FANNY BRAWNE RECONSIDERED: A STUDY OF A FASHION-CONSCIOUS
WOMAN OF THE BRITISH MIDDLE CLASS, 1800-1865

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Gale Flament

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FANNY BRAWNE RECONSIDERED: A STUDY OF A FASHION-CONSCIOUS WOMAN OF THE BRITISH MIDDLE CLASS, 1800-1865

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Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The thesis re-examines the life, character, and interests of Fanny Brawne. Brawne is a known historical figure as a result of her connection with the English Romantic poet, John Keats, whose life has been studied closely. Previous research has considered Brawne in the context of her relationship to Keats, rather a brief and early period in her entire life.

In 1934, Brawne’s family donated her collection of fashion and costume plates, and other plates, to Keats House, in London. These plates were gathered together into two volumes, entitled “Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book” and “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook.” Both volumes are now housed at The London Metropolitan Archives, along with three hand-worked items made by Brawne. These artifacts and other primary sources help document Brawne’s life-long interest in all aspects of fashion. Brawne’s interest in fashion is a focal point of this analysis, and forms a major part of this study.

Many of the plates Brawne collected originated in magazines. This thesis examines the ways in which, as a regular reader, Fanny Brawne embodied models of femininity presented in these publications. The collections and artifacts are analyzed as a means of understanding both Fanny Brawne herself, and the larger culture in which she lived. Brawne emerges from this study as an accomplished, fashion-conscious woman of the British middle-class, whose hobbies and interests are very much in line with those of other women of her class and time.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the life of Fanny Brawne, a British woman who lived from 1800 to 1865. Editor Maurice Buxton Foreman has described Brawne as “of the average middle-class type, born and brought up according to (her) station in life, to be loved, to be married, to bear children, and to pass on unnoticed by the world at large.”

But Fanny Brawne did not pass unnoticed by the world at large. Her name is known to later generations, and her character, her tastes, her interests, and indeed all aspects of her personality have been endlessly examined. This circumstance is the result not of anything Brawne did, but of the fact that she was loved by a great poet. Brawne is already known to the literary world as the beloved of the English Romantic poet, John Keats. Brawne was eighteen when she met John Keats, and she was twenty when Keats died in 1821.

Walter Jackson Bate has said of Keats that his life has been more carefully combed for details than that of any other writer in the last 150 years. So it has been that the details of Fanny Brawne’s life, however fragmentary, have also been thoroughly mined for what insights they could provide into the mind of the genius who loved her.

This thesis places its emphasis elsewhere – upon Brawne, in the context of her entire life. It examines her life and interests both for revelations of her own character and as indicators of women’s hobbies and interests of the period. Brawne emerges as a
typical middle-class British woman of the early to middle nineteenth century whose interests were very much in line with those of other women of her class, time, and place. Her lifelong interest in fashion and historic costume, a major focus of this thesis, was remarkable for its depth, but not atypical for the period in which she lived.

Less is known about Brawne’s later life than of her early years. I have gained new insights about Fanny Brawne, largely through the study of her artifacts – collected items and personal items donated by Brawne’s granddaughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis, to Keats House, London, and now stored at the London Metropolitan Archives. These artifacts, along with portraits and earlier writings about Brawne, and letters Brawne wrote to John Keats’s sister, are valuable sources of information about this woman whose life is of interest to Keats enthusiasts and social-cultural historians alike.

Among these items is a collection of fashion and costume plates Brawne assembled over a fifty-year period. The plates are now contained in a volume that has been titled “Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book.” All of these plates, with the possible exception of a group of fourteen theatrical plates, originally appeared in magazines.

Fanny Brawne read magazines geared toward an urban, upper-class, leisured woman. These magazines were the sources of her fashion and costume plates. The plates Brawne collected have been extensively catalogued in appendices to this thesis and their content has been analyzed as a means of understanding Fanny Brawne herself, and the larger culture in which she lived. As a regular reader of these publications, Fanny Brawne was presented with models of femininity that defined her role in society.
A second collection of items donated by Ellis has been bound into a volume entitled “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook.” The second collection is an eclectic assemblage of imagery that appealed to Brawne. It contains a compilation of plates representing a variety of topics. Fashion-related imagery is contained in this collection as well, along with many other plates that document Brawne’s travels and other interests. Included in that group are several old prints from the eighteenth century that attest to Brawne’s interest in historic costume. Brawne’s religious beliefs, her sense of humor, and her attention to her hobbies and interests are also revealed in the collection contained in her Scrapbook.

