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18

Le Flambeau's *fashion discourse* *during the First World War*

Towards a retrograde femininity?

Nigel Lezama

Le Flambeau: Grand Magazine de Luxe Hebdomadaire (The Torch: Weekly Luxury Magazine) was a short-lived Parisian magazine published between May 1915 and January 1916, with a primarily middle-class readership. The magazine sold for 75 centimes an issue, or 32 francs for a yearly subscription. The magazine was a subsidiary of *Le Matin*, one of the major newspapers of the era with a circulation of 1.62 million copies in 1916.¹ *Le Flambeau's* editorial mission was to herald France's imminent victory in the First World War, while celebrating the country's cultural heritage and military triumphs.

We need look no further than the front cover of the first issue to see how the magazine cultivated an image of nationalist valor (Figure 18.1). The Latinized typography—with the “u” of *Flambeau* stylized in the Latin “v” shape—established a lineage with the historical past, a reassuring connection with tradition. The image of the torch, the eponymous *flambeau*, decorated with oak leaves and an acorn employed well-worn heraldic symbols. Wind blows the torch's flame to the east, in the direction of the French front line, representing, no doubt, the magazine's intention of shedding light on the French army's exploits. The introductory text inside the issue continued this appeal to the past, listing a series of pivotal moments in French history in a comparison with the ongoing conflict.² The body of the magazine consisted of short works of fiction, articles and stories from the war, and images of French soldiers in the field.

A brief section devoted to fashion was hidden near the end of the magazine. The column took up just a single page in the first issue, as if it were an afterthought in a magazine that was primarily

concerned with upholding nationalist sentiment.³ Nevertheless, the section grew in size issue by issue, eventually filling three or four pages, extending to the end of the magazine. What, then, did this conservative magazine, whose aesthetics leaned towards historicism, have to say on the subject of women's fashion during the war?⁴ Although fashion was clearly a secondary concern in *Le Flambeau*, never spilling out from its designated section into the rest of the magazine, it was addressed. What role, then, did the *Flambeau's* discourse on female fashion play in the context of a deadly and bloody war?

The fashion section of *Le Flambeau* was penned by three successive writers, each of whom offered her own distinct voice and conception of wartime fashion. Louise Faure-Favier (1870–1961) was at the helm of the column in the first issues (Figure 18.2). She wrote primarily for a wealthy audience. Her texts covered the new social and aesthetic constraints imposed by the war and modern life. After three months, Camille Duguet (dates unknown) took charge. Duguet was known for her fashion writing in *Le Figaro*, *La Nouvelle Mode*, and *Chiffons*. Duguet's column, newly titled "Propositions on Fashion," analyzed stylistic trends with greater specificity than Faure-Favier's, but was somewhat narrower in scope.⁵ Finally, Jeanne Tournier (dates unknown), of whom little is today known, took over the column. Tournier instituted a new focus on practicality, targeting a readership of more

Figure 18.1 Cover of *Le Flambeau's* first issue, May 29, 1915. gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF).

Figure 18.2 Louise Faure-Favier's first fashion column, *Le Flambeau*, May 29, 1915. gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.

modest means. As a whole, *Le Flambeau's* fashion discourse was relatively elitist, with few direct appeals to the working class, although economic consideration gained more focus as the war drew on. Yet, certain undercurrents of the ongoing social changes sometimes came to the fore amidst the magazine's conservatism, complicating matters. Women gradually gained new freedoms during the war, not only in terms of dress—with the abandonment of the corset and a move towards less ornate, restrictive fashions—but also in terms of social mores, as women moved to fill the economic and professional void left by the men on the front lines. The fashion writing in *Le Flambeau* responded to these changes, playing against them at times, in an effort to alleviate social anxiety over women's entry into public life.

