of a nation': The 1951 Festival of Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

— (2005) 'Lee Miller and the Limits of Post-war British Modernity: Feminity, Fashion, and the Problem of Biography', in Breward, C. and Evans, C. (eds.) *Fashion and Modernity* Oxford: Berg: 39–62.

— (2006) 'Lee Miller: Model, Photographer, and War Correspondent in *Vogue*, 1927-1953', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.10 (1/2): 97–126.

— (2008) ' "She Did the Cooking with the Same Spirit as the Photography": Lee Miller's Life after Photography', *Photography & Culture* Vol. 1(2): 145–164.

— (2010) 'From Haughty to Nice: How British Fashion Images Changed from the 1950s to the 1960s', *Photography & Culture* Vol.3 (3): 283–296.

Conekin, B., Mort, F. and Waters, C. (1999) *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain 1945-1964*. London: Rivers Oram Press.

Craik, J. (1993) *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion*. London: Routledge.

Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (2000) *Thinking Space*. London: Routledge.

Crang, M. (2000) 'Relics, Places and Unwritten Geographies in the Work of Michel De Certeau (1925–1986)', in Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Thinking Space*. London: Routledge: 136–153.

Crewe, B. (2003) *Representing Men: Cultural Production and Producers in the Men's Magazine Market*. Oxford, Berg.

Crimp, D. (2000) *On the Museum's Ruins*. 4th ed. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Crow, T. (1996) *Modern art in the common culture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Culler, J. (1975) *Structuralist Poetics*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cunningham, C. (1999) 'Case Study 6: The Albert Memorial', in Perry, G. and Cunningham, C. (eds.) *Academies, Museums, and Canons of Art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University: 190–206.

Dariaux, G. A. (2003) *A Guide to Elegance: for every woman who wants to be well and properly dressed on all occasions* [1964]. London: HarperCollins.

Dawnay, J. (1956) *Model Girl*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

De Certeau, M. (1988a) *The Writing of History* [1975]. trans. Conley, T. New York: Columbia University Press.

— (1988b) *The Practice of Everyday Life* [1984]. trans. Rendall, S.F. Berkeley: University of California Press.

De la Haye, A. (1997) *The Cutting Edge: 50 Years of British Fashion 1947–1997*. London: V&A Publications.

De la Haye, A. and Clark, J. (2008) 'One Object: Multiple Interpretations', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 12: 2, pp. 137–170.

Dormer, J. (1975) *Fashion in The Forties and Fifties*. Surrey: Ian Allan Ltd.

Dundy, E. (1993) *The Dud Avacado* [1958]. London: Virago Press.

— (2001) *Life Itself!* London: Virago Press.

Dyhouse, C. (2006) *Students: A Gendered History*. London: Routledge.

— (2010) *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism*. London: Zed Books.

Edwards, B. (2003) 'A Man's World? Masculinity and Metropolitan Modernity at Simpson Piccadilly', in Gilbert, D., Matless, D. and Short, B. (eds.) *Geographies of British Modernity: Space and Society in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 151–167.

— (2004) *Making the West End Modern: Space, Architecture and Shopping in 1930s London*. PhD Thesis. London: University of the Arts London.

— (2006a) ‘Brave New London: Architecture for a Swinging City’, in Breward, C., Gilbert, D. and Lister, J. (eds.) *Swinging Sixties: Fashion in London and beyond 1955-1970*. London: V&A: 42–33.

— (2006b) ‘Shaping the Fashion City: Master Plans and Pipe Dreams in the Post-War West End of London’, in Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. *Fashion’s World Cities*. Oxford: Berg: 159–173.

— (2006c) ‘ “We Are Fatally Influenced by Goods Bought in Bond Street”: London, Shopping, and the Fashionable Geographies of 1930s Vogue’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress. Body and Culture* Vol.10 (1/2): 73–96.

Edwards, B. and Lomas, C. (2002) ‘Appendix: The Korner Archive’, in Breward. C., Conekin, B., and Evans., (eds.) *The Englishness of English Dress*. Oxford: Berg: 213–227.

Ehrman, E. (2004) ‘Broken Traditions: 1930-55’ in Breward, C., Ehrman, E. and Evans, C. (eds.) *The London Look: fashion from street to catwalk*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with The Museum of London: 97–116.

Entwistle, J. (2000) *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Enwistle, J. and Rocamora, A. (2006) ‘The Field of Fashion Materialized: A Study of London Fashion Week’, *Sociology* Vol. 40 (4): 734–751.

Entwistle, J. and Wissinger, E. (2012) *Fashioning Models: Image, Text and Industry*. London and New York: Berg.

Evans, C. (2003) *Fashion at the Edge: spectacle, modernity and deathliness*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

— (2004) ‘Post-war Poses: 1955-75’ in Breward, C., Ehrman, E. and Evans, C. (eds.) *The London Look: fashion from street to catwalk*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with The Museum of London: 117-138.