It appears from Keats House records that the two volumes of plates were bound in 1934 when the donation was made, in order to preserve a collection of loose sheets made by Fanny Brawne. Brawne may have preserved the plates in albums that had deteriorated over time. Originally, she may have organized the plates in a manner similar to the manner in which they have been arranged in the two books at the London Metropolitan Archives, but this is not certain.

The collections contained in these two volumes document Brawne’s curiosity about the world around her, especially the world of costume and fashion. It is clear from them that Fanny Brawne followed fashion, although she was not a fashion-leader on a large stage. Primary sources of information confirm that Fanny Brawne’s interest in historic costume was typical of women who read magazines such as Court Magazine, which Brawne is known to have consulted.

Mrs. Ellis also donated two knitted purses and an embroidered net cape, called a “fichu,” to Keats House. The donor informed Keats House that these items were hand-
worked by Fanny Brawne. A note attached to the fichu stated that Brawne finished it in 1864. These examples of Fanny Brawne’s handworks are of excellent quality. They show her to have been accomplished in needle arts. These provide concrete evidence of her skill, while also providing insight into women’s domestic arts of the era. Art historian Jules Prown lists six functional artifact categories, progressing from the more decorative (art, diversions, adornment) to the more utilitarian (landscape modification, applied arts, devices). Brawne’s handworks straddle categories, and may be viewed both as “diversions” and as “applied arts.” They certainly embody and reflect cultural beliefs.

Material culture has been described as “the study, through artifacts, of the belief systems, the values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions of a society, usually across time.” It is one of several disciplines, social history, most notably, that endeavor to integrate artifacts into their cultural contexts. Social historians and material-culture scholars alike have tried to gain insights into the lives of ordinary people through the study of their artifacts.

How shall we define artifacts in general? The word is a synonym for “objects” and for “things.” Coming from the Latin arte, meaning skill, and factum, meaning something done, the term includes a reference to a human maker in its very definition. Objects and things lack this sense of implied human agency. In artifacts, we have physical objects that are strongly related to human behavior. As human behavior is often culturally dictated, artifacts provide a means of understanding the culture in which they were created.
There is an irony to a material-culture study of Fanny Brawne’s effects. As delineators of cultural meaning, artifacts may be said to be superior to written records. This is because written records, like works of art, are intentional expressions of cultural belief. According to art historian Jules David Prown, artifacts express culture unconsciously, and are thus more useful as objective cultural indexes. Literary documents, by contrast, are sensitive to the subjectivity of their makers.\(^7\) John Kouwenhoven, professor of American Studies, put it another way: “Words do not have meaning, they convey meaning.” Conversely, artifacts both embody and convey meaning.\(^8\)

It is therefore somewhat paradoxical that Fanny Brawne, beloved of one of English literature’s greatest figures, is to be studied through the lens of artifacts rather than written records. A further irony can be found in folklorist Henry Glassie’s argument that material culture has the capacity to report thoughts and actions that resist verbal formulation. In this context, Glassie noted, “Poetry, explosive with ambiguity and uneasy in the confines of time, comes closer to the artifact’s mode of significance.”\(^9\)

This irony is tempered by the fact that studies of material culture always involve both words and things. We have the letters Brawne wrote to John Keats’s sister, Fanny Keats, as well as those John Keats wrote to Brawne. These, along with biographical information contained in books about Keats, and one biography of Brawne herself, illuminate Brawne’s character and the times in which she lived. As material culturist Thomas Schlereth pointed out: “No serious student of material culture ignores any extant documentary or statistical data that is relevant to his or her investigation.”\(^10\)
Fanny Brawne’s collections and personal effects are worthy objects of study. Albums are seen as indicators of a society’s values, as important as its elite artifacts or its literary remains.”11 One of Brawne’s collections contains fashion plates from magazines she read. The plates give us an idea of the genteel tradition of ideal beauty, presented in a chronological format. It seems likely that the collection may be a preserved record of dresses Brawne actually had made up and wore. There is a high correlation between clothing and personal values.12

As the collection of paintings expresses the collector, so the album becomes a highly revelatory objet d’art. Glassie contended that collecting “can be seen as a neurotic disorder or as an heroic attempt to create some order, some place of personal control and satisfaction, in a world gone haywire.”13 Either way, her collections give us insight into Fanny Brawne as an individual, and as a woman defining her place in society.