The war and fashion: The columns of Louise Faure-Favier

The very first column dedicated to women's dress, which was published in the first issue of *Le Flambeau*, was titled "Fashion in 1915." It began with a statement that separated fashion from the political climate

surrounding it: "While everything has more or less come to a halt for this nation, fashion continues its natural evolution, insouciant, floating above the fray."⁶ According to Faure-Favier, (masculine) public life had come to a standstill during the crisis, while fashion—in her usage, solely the domain of the woman—was undergoing a "veritable revolution." Was Faure-Favier suggesting that fashion, in a state of constant flux, was being insensitive towards the sociopolitical realities of the time? The article did—as its title suggests—evoke the tensions created as women's fashion navigated wartime. Indeed, Faure-Favier elevated fashion to the level of political news: "Despite the war, fashion has decreed a small revolution."⁷ The militarist language ("decree," "revolution") removed fashion from the private sphere, and accorded it a role in public discourse. Faure-Favier extended the military symbolism to the body as well: "The docile female body submits to the new decree of sovereign fashion."⁸

The military lexicon, and the rhetoric of the submissive female body, were not innocent. During the war, there was little tolerance for supposedly defiant women. The historian Françoise Navet-Bouron has written about how women's speech was subject to rigorous censure during the war, as the press sought to maintain civil order, prevent demoralization, and limit discussion of pacifism.⁹ Navet-Bouron found that, "Throughout the war, four main themes emerge as the subjects of censure: women on strike are by far the most frequently targeted, followed by female spies, and victims of German atrocities. Finally, expressions of grief by mothers and widows were limited."¹⁰ In this period, women's errant activity in the public sphere was considered destabilizing to the social order; men were experiencing horrors at the front, and so publicizing women's fashion and luxury was a sensitive endeavor. By using the rhetoric of the subjugated female body, Faure-Favier preempted any possible recrimination for turning public attention to a seemingly frivolous matter during such perilous times.

In the second issue of *Le Flambeau*, from June 6, 1915, Faure-Favier continued her rhetoric surrounding the subjugated female body, claiming, "Here, perhaps, we see signs of the coming peace? Feminine dress is demilitarizing itself."¹¹ She again championed feminine docility by making this so-called "demilitarized" fashion a sign of contemporary womanhood: "Thus, the wardrobe is feminizing itself. It is now pure grace and simplicity. It suits the new communal spirit we share, the urge to be more *woman*, in the best possible sense, that is to say, increasingly gentle, tender, collected, and wise."¹² Masculine accessories, she claimed, were no longer in style: "As to the policeman's cap, it is now worn solely by female tramway conductors."¹³ Faure-Favier paid no other mention to work dress in this article, which privileged the clothing of the wealthy.

Faure-Favier's positioning of women's dress served two ideological functions. In focusing solely on the clothing of the wealthy, she devalued the dress adopted by women entering the workplace: it was no longer desirable, to her, for women's fashion to draw inspiration from the male uniform.¹⁴ Work dress, and analogously, the working woman, were rendered *démodé* in the writer's texts. Women's forays into the working world were circumscribed by their inherent femininity. Second, the fact that Faure-Favier reduced the new aesthetics of women's fashion to a mere symbol of the oncoming peace

reinforced the women's ornamental role. In these columns, the fashionable woman was reassuringly passive; she was prepared to abandon the jobs that had been intended solely for men as soon as the war was over.

Feminism and fashion

Faure-Favier did make one reference to feminism while introducing another stylistic trend in a later article: "Someone once wrote: feminism will triumph only when women have pockets."¹⁵ This mention of feminism, while lighthearted, marked another step into the ideological debate over the role of women in public life.¹⁶ The column linked this lack of pockets to the traditional requirement for women to have a guardian:

Indeed, women—until recently—have not played a role in many of life's major events, unable to carry contracts or proof of identity, mainly due to their lack of a place to put them. For the little bags we've carried have never been able to hold anything that was not frivolous.¹⁷

The inferior status of women was a symptom of inadequate clothing to allow for their enfranchisement, as well as a result of their inherent frivolity. According to Faure-Favier, it was thanks to the war—and to the arrival of pockets—that women seemed to have found a degree of independence:

Then came the war. From one day to the next, frivolous women were transformed into breadwinners, factory overseers, and heads of enterprise. Oh, the complications that met these women forced to travel alone, weighed down with important papers, safe passages, money! Finally, pockets were imposed upon nurses.¹⁸

This argument, teasing out the relationships between the war, fashion, and women's liberation, reduced female emancipation to a material condition, and perhaps even a trend, as fleeting as the season's fashion, and capable of being replaced just as quickly. This line of thought becomes all the more apparent when read in concert with Faure-Favier's previous criticism of the out-of-style militarist or masculine trends of working women. The subtext was that after the war, the need for pockets would disappear, and with them, so, too, would women from public life.