— (2005) ‘Multiple, Movement, Model, Mode: The Mannequin Parade 1900–1929’, in Breward, C. and Evans, C. (eds.) *Fashion and Modernity*. Oxford: Berg: 125-146.

— (2013) *The Mechanical Smile: Modernism and the First Fashion Shows in France and America, 1900–1929*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Evans, C. and Thornton, M. (1989) *Women & Fashion: A New Look*. London: Quarter Books.

Evans, C. and O’Neill, A. (2013) *Making Knowledge: Process Table ‘Doubles, duplicity and duplication*. London: Lethaby Gallery Central Saint Martins College of Art and Design. March 2013.

Ewing, E. (2001) History of 20th Century Fashion. 4th ed. (revised by A. Mackrell). London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.

Farson, D. (1987) *Soho In The Fifties*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

Faubion, J.D. (1998) 'Introduction', in Faubion, J.D. (ed.) *Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984 volume 2 aesthetics*. London: Penguin: xi–xli.

Feldman, A. (2008) *Henry Moore Textiles*. Aldershot: Lund Humphires.

Fell, A. 'Rebel with a Cause', in Heron, L. (ed.) *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing Up In The Fifties*. London: Virago Press: 11–25.

Ferguson, M. (1983) *Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Fisher, F. (2011) 'General Introduction: 1940-1970', in Fisher, F., Keeble, T., Lara-Betancourt, P. and & Martin, B. (eds.) *Performance, Fashion and The Modern Interior: from the Victorians to Today*. Oxford: Berg: 137–144.

Fisher, F., Keeble, T., Lara-Betancourt, P. and & Martin, B. (2011) *Performance, Fashion and The Modern Interior: from the Victorians to Today*. Oxford: Berg

Foges, C. (1999) *Magazine Design*. Switzerland: Roto Vision.

Forty, A. (1976) 'Festival Politics', in Banham, M. and Hillier, B. (eds.) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 26–38.

— (1995) 'Being or Nothingness: Private Experience and Public Architecture in Post-War Britain', *Architectural History* Vol.38: 25–35.

— (2005) *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750* [1986]. London: Thames and Hudson.

Foucault, M. (1979) 'What is an Author?' [1969] (trans.) K. Hanet., *Screen* Vol. 20 (1): 13–33.

— (1980a) 'Body/Power' [1975], in Gordon, C. (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault*. London: Harvester Press: 55–62.

— (1980b) 'Questions on Geography: Interviewers: the editors of the journal *Hérodote*' [1976], in Gordon, C. (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977 by Michel Foucault*. London: Harvester Press: 63–77.

— (1991a) 'Space, Knowledge, and Power' [1982], in Rabinow, P. (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*. (trans.) C. Hubert. London: Penguin: 239–256.

— (1991b) 'Nietzche, Genealogy, History' [1971], in Rabinow, R. (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*. London: Penguin Books: 76–100.

— (1991c) 'Truth and Power (from *Power/Knowledge*)' [1971], in Rabinow, R. (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*. London: Penguin Books: 51-75.

— (1994) 'Questions of Method' [1980], in Faubion, J. D. (ed.), *Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984 Volume 3 power*. London: Penguin: 223–238.

— (1998a) 'Different Spaces' [1967], in Faubion, J.D. (ed.), *Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984 Volume 2 aesthetics*. (trans.) R. Hurley. London: Penguin Books: 175–185.

— (1998b) ‘The Order of Things’ [1966], in Faubion, J.D. (ed.), *Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984 Volume 2 aesthetics*. (trans.) J. Johnston. London: Penguin Books: 261–267.

— (1998c) ‘On the Ways of Writing History’ [1967], in Faubion, J.D. (ed.), *Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984 Volume 2 aesthetics*. (trans.) R. Hurley. London: Penguin Books: 279–295.

— (1998d) ‘Return to History’ [1972], in Faubion, J.D. (ed.), *Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984 Volume 2 aesthetics*. (trans.) R. Hurley. London: Penguin Books: 419–432.

— (2002a) *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the human sciences* [1966]. (trans.) A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Routledge.

— (2002b) *The Archaeology of Knowledge* [1969]. London: Routledge.

— (2009) *Manet and the Object of Painting* [1967–1971]. (trans.) M. Barr. London: Tate Publishing.

Fowler, B. (1997) *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory: Critical Insights*. London: Sage Publications.

Frayling, C. (1987). *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art & Design*. London: Barrie & Jenkins Ltd.

— (1995) ‘Design at the Royal College of Art’, in Frayling, C. and Catterall, C. (eds.) *Design of the times: One hundred years of the Royal College of Art*. Somerset: Richard Dennis Publications in association with the R.C.A.: 8–13.

Frayling, C. and Catterall, C. (1995) *Design of the times: One hundred years of the Royal College of Art*. Somerset: Richard Dennis Publications in association with the R.C.A.

Frayn, M. (1963) ‘Festival’, in Sissons, M. and French, P. (eds.) *Age of Austerity 1945-1951*. London: Hodder & Stoughton: 319–338.