Decorative arts historian Kenneth Ames pointed out that collecting usually precedes scholarship. Typically collectors have become interested in something long before scholars enter the picture, according to Ames.14

Historians have noted that the nineteenth century witnessed a heightened division of male and female realms: “The outer masculine world of commerce and industry, the inner, feminine world of domesticity and childrearing; the male world of energy and action, the female world of sentimentality and reflection.”15 Both of Brawne’s collections provide evidence of this phenomenon. We will see that the delicacy of women, and the refinement of the higher classes are reinforced in the fashion plates Brawne saved.
Historian Neil McKendrick argued that the first of the world’s consumer societies emerged in Britain before 1800. The fashion plates shed light on Brawne’s value system and suggest a belief in the satisfaction fashionable clothing can provide.

Fanny Brawne has been a controversial figure for Keats scholars. The Victorian view of her as a heartless flirt was later supplanted by a judgment that she was accomplished and worthy of Keats’s love. It is not the purpose of this study to speculate on the validity of either position. Rather, I will examine Fanny Brawne as a typical early nineteenth-century woman of her class and position, residing in a London suburb, and later living and traveling on the continent with her husband and family.

Fanny Brawne is known to the world as the beloved of John Keats. Through this examination of her artifacts, Brawne will be considered for the first time apart from her relationship to Keats. As a typical woman of her time, place, and station, she will help us understand the society in which she lived. Her artifacts, which have never been subjected to analysis previously, are expressions of that society, encoded with Brawne’s limitations, her purposes, her environment, and her insights.

Notes


9 Henry Glassie, Material Culture (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 47.


13 Glassie, Material Culture, 84.


CHAPTER II

FANNY BRAWNE

Introduction

This chapter examines the facts of Fanny Brawne’s life as they have been recorded in earlier writings. The sole biography of Brawne, written by Joanna Richardson, was published in 1952, and very little information about its subject has come to light since.\(^1\) Facts about Fanny Brawne were also frequently noted in the many works about John Keats, along with much speculation upon her character.

Letters written by Keats to Brawne and to others, and letters written by Brawne to the poet’s sister, Fanny Keats, also illuminated Fanny Brawne’s character and interests. Social and cultural studies and history texts are also cited, as are works about Fanny Brawne’s cousin, George Bryan “Beau” Brummell. The information from all of these sources is reviewed in this chapter. This provides a background for further study of Fanny Brawne based upon Brawne’s artifacts, which have been mentioned by previous authors, but never thoroughly analyzed.

Family Background and Early Years

Fanny Brawne was born in England, on August 9, 1800, in the hamlet of West End, near the village of Hampstead.\(^2\) Hampstead Village would be the stage upon which, eighteen years later, the drama of Brawne’s romance with John Keats would play out.
Then as now, Hampstead was a suburb of London. The village and its surrounding heath provided an idyllic background to the story of that famous romance. Joanna Richardson described Brawne’s childhood years near Hampstead in the pleasantest of terms.

Frances “Fanny” Brawne was the first child born to Samuel and Frances Brawne, and was named “Frances” after her mother. “Fanny” was a common diminutive form of the name “Frances” at the time. Richardson found evidence that both of Brawne’s parents came from distinguished families. Brawne’s father was descended from Sir John de Brawne who had come to England at the Conquest. John Brawne had been Abbot of Abingdon in the days of Henry VIII. In later generations, members of the family had been landowners, a defining attribute in pre-industrialized Europe. Brawne’s grandfather, Samuel, was commercially successful as a coachmaster and stable-keeper. His large farm at Kilburn was proof of his achievements.

Brawne’s father was a first-cousin to George Bryan Brummell, better known to us as “Beau” Brummell. Brummell, known for his infinite style, panache, and ability to make clever remarks in an amusing way, ruled fashionable London, and was absolute dictator of its taste and style during the Regency and reign of George IV (1811-1830). Brummell’s influence was felt long after his departure from the London scene, where he governed the tastes of high society by virtue of his ability to sense what was beautiful and appropriate in dress, and by his manners, wit, and impudence.