The historian Françoise Thébaud has chronicled the deliberate attempts made in the post-war period to restore pre-war gender roles and reinstate the equilibrium upset by the dominant public presence of women.¹⁹ Between 1914 to 1918, she claims, "gender identities were disrupted, but . . . the post-war period saw a painstaking restoration of the former relations between men and women. Declaring peace also meant rebuilding this endangered equilibrium."²⁰ Faure-Favier's feminism was ultimately undermined by her own discourse. She applauded women's new social engagement, relating it to masculinized dress;

but this participation in the public sphere, dependent as it is on current trends, would only be relevant during wartime. What need would there be for pockets when the men had returned?

These texts should be taken with a grain of salt. Fashion writing has always been characterized by a certain performativity, drawing from a combination of the author's voice, discourse on class, and commercial considerations. Faure-Favier, the woman, likely held more serious beliefs on the status of the feminine sex; Faure-Favier, the writer, however, projected the lighthearted spirit demanded of fashion discourse in the media. According to her, the woman *was* what she wore—the “frivolous” contents of her handbag typified her own frivolity. This view was in accordance with the belief that the emergence of women in society happened at the expense of men. Women had gained no rights or self-determination; economic agency had simply been imposed upon them, just as “pockets were *imposed upon nurses*” [author's emphasis].

It was not unusual, at the time, for prejudice against women to be revealed through blinkered discussion of their dress. In 1910, in his dissection of the “Parisienne,” the writer Octave Uzanne (1851–1931) built his argument around women's sportswear: “All sports become, for the contemporary Parisienne, rather than a true physical vocation, a pretext for dressing up: remove the riding habit, bid adieu to the horse. Take away the designated clothes for female motorists, bikers, aeronauts, hunters, and fencers, and women's sports will swiftly follow suit.”²¹ For Uzanne, women's increasing participation in public life was reduced to a mere byproduct of their natural inclination towards dress. In a similar vein, discussion of women's emancipation often revolved around their clothes. Appropriation of male dress was one of the first demands of the early feminists in the mid-nineteenth century. At the first National Women's Rights Convention, held in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1850, a letter from the French writer Helene Marie Weber was discussed, in which she stated that “In ten years' time, male attire will be generally worn by the women of most civilized countries.”²²

The sporting woman: Camille Duguet as columnist

When Camille Duguet took over the fashion section of *Le Flambeau*, she began appealing to a new ideal reader: the modern woman who exercised her new freedoms through sports and through her dress. “Golf and tennis have found favor with Parisian women, who travel to Fontainebleau,” she advised, “For these activities, one dresses simply, while retaining that little bit of *allure*.”²³ In this article, Duguet did not shy away from the criticisms lobbied by Uzanne several years prior that fashionability was the main concern for women, as they adopted new and modern behaviours (Figure 18.3). Women had a duty to preserve their femininity: “Sporting dress must not masculinize women. Any clothing that takes away from her natural charm is quite regrettable, and should not under any circumstances be tolerated.”²⁴

Figure 18.3 Camille Duguet's fashion column, *Le Flambeau*, August 28, 1915. gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.

In introducing the idea of “masculinization,” Duguet’s text positioned itself in relation to two phenomena that had emerged in the era’s discourse on women and their bodies: it made reference to the debate surrounding the effects of physical activity on women’s health, and addressed male anxieties over the new roles and behaviors of modern women. In the late nineteenth century, the medical field had issued contradictory arguments on the value of exercise for the female body; one view held that exercise was a means to strengthen the female body for the perpetuation of the sex, while others claimed that exercise denatured women’s bodies.²⁵ This era also saw increased anxieties over shifting moral codes and changes in women’s roles in the public sphere. These concerns were drastically heightened after male mobilization in 1914.

Talk of women’s emancipation induced widespread apprehension and was considered a threat to the social order. As historian Jean-Yves Le Naour has written of women’s new roles in the work force, “Women’s increasing presence in the industrial sphere, especially in positions previously reserved for the stronger sex, was a destabilizing force, and this virilization of women led to growing sentiments of frustration and emasculation.”²⁶ The illustrated women’s magazine *La Vie heureuse* (The Happy Life) specified the magazine’s position on “the proper feminism,” in its September 1910 issue, describing it

as “feminism that makes women virile, giving them strength, but does not masculinize, which would be a disgrace.”²⁷ Within this context, Duguet’s language preempted accusations of “masculinization” by aligning itself with a social order that assured familiarity and stability amidst the chaotic sociopolitical circumstances.