Frow, J. and Morris, M. (2000) ‘Cultural Studies’, in Denzin N.K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research: Second Edition*. London: Sage: 315–346.

Garlake, M. (1993) ‘ “A War of Taste”: The London County Council as Art Patron 1948–1965’, *London Journal* Vol.18 (1): 45–65.

— (1998) *New Art New World: British Art in Postwar Society*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Garland, M. (1962) *Fashion: A picture guide to its creators and creations*. London: Penguin.

Garland, A. (1970) *Lion’s Share*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

Garner, P. (2008) ‘The Celebration of the Fashion Image: Photograph as Market Commodity and Research Tool’, in Shinkle, E. (ed.) *Fashion as Photograph: Viewing and Reviewing Images of Fashion*. London: I.B. Tauris: 46–53.

Gaskell, I. (2001) ‘Visual History’, in Burke, P. (ed.) *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press: 187–217.

Geczy, A. and Karaminas, V. (2012) *Fashion and Art*. London and New York: Berg.

George, H. (1996) 'Harold George', in Rayfield, T. (ed.) *Fifty in 40: The Unofficial History of JWT London 1945–1995*. Bucks: The Blacksmiths: 192–196.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gibbons, S. (2011) *Westwood* [1946]. London: Vintage Classics.

Gilbert, D. (2000) 'Urban Outfitting: The city and spaces of fashion culture', in Bruzzi, S., and Church Gibson, P. (eds.) *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*. London: Routledge: 7–24.

— (2006) 'From Paris to Shanghai: The Changing Geographies of Fashion's World Cities', in Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. *Fashion's World Cities*. Oxford: Berg: 3–32.

Gilbert, D., Matless. D. and Short, B. (2003) *Geographies of British Modernity: Space and Society in the Twentieth Cenutry*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Gilbert-Rolfe, J. & Hermsdorf, S. (1995) 'A Thigh-length History of the Fashion Photograph, an Abbreviated Theory of the Body' [1988], in Gilbert-Rolfe, *Beyond Piety: Critical Essays on the Vistual Arts, 1986-1993*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 255–270.

Gordon, C. (1980) 'Preface', in Gordon, C. (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault*. London: Harvester Press: vii–x.

Gough-Yates, A. (2002) *Understanding Women's Magazines: publishing, marketing and readerships*. London: Routledge.

Granata, F. (2012) 'Fashion Studies In-between: A Methodological Case Study and an Inquiry into the State of Fashion Studies', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.16 (1): 67–82.

Graw. Isabelle. (2009) *High Price: Art Between the Market and Celebrity Culture*. (trans.) N. Grindell. Berlin: Steinberg Press.

Greenhalgh, P. (1988) *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Grosz, E. (1995) *space, time, and perversion: essays on the politics of bodies*. London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1992) 'The Question of Cultural Identity'. in Hall, S., Held, D. and McGrew, T. (eds.) *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: The Open University: 274–316.

— (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Milton Keynes: The Open University.

— (1999) 'Culture, Community, Nation', in Boswell, D. and Evans, J. (eds.) *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, heritage and museums* London: Routledge: 33–44.

— (2009) ‘The social eye of *Picture Pos*t’ [1971], in Stiff, P. (ed.) *Modern Typography in Britain: graphic design, politics, & society*. London: Hyphen Press: 69–104.

Hall-Duncan, N. (1979) *The History of Fashion Photography*. New York: Alpine Books Co. Inc.

Halls, Z. (2000) ‘Mrs Exeter – the Rise and Fall of the Older Woman’, *Costume* 34: 105–12.

Handley, S. (1999) *Nylon: The Manmade Fashion Revolution*. London: Bloomsbury.

Harrison, M. (1985) *Shots of Style: Photography chosen by David Bailey*. London: V&A.

— (1991) *Appearances – Fashion Photography Since 1945*. London: Jonathan Cape.

— (1998) *Young Meteors: British photojournalism: 1957–1965*. London: Jonathan Cape.

— (2002) *Transition: The London Art Scene in the Fifties*. London: Barbican Art Galleries.

Harwood, E. and Powers, A. (2001) *Twentieth Century Architecture 5: Festival of Britain*. London: Twentieth Century Society.

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.

— (1988) *Hiding in the Light*. London: Routledge.

— (1992) ‘Digging for Britain: An excavation in seven parts’, in Strinati, D. and Wagg, S. (eds.) *Come On Down? Popular media culture in post-war Britain*. London: Routledge: 325–377.

Heron, L. (1985) *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing Up In The Fifties* London: Virago.

Hewison, R. (1988) *In Anger: Culture in The Cold War 1945-60* (revised edition). London: Methuen.

— (1997) *Culture & Consensus: England, art and politics since 1940* (revised edition). London: Methuen.

Hermes, J. (1995) *Reading Women’s Magazines: An Analysis of Everyday Media Use*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hollander, A. (1993) *Seeing Through Clothes* [1978]. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Holmes, T. (2008) *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Hopkins, H. (1963) *The New Look: A Social History of the Forties and Fifties*. London: Secker & Warburg.