It is known that the Brummell children did visit the Brawne farm. An anecdote survives of young George crying aloud because he was too full to eat any more of his Aunt Brawne’s delicious damson tart. While Samuel Brawne undoubtedly knew his cousin George Brummell, there is no evidence that Fanny Brawne knew him. Brummell
was twenty-two years older than she, and went into exile in Calais in 1816, when Brawne was sixteen years of age. Although the two may have met, the many common personality traits and interests shared by Brummell and Fanny Brawne must, in my opinion, be attributed to hereditary predispositions, rather than to contact between the two. These will be discussed later in this thesis.

Fanny Brawne’s mother was born Frances Ricketts. The Ricketts family had been distinguished administrators in the West Indies. Brawne’s maternal grandfather, John Ricketts, owned estates in Kent as well as property within the city of London.

The Brawne family genealogical tree confirms that Fanny Brawne had two siblings, Jane and John, who died in infancy (see figure 2.1). Brawne’s brother, Samuel, was born in 1804. Her sister, Margaret, was born in 1809. These two siblings, four and nine years Brawne’s juniors respectively, shared her family home and childhood experiences. John Keats is said to have been fond of both of them. Richardson claims that Samuel (“Sam”) had “a Brummell interest in fashion.” This passion, we know, he shared with his older sister. The two also shared a strong interest in the theater.

Brawne was a small girl, with brown hair and intense blue eyes, according to Richardson. She was purposeful and had strength of mind. This, combined with an affectionate nature, made her a delightful child, indulged by both her parents.

Brawne herself confirmed that she had kind parents. In a letter dated October 29, 1822, Brawne wrote to Fanny Keats (sister of John Keats) of her pet pigeons’ tendency to indulge their offspring: “It is people of this disposition that invariably spoil their children and bring them up such plagues as no doubt I was, and for what I know may be still.”
Brawne’s lifelong interest in theater began in childhood. Her great-uncle, Joseph Vernon, was a renowned comic actor, and Brawne’s father told her stories of him, which she loved. Friends and family are said to have called Brawne “Millamant” during this period. This is a reference to a coquettish character with a gift for repartee in William Congreve’s comedy, *The Way of the World*, written in 1700. In light of Brawne’s later reputation for *bons mots*, “Millimant” may have been an apt nickname for the precocious little girl. Richardson tells of Brawne’s boundless imagination, and ability to invent dramatic plays and games, and to tell stories at a young age.

Fanny Brawne’s seemingly perfect childhood was altered tragically when she was ten years old. Her father died in April of 1810, leaving the thirty-nine-year-old Mrs. Brawne a widow, with three young children to bring up alone. Brawne’s father died of consumption, as her brother, Samuel was to do years later, when he was in his twenties. Fanny Brawne herself was small and pale, and suffered from asthma.

In the years following her father’s death, Brawne’s family lived with relatives. Richardson noted that Brawne was “at school,” but further details concerning her formal education are not known. Mrs. Brawne is said to have taught her daughter some elementary French earlier on, but Brawne became fluent around this time. She also began to translate from German, as a means to becoming fluent in that language.

Throughout the nineteenth century, most young British girls were trained in fine needlework, although the emphases may have been different in differing socio-economic classes. Sharon Laudermilk and Teresa Hamlin, authors of *The Regency Companion*, reported that even among the British upper classes, housewifery skills were valued. Sewing a delicate seam was an accomplishment of which a young girl could be proud.
The middle classes were on the rise in the wake of the French Revolution, but those who did no work were still held in highest esteem. The Brawne family’s commercial success placed them firmly in the middle class, perhaps nearer to its upper reaches. Fanny Brawne’s knowledge of sewing and fine embroidery was typical of girls of her class in Regency England. This topic will be further discussed later in this thesis.

Richardson wrote that during her childhood, Fanny Brawne treasured a small volume written by her great-uncle, the actor, Joseph Vernon. This 1780 publication was called *The New London and Country Songster; or, a Banquet of Vocal Music*. Songs from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, along with a variety of country dances, toasts, and other sentiments were included in the volume. The value Brawne placed upon this little book attests to her early interest in dance and conviviality.

One begins to have a picture of a child who is lively and precocious that agrees with what is known of Fanny Brawne as an adult. We can assume that as she matured, Fanny Brawne became gradually more accomplished and even more comfortable in society. Unfortunately, nothing specific is known of her character and interests in later childhood. The family fortunes did improve, thanks to an inheritance from Mrs. Brawne’s brother, and, in 1818, Mrs. Brawne moved the family to Wentworth Place, in Hampstead.