Duguet’s emphasis on preserving femininity, and on ensuring a certain continuity in matters of both gender and aesthetics, can be compared with a tendency in her writing to appeal to nostalgia.²⁸ In her October column celebrating the fashion of 1915, she describes a winter dress adorned with fur, whose sleeves “extend from lower shoulder, which is, in turn, beautifully molded by the fabric of the bodice, which, in its delicate roundness, recalls the graceful style of 1830.”²⁹ Another dress with a long skirt decorated with zibeline seems to have “escaped from a page of the *Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles*, now made new again.”³⁰ That date of 1830 along with the mention of the *Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles* (Journals of Ladies and Young Women), founded in 1833, evoke a period in the nineteenth century seen as the apogee of Parisian elegance. Duguet was harking back to a time before the colorful extravagance of courtesans in the Second Empire, or the decadence of the fin de siècle, periods in which the roles and expectations for women became more loosely defined (Figure 18.4).

Figure 18.4 Camille Duguet’s fashion column, *Le Flambeau*, October 9, 1915. gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.

However, this valorization of the past (and of its less ambiguous gender roles) is complicated by other anachronistic references. In the same article, Duguet described a winter outfit which was crowned by “a small hat with a receding profile, enveloped by Chantilly lace, which manages to remind us of the pretty women of the *Éducation Sentimentale* (Sentimental Education).”³¹ Duguet made a second reference to Gustave Flaubert’s bildungsroman in another hat description from the same article: “We see yet more reminders of this era in the original bonnet, seen above. It is in pleated satin, crowned with a velour ribbon. This is exactly how Flaubert’s Rosanette preferred them.”³² Duguet was more precise with her second allusion: she is referring to the promiscuous courtesan in the *Éducation sentimentale* (Sentimental Education), a novel that covers the Revolution of 1848, another turbulent period in French history. This evocation of the turbulence and questionable morality in Flaubert’s novel stands at odds with Duguet’s usual emphasis on social order and stability. It appears almost as if allowing this Flaubertian discourse into her column were a lapse on the author’s part—one that nevertheless proves enlightening, testifying to the destabilizing role of fashion during times of political conflict.

During the war, fashion and feminine luxury became issues with which men could valorize or denigrate femininity in equal measure. On the one hand, the fashion and luxury sectors were a source of national pride, and the Parisian woman stood as a figurehead of French charm and industriousness. The phenomenon of the *Mimi Pinsons*—fashion workers who mobilized in order to craft cockades and other items for the war effort—is one example of the heroism associated with the industry.³³ On the other hand, Parisian women were also subject to recrimination for their material obsessions: “How many women, after becoming head of the family, have we seen blinded by gold and silver, throwing caution to the wind in order to dress themselves in the latest finery,” wrote a certain Germain Balard in his war journal.³⁴ Another soldier by the name of Fernand revealed his dispirited resignation when, in a letter to his brother dated August 1917, he wrote, “Back in Paris, I’ve noticed that on the home front, people have become resigned to the war. I’ve seen women showing off their bare arms, eager to be seen. It’s a sad thing, we’re dropping like flies, women are laughing, and the children forget.”³⁵ In this climate of ambivalence, where women’s fashion was simultaneously glorified and the object of suspicion, the references to fashion under the July Monarchy and to the women in *L’Éducation Sentimentale* seem to rely on nostalgia to diffuse anxieties over the shifting social and moral order during wartime.

Jeanne Tournier and the containment of women’s bodies and behavior

The third columnist for *Le Flambeau*, Jeanne Tournier, adopted a more populist tone in her articles than her predecessors (Figure 18.5). Or at least, this appears to be the case on first reading. In the opening lines of her first column, “How to Make a Fashionable Dress at Home,” she stated her intentions

of appealing to an entirely new demographic: "This advice is not meant for those privileged with fortune, who, in order to dress elegantly, need only to order several gowns from a renowned couturier. It is meant for those of us—many in number, these days—who dream of wearing the latest styles while spending very little."³⁶ The article provided a pattern so that readers could sew their own dress. A more inclusive format was apparent from the very first column. Tournier's language seemed to limit its praise for luxury and ostentation—increasingly seen as offensive in light of the suffering on the front. On this note, she advised, "By deciding which fabric to use, and which decorations to add on, the dress can be made more or less luxurious depending on one's intentions."³⁷ She offered the choice to customize, and even *mitigate* one's display of luxury. The column's new title, "A Little Elegance" or, in certain issues, "A Little Practical Elegance," was indicative of this shift. It seems as if the editorial board of *Flambeau* made a conscious decision to target a different type of reader. One of Tournier's columns from several weeks later began with an admission intended as sympathetic commiseration with readers: "Those of us who are unable to spend a considerable sum on our wardrobe, especially in times like these, have often, in these past few months, resented couturiers and fashion."³⁸

Figure 18.5 Jeanne Tournier's first fashion column, *Le Flambeau*, November 13, 1915. gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.