Howell, G. (1975) *In Vogue: Sixty Years of Celebrities and Fashion from British Vogue*. London: Penguin Books.

Huhtamo, E. nd Parikka, J (2011) *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Huyssen, A. (1986) ‘Mass Culture As Woman: Modernism’s Other’, in Modeleski ,T. (ed.) *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*. USA: Indiana University Press: 188–207.

Hyman, B. and Braggs, S. (2007) *The G-Plan Revolution: A Celebration of British Popular Furniture of the 1950s and 1960s*. UK: Booth-Clibborn Editions.

Ironside, J. (1962) *Fashion as a Career*. London: Museum Press.

— (1968) *A Fashion Alphabet*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

— (1973) *Janey: an autobiography by Janey Ironside*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

Jackson, L. (1991) *The New Look: Design in the Fifties*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Jobling, P. (1999) *Fashion Spreads: word and image in fashion photography since 1980*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Berg.

Jobling, P. and Crowley, D. (1996) *Graphic design: Reproduction and representation since 1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Johnson, R. (1993) 'Editor's Introduction', in Bourdieu, P. *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 1–25.

Jordanova, L. (2006*) History in Practice*. 2nd ed. London: Hodder Education.

— (2012) *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Habermas (1992) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Space: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* [1962]. (trans.) T. Burger and F. Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Keenan, B. (1977) *The women we wanted to look like*. London: Macmillan.

Kinchen, J. (1996) 'Interiors: nineteenth-century essays on the "masculine" and the "feminine" room', in Kirkham, P. and Attfield, J. (eds.) *The Gendered Object*. Manchester: Manchester University Press: 12–29.

König, A. (2006) 'Glossy Words: An Analysis of Fashion Writing in British Vogue', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.10 (1/2): 205–224.

Krause-Wahl, A. (2009) 'Between Studio and Catwalk – Artists in Fashion Magazines', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.13 (1): 7–27.

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Kynaston, D. (2007) *Austerity Britain 1945–1951*. London: Bloomsbury.

— (2009) *Family Britain 1951–57*. London: Bloomsbury.

— (2013) *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box 1957–1959*. London: Bloomsbury.

Langhamer, C. (2005) 'The Meanings of Home in Postwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 40 (2): 341–362.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space* [1974]. (trans.) D. Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Lehmann, U. (1999), '*Tigersprung*: Fashioning History', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol. 3 (3): 297–322.

— (2002) *Chic Clicks: Creativity and Commerce in Contemporary Fashion Photography*. Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art.

Leslie, E. (1999), 'Souvenirs and Forgetting: Walter Benjamin's Memory-work', in Kwint, M., Breward, C. and Aynsley, J. (eds.) *Material Memories*. Oxford: Berg: 107–122.

Levin, R. (1976) 'Land Travelling Exhibition', in Banham, M. & Hillier, B. (eds.) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 148–149.

Lifter, R. (2012) *Contemporary Indie and the Construction of Identity: Discursive representations of Indie, gendered subjectivities and the interconnections between indie music and popular fashion in the UK.* PhD Thesis. London: University of the Arts London.

Lifter, R. and Lynge-Jorlén, A (2011) *Working Papers In Fashion Studies* (1) London: London College of Fashion, University of the Arts London.

Lynge-Jorlén, A. (2009) *Between Edge and Elite: Niche Fashion Magazine Producers and Readers*. PhD Thesis. London: University of the Arts London.

— (2012) 'Between Frivolity and Art: Contemporary Niche Fashion Magazines', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.16 (1): 7–28.

MacCarthy, F. (2006) *Last Curtsey: The End of the Debutante*. London: Faber & Faber.

MacInnes, C. (1986) *England, Half English* [1961] London: Hogarth Press.

— (1986) 'The Englishness of Dr Pevsner', in *England, Half English* [1960] London: Hogarth Press: 119–129.

Marcoci, R. (2010a) *The Original Copy: The Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*. New York: MoMA: 20–26.

— (2010b) 'The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today', in Marcoci, R. (ed.) *The Original Copy: The Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*. New York: MoMA: 12–19.

Marshall, S. (2009) *Hearing Fashionable Words: The Oral History of Marit Allen.* Unpublished M.A Dissertation. London College of Fashion, University of the Arts London.

Martin, P. (2002) 'English-style Photography?', in Breward, C., Conekin, B. and Evans, C. (eds.) *The Englishness of English Dress*. Oxford: Berg: 173–187.

Martin, B. (2011) 'General Introduction', in Fisher, F., Keeble., Lara-Betancourt, P. and Martin, B. (eds.) *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior: from the Victorians to today*. London and New York: Berg: 1–6.

Martin, P. (2002) 'English-style Photography?', in Breward, C., Conekin, B. and Evans, C. (eds.) *The Englishness of English Dress*. Oxford: Berg: 173–187.