*Life in Hampstead*

Keats scholar and author Amy Lowell described Hampstead in 1818 as “really country, but country only a little removed from town. It could be reached easily enough on foot” from London. And what was London like, in 1818, when Fanny Brawne was
eighteen? That great city was characterized by great diversity. Fancy areas at its West End contrasted sharply with slums in the East End, where poverty and misery prevailed.

Fog, colored yellow from coal stoves, had always to be contended with. The sky began to turn black early in the morning as thousands of these stoves were lit across the city.²⁸ Horse manure dropped on the streets at the rate of one hundred tons per day. Add noise pollution to the picture, and one can see that London, for all its charms, had many drawbacks to comfortable living.²⁹

Some merchants lived in town, but many people lived in suburbs. As railroads made commuting more feasible, even poor clerks like Charles Dickens’s Bob Cratchit lived in fringe areas. The population of London dropped during the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, while the total number of persons living in what we might call “greater London” swelled to 4.5 million.³⁰

Hampstead was located north of the city, on hills from which one could look down on the metropolis below. Residents of the village enjoyed close proximity to London, with none of its urban problems confronting them.³¹ John Keats visited his friend, Leigh Hunt, in Hampstead, where Hunt lived in “a kind of high class bohemia.”³²

Wentworth Place was located in the Lower Heath Quarter of Hampstead. The house appeared as one dwelling from the outside, but actually comprised two semi-detached units (see figure 2.2). Charles Brown and Charles Wentworth Dilke built the structure in 1814. The two men, both members of John Keats’s circle of friends, had known each other since school days.³³ Mrs. Brawne rented Brown’s half of the house for the summer of 1818.
Figure 2.2. Wentworth Place. The Brawnes lived here during the summer of 1818, and from April 1819 until 1829 (approximately). Fanny Brawne may also have resided here with the de Llanos family from 1830 until 1832. Photograph from http://www.sjsu.edu/depts/english/keats.htm.
It is interesting to compare Hampstead society to that of London. At this time in English history, most of the land and much of the property was held by aristocrats, who were at the top of society. Government was directed by members of the upper classes in their own interests, with those below having little influence. These wealthy individuals came to London for “the season,” which ran from March or April until sometime in June. In late June, the great families retired to their country estates.

During the season, elite society patronized clubs in St. James’s Street. White’s, Boodles, Brooks’s, and the Travellers were the most popular among the “haute ton.” Exclusive balls were held at Almack’s. A Ladies Committee ensured that membership there was limited to the socially perfect.

Behind closed doors, the morals of the aristocracy were notoriously lax. Rules for unmarried girls, however, were an exception. These were strict. Unmarried girls were considered “flashy” if they flirted mildly in drawing rooms or at balls. I mention this condition because Brawne herself was later to be condemned by some for her flirtatiousness. Amy Lowell pointed out that while manners were lax among the aristocracy, the middle classes were “somewhat sounder.” Brawne, in that case, would have been held to an even stricter standard.

Hampstead seems to have had its own, milder version of elite London’s social whirl. Assembly Rooms on Holly Bush Hill offered salons for playing cards and for having supper. For a time, the assembly rooms could only be reached through the garden and kitchen of the Holly Bush Tavern. Concerts, lectures, conversazioni, public meetings, and public balls were held there.
Society was varied and attractive, according to Richardson. Young officers from the barracks at St. John’s Wood often attended the dances. Mr. Elley entertained in the grand manner in his house in Well Walk, and the Davenports entertained with cards and quadrilles at their house at 2, Church Row. This was the society into which Fanny Brawne was introduced, probably not long after she finished her schooling.41

The exact date that Fanny Brawne and John Keats met is not known, but it may have been in November 1818.42 Scholars are not in agreement regarding this, with Hyder Rollins placing the date some time in August or September of the same year.43 Possibly within weeks of their first meeting, and definitely no later than May 1, 1819, the two were secretly engaged.44 What necessitated this secrecy, the modern reader wonders?

The answer can perhaps be found in the pre-Victorian cultural necessity to guard one’s reputation at all costs. Among the upper classes, a girl could never let anyone suspect that her expectations were small. John Keats’s financial circumstances were grim, and his fame was not to come until decades after his death. His health also was precarious, and if he should have found himself unable, ultimately, to marry Brawne, as a consequence of any of these circumstances, Brawne’s chances for marriage to another suitor might have been ruined.45 This, I believe, is a plausible explanation for the secret nature of the engagement.