Nevertheless, these columns have the same tendency to correct female actions and behavior. Tournier, continuing with her economic pragmatism, advised, “We have moved on from the time when we could walk into the couturier to buy ‘a simple suit’ and leave, several hours later, realizing to our great surprise that we have ordered four or five dresses.”³⁹ This preoccupation with feminine excess was not a phenomenon that was unique to the Great War. Since the end of the eighteenth century—and with increasing prevalence in the nineteenth century—luxury, and its associated traits of femininity and effeminacy, had become subject to suspicion, and these sentiments reached a peak during the war.⁴⁰ Tournier continued, “We have now become more reasonable, and I truly hope that the wise habits we have adopted during the war rid us permanently of our taste for exaggerated spending.”⁴¹ The war had become a regulating force acting on women’s behavior.

Moreover, while Tournier’s language was populist, nevertheless, it retained its appeals to the ruling class; she addressed those who *had the means* for exaggerated spending in the first place—or at least, did so in the past. Ultimately, “A Little Practical Elegance” didn’t truly establish a new lower-class readership, but rather added a new layer of corrective discourse which turned the existing *bourgeoise* readership into its own regulatory instrument. Women were compelled to limit their taste for luxury in light of the wartime crisis. Like its predecessors, the column casts a blind eye to the role working-class women played in the fashion industry and in constructing fashion discourse, turning it into a locus of nationalist pride, as Patricia Tilburg has argued in her discussion of *Mimi Pinson*.⁴²

Conclusion

French gender dynamics were reconfigured during the First World War. With women’s new roles in the public sphere came new expectations and methods of control, often variants of those handed down from the nineteenth century. Analyzing *Le Flambeau*’s fashion column—and the distinct perspectives of its three columnists—allows us to see these tensions at play. During this time of national crisis, when the masculine presence in society was severely reduced, women were left to fill the void while navigating often contradictory standards. While *Le Flambeau* was open to various new practices and roles for women, and eventually introduced dialogue that was more inclusive towards the working class (at least on the surface level), it, nevertheless, did not encourage broader social engagement or feminist thought. Closer inspection of the texts of each of our three columnists reveals tendencies that run counter to any claims of openness towards female emancipation.

Furthermore, various passages reveal a need to corral feminine behavior in an effort to limit the moral or social disorder that women were deemed capable of fostering. Faure-Favier began the magazine’s foray into fashion with a column that brought women’s dress out of the private sphere,

discussing it within the context of public life. In order to emphasize the importance of daily dress, she invoked feminism at one point; however, she did not manage to grant women autonomy in her texts, neither politically nor in relation to their own wardrobe. Duguet's perspective covered a new array of feminine activities, including engagement in sports, but these sympathies with modernity were limited by a denunciation of any accompanying masculinization. In addition, her nostalgic tendencies—centered around the period of the July Monarchy—muddy her embrace of the modern woman. The final columnist, Tournier, did, indeed, initiate a more democratic approach towards fashion, but integrated a corrective lens that condemned exaggerated feminine luxury while simultaneously clouding her connection with the lower classes.

We can thus conclude that the process of situating women's expected roles and behaviors within their socio-political milieu was a major preoccupation in the discourse stemming from *Le Flambeau's* fashion column. The trope of the woman as an anxiety-producing figure seeped through even amidst attempts at liberalism and openness. This ambivalence also obscured the presence of the working class in the discussion, despite concessions made later in the magazine's run. The First World War threw masculinity into crisis, and it was therefore inevitable that, in turn, femininity would come under scrutiny. In these circumstances, fashion—as the public expression of the feminine world—would need to accord itself with the dominant ideologies of the times. As such, the discursive construction of the magazine's female reader favored a retrograde and circumscribed femininity.