Martin, S. (2012) 'Pop Goes the Art School: Design and Education', in Breward, C. and Wood, G. (eds.) *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age* London: V&A: 156–175.

Massey, A. (1995) *The Independent Group: Modernism and mass culture in Britain, 1945–59*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, place and gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

— (1999) 'Issues and Debates', in Massey, D., Allen, J. and Satre, P. (eds.) *Human Geography Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 3–21.

— (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage.

May, J. and Thrift, N. (2001) *Timespace: geographies of temporality*. London: Routledge.

McKean, J (2001) *Royal Festival Hall: Architecture in detail* (revised edition). London and New York: Phaidon.

McNeill, P. (1993) ' 'Put Your Best Face Forward': The Impact of the Second World War on British Dress', *Journal of Design History* Vol, 6 (4): 283–299.

— (2010) 'Conference Report: "The Future of Fashion Studies", *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.14 (1): 105–110.

McRobbie, A. (1998) *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* London: Routledge.

Mellor, D. (1995) 'The Image of "Utility"', in Geffrye Musseum *CC41 Utility Furniture and Fashion 1941-1951*. London: Geffrye Museum Trust: 373–8.

— (1993) *The sixties art scene in London*. London: Phaidon.

— (1998) 'The Only Blonde in The World', in Walting, S. and Mellor, D. (eds.) *Pauline Boty (1938-1966): the only blonde in the world*. London: AM Publications: 21–37.

Melly, G. (1970) *Revolt Into Style: The Pop Arts in Britain*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Mitchell, W.J.T. (1994) *Picture Theory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mitford, N. (2012) 'Love In A Cold Climate' [1947], in *The Penguin Complete Novels of Nancy Mitford* London: Penguin Books.

Moi, T. (1991) 'Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture', *New Literary History* Vol. 22 (4): 1017–1049.

Moriarty 2004 ' "Remnants of Patriotism": The Commemorative Representation of the Greatcoat after the First World War', *Oxford Art Journal* Vol.27 (3): 291–309.

— (2007) 'Anticipatory forms: Henry Moore and post-war British furniture design', in Curtis, P. (ed.) *Figuring Space: Sculpture/Furniture from Mies to Moore* Leeds: Henry Moore Institute: 58–65.

Muir, R. (1996) *John Deakin: Photographs*. Munich; London: Schimer; Mosel.

— (2002) *A Maverick Eye: The Street Photography of John Deakin*. London: Thames & Hudson.

— (2010b) *Gods & Monsters: John Deakin's Portraits of British Artists*. Chichester: Pallant House Gallery.

Nava, M. (1997) 'Modernity's Disavowal: Women, The City and The Department Store', in Falk, P. and Campbell, C. (eds.) *The Shopping Experience*. London: Routledge: 56–91.

Nead, L. (2000) *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Newby, E. (1985) *Something Wholesale: my life and times in the rag trade* [1962]. London: Picador.

Nixon, S. (1997) 'Exhibiting Masculinity', in Hall, S. (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations & Signifying Practices* Milton Keynes: The Open University/Sage: 291–336.

Ogborn, M. (1995), 'Knowing the Individual: Michel Foucault and Norbert Elias on *Las Meninas* and the modern subject', in S. Pile & N. Thrift (eds.) *Mapping the Subject: geographies of cultural transformation*, London: Routledge: 57–76.

O'Neill, A. (2007) *London – after a fashion*. London: Reaktion Books.

— (2008a) 'Letter from the Editor', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.12 (2): 133–136.

— (2008b) 'A Young Woman, N.Y.C', *Photography & Culture*, Vol.1 (1): 7–8.

— (2009) 'Prop goes the easel! Paintings for *The Rebel*, 1960', in Frayling, C., King, E. and Atkinson, H. (eds.) *Design and Popular Entertainment*. Manchester: Manchester University Press: 142–160.

— (2012a) ' "A Curious Revolution Has Been Taking Place in the Dress of What Used To Be Called 'The Workman': Walker Evan's Unpublished Article on Men's Fashion', *Photography & Culture*, Vol.5 (1): 9–20.

— (2012b) 'Exhibition: A Display of "Articles of Clothing, for Immediate, Personal, or Domestic Use" – Fashion at the Great Exhibition', in Geczy, A. and Karaminas, V. (eds.) *Fashion and Art*. London and New York: Berg: 189–200.

Owen, W. (1991) *Modern Magazine Design*. New York: Rizzoli.

Pecorari, M. (2010) 'Conference Review: Finding our Fashion Footing', *Fashion Projects* 26 April 2010 [Online] Available at: http://www.fashionprojects.org/?paged=12 [Accessed: June 25, 2012].

Painter, J. (2000) 'Pierre Bourdieu', in Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Thinking Space*. London: Routledge: 239–259.

Partington, A. (1989) 'The Designer Housewife in the 1950s', in Attfield, J. and Kirkham, P., (eds.) *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*. London: The Women's Press: 206–214.

— (1993) 'Popular Fashion and Working-Class Affluence' in Ash, J and Wilson, E. (eds.) *Chic Thrills: A Fashion Reader*. California: University of California Press: 145 –161.

Pevsner (2001) 'The Royal Festival Hall' [1953], in Cherry, B. and Pevsner, N. *The Buildings of England: London 2: South*. London: Penguin Books: 347.

Phillips, P. (1963) 'The New Look', in Sissons, M. and French, P. (eds.) *Age of Austerity 1945-1951*. London: Hodder & Stoughton: 129–148.

Philo, C. (2000) 'Foucault's Geography', in Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Thinking Space*. London: Routledge: 205–238.

Pile, S and Thrift, N. (1999) *Mapping the Subject: geographies of cultural transformation*. London: Routledge.

Pop goes the easel (1962) Dir. Ken Russell. Monitor BBC: London [Video: DVD].

Powell, P. (2012) 'A coherent, national "school" of sculpture? Constructing post-war New British Sculpture through exhibition practices', *Sculpture Journal* Vol. 21 (2): 37–50.

Quinn, B. (2003) *The Fashion of Architecture*. Oxford: Berg.

Rabine, L. (1994) 'A Woman's Two Bodies: Fashion Magazines, Consumerism, and Feminism', in Benstock, S. and Ferris, S. (eds.). *On Fashion*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press: 59–75.

Rabinow, P. (1991) 'Introduction', *The Foucault Reader*. London: Penguin Books: 3–30.

Radford, R. (1998) 'Dangerous Liaisons: Art, Fashion and Individualism', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress. Body and Culture* Vol.2 (2): 151–164.

Radner, H. (2000) 'On The Move: Fashion Photography and the Single Girl in the 1960s', in Bruzzi. S. and Church Gibson, P. (eds.) *Fashion cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*. London: Routlegde: 128–142.

Rayfield, T. (1996.) *Fifty in 40: The Unofficial History of JWT London 1945-1995*. Bucks: The Blacksmiths.

Rayner, G., Chamberlain, R. and Stapleton, A. (2003) *Artist's Textiles in Britain 1945-1970*. London: Antique Collector's Club.

Reed, C. (2006) 'A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-26', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.10 (1/2): 39–72.

Reilly, P. (1976) 'The Role of the Design Council: Before, During and After The Festival of Britain', in Banham, M. and Hillier. B. (eds.) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 58–61.

Rennie, P. (2007) *Festival of Britain: Design 1951*. Woodbridge: Antique Collector's Club.

Ribeiro, A. (1998) 'Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*. Vol.2 (4): 315–326.

— (2002), 'On Englishness in Dress', in Breward, C., Conekin, B. and Evans, C. (eds.) *The Englishness of English Dress*. Oxford: Berg: 15–28.

Ribeiro, A. (2005) *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

Ribeiro, H. C. (2009) ‘Made in America: Paris, New York, and postwar fashion photography’, in Paulicelli, E. and Clark, H. (eds.) *The Fabric of Culture: Fashion, Identity and Globalization*. London: Routledge: 41–52.

Richoux-Bérard, S. and Bonnet, F. (2004) *Glossy: Modes et Papier Glacé*. Marseille: Musée de la Mode de Marseille.

Richoux-Bérard, S. (2004) ‘ “Do It!”’, in Richoux-Bérard, S. and Bonnet, F. (eds.) *Glossy: Modes et Papier Glacé*. Marseille: Musée de la Mode de Marseille: 176–177.

Reilly, P. (1976) ‘The Role of the Design Council: Before, During and After The Festival of Britain’, in Banham, M. and Hillier, B. (eds.) (1976) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 58–61

Rocamora, A. (2001) ‘High Fashion and Pop Fashion: The Symbolic Production of Fashion in *Le Monde* and *The Guardian’*, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.5 (2): 123–142.

— (2002) ‘Fields of Fashion: Critical insights into Bourdieu’s sociology of culture’, *Journal Of Consumer Culture* Vol.2 (3): 341–362.

— (2006a) ‘ “Over to You”: Writing Readers in French *Vogue*’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.10 (1/2): 153–174.

— (2006b) ‘Paris, Capitale de la Mode: Representing the Fashion city in the Media’, in Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. *Fashion’s World Cities*. Oxford: Berg: 43–54.

— (2009) *Fashioning the City: Paris, Fashion and the Media*. London: I.B. Tauris.

— (2011) ‘Personal fashion blogs: screens and mirrors in digital self-portraits’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol. 15(4): 407–424.

Rose, G. (1999) ‘Performing Space’, in Massey, D., Allen, J. and Satre, P. (eds.) *Human Geography Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 247–259.

— (2012) *Visual Methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials*. 3rd ed. London: Sage.

Rothstein, J. (2007) *Designing Magazines: inside periodical design, redesign, and branding*. New York: Allworth Press.

Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory* London: Verso.

Savage, M. (2000) ‘Walter Benjamin’s Urban Thought: A critical analysis’, in Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Thinking Space*. London: Routledge: 33–53.