Notes

1 *Le Matin* was owned by Maurice Bunau-Varilla (1856–1944), a French press magnate. See Gabrielle Cadier-Rey, “Le Club des Quatre de la Glorieuse Époque,” at: <https://p6.storage.canalblog.com/69/28/1046708/91144123.pdf> (accessed July 26, 2020).

2 In the first issue, for example, the introductory text draws a comparison between France's current situation and a number of momentous events in French history, in order to contextualize the magazine's editorial purpose:

The France of Henry IV, of Louis XIV, of the Encyclopédistes, of the Revolution, and of the Empire is today the France of the Republic. It is one and the same. It has always taken pride in being industrious and confident in times of sorrow, enterprising and ingenious amidst war, resolute and tenacious in the face of peril; it has fostered creation during great trials, given birth during times of despair: how could we give up these traditional virtues when we can already see the aurora of victory alight on the horizon, and when our cause has become that of all of humanity? “Le Flambeau,” *Le Flambeau*, 1, May 29, 1915.

3 The nationalism of *Le Matin* reached its peak during the First World War, with its editorial stance later turning towards “anti-parliamentarism and anticommunism, veering towards the far right,” and eventually landing at collaborationism during the Second World War (cf. “Historique des Titres de Presses Numérisés,” at: <https://p7.storage.canalblog.com/78/35/1046708/98477633.pdf> accessed July 26, 2020).

4 In general, the fashion press suffered during the First World War and a number of journals ceased publication. *Le Salon de la Mode*, *Le Bel Écho de la Mode*, and *Le Journal des Dames et des Modes*, for example, all stopped in 1914.

La Gazette du Bon Ton, a more cutting-edge magazine, halted production during the war, save for one special wartime edition in the summer of 1915—intended, in part, to uphold French fashion internationally. Suffice it to say, the fashion press had extra incentive to fall in line with the dominant political preoccupations of the time. Valerie Steele covers this period of “revolution” in fashion in her germinal work, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Berg, 1998). According to Steele, a number of the innovations considered as originating during the war in reality stemmed from the prewar modernist movement. She cites as examples: the evolution from corset to the girdle, the v-neck blouse, and the “war crinoline,” with its wider, shorter skirts. Cf. Steele, “Fashion Revolution,” in *Paris Fashion*, 219–43.

5 Each of Faure-Favier’s articles bears a unique title, some of which are lyrical or amusingly glib, such as “The bag is dead: Long live the pocket!” Louise Faure-Favier, “Le Sac est mort: vive la poche!” *Le Flambeau*, 4, June 19, 1915.

6 One of the ways in which writings on fashion aligned themselves with political realities was by situating themselves within a broader historical context. Titles such as “Fashion in 1915” (or 1916, etc.) became a leitmotif in the discourse on fashion during the Great War. This historical contextualization served as a tool to give greater weight to the arguments expressed therein. Louise Faure-Favier, “La Mode en 1915,” *Le Flambeau*, 1, May 29, 1915.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Françoise Navet-Bouron, “La Censure et la femme pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale,” *Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains* 198 (2000), 43–51, at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2573z675> (accessed June 15, 2019).

10 Ibid., 43.

11 Louise Faure-Favier, “Une Robe légère, un chapeau de bergère,” *Le Flambeau*, 2, June 5, 1915.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 The uniform has a long history dating back to the eighteenth century as a garment used to discipline the male body. The use of uniforms in the Prussian military launched a practice that spread to all of the European royal courts, and shortly, the civil sphere as well, introducing a social code that reinforced the phallocentrism of modern society (cf. Elizabeth Hackspiel-Mikosch, “Uniforms and the creation of ideal masculinity,” in *The Men’s Fashion Reader*, Peter McNeil and Vicki Karaminas, eds. (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 117–129. With this in mind, the distancing of feminine fashion from military inspirations can be read as a response to the anxiety produced by the increasing presence of women in public forums.

15 Faure-Favier, “Le Sac est mort!”

16 Anxieties regarding the roles of women in public and private forums began to mount in the late nineteenth century, and women’s new roles were often discussed or condemned by way of their appearance and dress. In his reporting on the Congrès Féministe de Paris in 1896, for example, a journalist for the *Figaro* commented that, “In such assemblies, the eyes must do more work than the ears, such that the success of an orator will be judged primarily by the sheen of her fabric and the slimness of her waist—desirable qualities, no doubt, but little indicative of sharp intelligence or fine judgement.” (“Leur Congrés,” *Le Figaro*, April 12, 1896). The appearance of the woman and her role in society were so enmeshed that the former risked eclipsing the latter. When Faure-Favier integrates feminism into her descriptions of fashion, she enters into a discussion that had long been brewing, reaching its peak during the First World War due to women’s entry into the workplace.