Settle, A. (1937) *Clothes Line*. London: Methuen.

— (1948) *English Fashion*. London: Collins.

— (1963) *Fashion as a Career*. England: B.T. Batsford.

Scott-James, A. (1952) *In The Mink*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

— (1993) *Sketches from a life*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

Shrimpton, J. (1965) *My Own Story: The Truth About Modelling By Jean Shrimpton*. New York: Bantam Books.

— (1990) *Jean Shrimpton: An Autiobiography*. (with Unity Hall). London: Ebury Press.

Shinkle, E. (2008) *Fashion as Photograph: viewing and reviewing images of fashion*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Short, B., Gilbert, D. and Matless, D. (2003) 'Historical Geographies of British Modernity', in Gilbert, D., Matless, D. and Short, B. (eds.) *Geographies of British Modernity: Space and Society in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 1–27.

Smith, D. (2004) *I Capture the Castle* [1949]. London: Vintage Classics.

Soley-Beltran, P. (2012) 'Performing Dreams: A Counter-History of Models as Glamour's Embodiement', in Entwistle, J. and Wissinger, E. (eds.) *Fashioning Models: Image, Text and Industry*. London and New York: Berg: 97–115.

Söll, Ä. (2009) 'Pollock in Vogue: American Fashion and Avant-garde Art in Cecil Beaton's 1951 Photographs', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.13 (1): 29–50.

Sontag, S. (1977) *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

Southbank Centre (2011) *Southbank Centre Celebrates Festival of Britain with Mastercard* London: Southbank Centre. 23 April – 4 September 2011.

Sparke, P. (1986) *Did Britain Make It? British Design in Context 1946–86*. London: The Design Council.

— (2008) *The Modern Interior* London: Reaktion Books.

— (2009a) 'General Introduction', in Sparke, P., Massey, A., Keeble. T, and Martin, B. (eds.) *Designing The Modern Interior: from the Victorians to Today*. Oxford: Berg: 1–10.

— (2009b) 'Introduction: The Early Twentieth-century Interior (1900-1940)', in Sparke, P., Massey, A., Keeble. T, and Martin, B. (eds.) *Designing The Modern Interior: from the Victorians to Today*. Oxford: Berg: 66–78.

Sparke, P., Hodges, F., Dent Coad, E., Stone, A. and Aldersey-Willaims, H. (1992) *The New Design Source Book: A Visual Reference to Design form 1860 to the Present Day* (revised edition) London: London: Quarto.

Sparke, P., Massey, A., Keeble. T, and Martin, B. (2009) *Designing The Modern Interior: from the Victorians to Today* Oxford: Berg.

Stafford, A. (2006) 'Afterword: Clothes, Fashion and System in the Writings of Roland Barthes: "Something Out of Nothing"', in Barthes, R. *The Language of Fashion: Roland Barthes*. Oxford: Berg: 118–166.

Steedman, C. (1985) 'Landscape for a Good Woman', in Heron, L. (ed.) *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing Up In The Fifties*. London: Virago: 103–126.

— (1986) *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives*. London: Virago Press.

— (2001) *Dust*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Stein, S. (1992) ‘The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women’s Magazine, 1919-1939’ [1985], in Bolton, R. (ed.) *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*. Cambridge Massachusetts US: MIT Press: 145–161.

Strong, R. (1976) ‘Prologue: Utopia Limited’, in Banham, M. and Hillier, B. (eds.) (1976) *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain, 1951*. London: Thames & Hudson with the co-operation of the Victoria and Albert Museum: 6–9.

Stuart-Penrose, B. (1969) *The art scene*. Feltham: Hamlyn.

Sturken, M and Cartwight, L. (2001) *Practices of looking: an introduction to visual Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tagg, J. (1988) *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Taylor, L. (1997) ‘Romantic’, in de La Haye, A. (ed.) *The Cutting Edge: 50 Years of British Fashion 1947-1997*. London: V&A: 62–91.

— (2002) *The Study of Dress History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Thomas, A. (2012) ‘Photography and Graphic Design: ‘Just a Job Lot’’, in Breward, C. and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Ambassador Magazine* London: Victoria & Albert Museum: 45–95.

Thrift, N. (1996) *Spatial Formations*. London: Sage.

Tickner, L. (2012) ‘ ‘Export Britain’: Pop Art, Mass Culture and the Export Drive’, *Art History: Journal of the Association of Art Historians* Vol.35 (2): 394-419.

Tickner, L. & D. Peters Corbett (2012) ‘Being British and Going…Somewhere’, *Art History: Journal of the Association of Art Historians* Vol.35 (2): 206–215.

Tiratsoo, N. (1999) ‘Limits of Americanisation: The United States Productivity Gospel in Britain’, in Conekin, B., Mort, F. and Waters, C. (eds.) *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain 1945-1964*. London: Rivers Oram Press: 96–113.