17 Faure-Favier, “Le Sac est mort!”

18 Ibid.

19 Françoise Thébaud, "Penser la guerre à partir des femmes et du genre: L'Exemple de la Grande Guerre," *Astérior* 2 (2004), at: <http://asterion.revues.org/103> (accessed June 15, 2019).

20 Ibid., § 7.

21 Octave Uzanne, *Parisiennes de ce temps en leurs divers milieux, états et conditions: Études pour servir à l'histoire des femmes, de la société, de la galanterie française, des Mœurs contemporaines et de l'égoïsme masculine* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1910), 334–5.

22 Cited in Michel Erlich, "Transgressions corporelles et vestimentaires," *Le Vêtement: Colloque de Cerisy*, Frédéric Monneyron, ed. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 62.

23 Camille Duguet, "Propos sur la mode," *Le Flambeau*, 14, August 28, 1915.

24 Ibid.

25 See Anaïs Bohuon, "La Pratique physique et sportive féminine à l'Aube du XXe siècle: Moyen technique de maintien d'une définition normative des corps, l'exemple de la menstruation," *Gesnerus* 70, 1 (2013), 111–26.

26 Jean-Yves Le Naour, "'Il faut sauver notre pantalon': La Première Guerre Mondiale et le sentiment masculin d'inversion du rapport de domination," *Cahiers d'Histoire: Revue d'histoire critique* 84 (2001): § 11, at: <http://chrhc.revues.org/1866> (accessed June 15, 2019).

27 Cited in Guillaume Pinson, "La Femme masculinisée dans la presse française de la Belle Époque," *Clio: Histoire, femmes, et sociétés* 30 (2009), §14, at: <http://clio.revues.org/9471> (accessed June 15, 2019).

28 Nostalgia, of course, was not a new occurrence in the fashion press. The prolific Vicomtesse de Renneville (1811–90), for example, a fashion writer for multiple magazines during the Second Empire, including *Le Moniteur de la Mode*, *Le Bon Ton*, *Journal de Modes*, *Littérature et Beaux-arts*, and *Le Figaro*, often made reference to figures of the Ancien Régime in order to emphasize the elegance of new trends. This phenomenon continues today, as journals write about the elegance of the dandy or the casual charm of the early-twentieth-century *bohème*. We find here what Walter Benjamin attributed to fashion as "the eternal recurrence of the new." Nevertheless, the fact that Duguet so privileged this return to the past during a time of great modernism and experimentation in women's fashion—exemplified by Poiret's creations or the drawings of Paul Iribe—signifies a politically minded will to valorize a certain traditional and conservative current in fashion.

29 Camille Duguet, "Propos sur la mode," *Le Flambeau*, 21, October 16, 1915.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., "Propos sur la mode," *Le Flambeau*, 20, October 9, 1915.

32 Ibid.

33 I am here beholden to Patricia Tilburg, who, in her fascinating article, "Mimi Pinson goes to war: Taste, class, and gender in France, 1900–18," *Gender & History* 23, 1 (April 2011): 92–110, sheds light on the unsung history of these workers, who supported the nation through their work during the war.

34 Cited in Le Naour, "'Il Faut sauver notre pantalon,'" § 11.

35 Jean-Claude Auriol, *Mémoires de papier: Correspondance des poilus de la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Tirésias, 2005), 150.

36 Jeanne Tournier, "Comment on fait soi-même une robe à la mode," *Le Flambeau*, 25, November 13, 1915.

37 Ibid.

38 Jeanne Tournier, "Un Peu d'élégance pratique," *Le Flambeau*, 26, November 20, 1915.

39 Ibid., "Un Peu d'élégance," *Le Flambeau*, 25, November 13, 1915.

40 The associations between luxury and the effeminization of society (and other similar recriminations) occurring in the political and economic discourse at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century are covered by David Kuchta in his excellent book, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 2002). This book holds Britain as its primary focus, but in reproducing the opinions of the great political and economic thinkers of the time, demonstrates the impact of this phenomenon throughout Europe.

41 Tournier, "Un Peu d'élégance."

42 Tilburg explains in her article, "Mimi Pinson goes to war."

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