Tonkiss, F. (1998) ‘Analysing Discourse’, in Seale, C. (ed.) *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage: 245–260.

Townsend, C. (2002) *Rapture: Art’s Seduction by Fashion*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Troy, N. (2012) *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion*. Cambridge , Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Twigg, J. (2010) ‘How Does Vogue Negotiate Age?: Fashion, the Body, and the Older Woman’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.14 (4): 471–490.

Waddell, G. (2001) ‘The Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers’, *The Journal of the Costume Society* No.35: 92–115.

Walker, J. A. (1989) *Design History and the History of Design*. London: Pluto Press.

— (1993) *Art and artists on screen*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

— (2001) *Art in the Age of Mass Media*. 3rd ed. London: Pluto.

Walting, S. and Mellor, D. (1998) *Pauline Boty (1938-1966): the only blonde in the world*. London: AM Publications.

Walting, S. (1998) 'Pauline Boty: Pop Painter', in Walting, S. and Mellor, D. (eds.) *Pauline Boty (1938-1966): the only blonde in the world*. London: AM Publications: 1–19.

White, C. (1970) *Women's Magazines 1693–1968*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

— (1977) *The Women's Periodical Press in Britain 1946-1976*. London: Working Paper Number 4: Royal Commission on The Press.

Whiting, C. (1997) *A Taste For Pop: Pop Art, Gender and Consumer Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilcox, C. (2007) *The Golden Age of Couture: Paris and London 1947-57*. London: V&A.

Williams, R. (2003) 'Culture is ordinary' [1958], in Gray, A. and McGuigan, J. (eds.) *Studying Culture: An Introductory Reader*. London: Hodder: 5–14.

Williams, V. (1998) *Look at Me: Fashion and Photography in Britain 1960 to the Present*. London: The British Council.

— (2008) 'A Heady Relationship: Fashion Photography and the Museum, 1979 to the Present', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Vol.12 (2): 197–218.

Williams, V. and Bright, S. (eds.) (2007) *How We Are: Photographing Britain from the 1840s to the present*. London: Tate.

Williams-Ellis, C. (1951) Royal Festival Hall. London: Parrish in association with the London County Council.

Wilson, E. (1980) *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Postwar Britain: 1945-1968*. London: Tavistock Publications.

— (1991) *The Sphinx in the City: urban life, the control of disorder, and women*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

— (2001) *Contradictions of Culture: Cities, Culture, Women*. London: Sage.

— (2003) *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* [1985] (revised edition). London: I.B. Tauris.

— (2005) 'Fashion and Modernity', in Breward, C. and Evans, C. (eds.) *Fashion and Modernity*. Oxford: Berg: 9–14.

— (2006) 'Urbane Fashion', in Breward, C. and Gilbert, D. *Fashion's World Cities*. Oxford: Berg: 33–39.

Wilson, E. and Taylor, L. (1989) *Through the Looking Glass: A History of Dress from 1860 to the Present Day*. London: BBC Books.

Winship, J. (1987) *Inside Women's Magazines*. London: Pandora Press.

Wissinger, E. (2012) 'Modelling Consumption: Fashion Modelling Work in Contemporary Society', in Entwistle, J. and Wissinger, E. (eds.) *Fashioning Models: Image, Text and Industry*. London and New York: Berg: 157–173.

Withers, A. (1994) *LifeSpan* London: Peter Owen Publishers.

Wolff, J. (1992) 'Excess and Inhibition: Interdisciplinarity in the Study of Art', in Grossberg, L., Nelson, C. and Treichler, P. (eds.) *Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge: 706–718.

— (1993) *The Social Production of Art*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.

Woodham, J. M. (1996a) 'Managing British Design Reform I: Fresh Perspectives on the Early Years of the Council of Industrial Design', *Journal of Design History* Vol.9 (1): 55–65.

— (1996b) 'Managing British Design Reform II: The Film "Deadly Lampshade": An Ill-Fated Episode in the Politics of 'Good Taste', *Journal of Design History* Vol.9 (2): 101–115.

— (2012) 'Urban Visions: Designing for the Welfare State' in Breward, C. and Wood, G. (eds.) *British Deign from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*. London: V&A: 68–90.

Worth, R. (2007) *Fashion For The People: A History of Clothing at Marks & Spencer* New York: Berg.

Wray, M. (1957) *The Women's Outerwear Industry*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.

Wright, L. (1989) 'Objectifying Gender: The Stiletto Heel', in Attfield, J. and Kirkham, P. (eds.) *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*. London: The Women's Press: 7–19.

Yoxall, H.W. (1966) *A Fashion Of Life*. London: William Heinemann Ltd.

Zahm, Olivier. (2002) 'On the Marked Change in Fashion Photography', in Lehmann, U. (ed.). *Chic Clicks: Creativity and Commerce in Contemporary Fashion Photography*. Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art: T28–T35.

Zimmerman, C. (2012) 'Photography into Building in Post-war Architecture: The Smithsons and James Stirling', *Art History* Vol. 35 (2): 270–287.