_Fanny Brawne as a Young Woman_

More is known of Fanny Brawne’s life as a young woman in Hampstead, than is known about any other period in her life. This is the result of her connection to John Keats, and the great interest in all things related to the poet’s life and work. The
Her Appearance

About Fanny Brawne’s looks, much has been written, although real evidence is scant. Curiosity about this subject is not surprising, as the love interest of a famous man is often evaluated according to her beauty. There is the romantic notion that such a woman must have been very good-looking.

Experts agree that to John Keats, Fanny Brawne was beautiful. Whether or not this was actually the case is less certain. In December 1818, Keats wrote to his brother George and sister-in-law Georgiana, describing Brawne as “beautiful, elegant, graceful, silly, fashionable and strange.”

He elaborated in a second letter, written a few days later, with a somewhat flippant characterization of Brawne that masked his true feelings:

Shall I give you Miss Brawne? She is about my height - with a fine style of countenance of the lengthened sort - she wants sentiment in every feature - she manages to make her hair look well - her nostrils are fine - though a little painful - her mouth is bad and good - her Profile is better than her full -face which indeed is not full but pale and thin without showing any bone. Her shape is very graceful and so are her movements - her Arms are good her hands baddish - her feet tolerable. She is not seventeen [this was an error; Brawne was eighteen at the time] - but she is ignorant-monstrous in her behavior, flying out in all directions - calling people such names that I was forced lately to make use of the term Minx - this is I think not from any innate vice, but from a penchant she has for acting stylishly.

Keats’s letters to Brawne were full of allusions to her beauty. On July 3, 1819, he wrote: “The morning is the only proper time for me to write to a beautiful Girl whom I love so much” and in the same letter: “For myself I know not how to express my devotion to so fair a form: I want a brighter word than bright, a fairer word than fair.”
Walsh suggests that Brawne may have been uncomfortable with Keats’s repeated references to her beauty. Indeed that may have been the case, since on July 8, 1819, Keats wrote: “Why may I not speak of your Beauty, since without that I could never have lov’d you? – I cannot conceive any beginning of such love as I have for you but beauty.

In a letter dated July 27, 1819, the poet wrote: “I cannot believe there ever was or ever could be any thing to admire in me especially as far as sight goes - I cannot be admired, I am not a thing to be admired. You are, I love you; all I can bring you is a swooning admiration of your Beauty.” In the same letter Keats wrote: “I have two luxuries to brood over in my walks, your Loveliness and the hour of my death.” The letter closes: “I will imagine you Venus tonight and pray, pray, pray to your star like a Heathen. Your’s ever, fair Star, John Keats.”

Richardson’s analysis of Brawne’s appearance was more realistic. She described Brawne as “not conventionally beautiful.” Blue eyes and a disarming smile were offset by a nose that was too aquiline, and a thin face so pale some called it “sallow,” according to Brawne’s biographer. Keats scholar and author John Middleton Murry posited that Brawne was probably “more interesting than beautiful.” Sidney Colvin, in his Life of Keats, described Brawne as belonging to the “English hawk blonde type, with aquiline nose and retreating forehead.”

No picture of Fanny Brawne at eighteen survives to settle the question of her attractiveness. A painted miniature of about 1830 (Brawne was then 30) has been declared to be “worthless” by the Brawne family (see figure 3.7). The artist Joseph Severn thought that Brawne bore a strong likeness to a figure in Titian’s Sacred and Profane Love (see figure 2.3). Severn wrote: “She was rather taller than Keats &
Figure 2.3. Detail of *Sacred and Profane Love*. Artist Joseph Severn believed that Fanny Brawne strongly resembled “the splendid figure” in a white dress in this painting by Tiziano Vecelli (Titian). Photograph from http://www.humanitiesweb.org.
strongly resembling the splendid figure (in a white dress) in Titian’s picture of sacred & profane Love.”56

There is conflicting information about Brawne’s height. Keats’s remark to his brother that Brawne was about his height is very telling, as the poet stood only five feet and three quarters of an inch tall himself.57 Walsh wrote that Brawne was somewhat taller than her lover, which is strongly supported by Severn’s observations.58 Rosa Perrins, daughter of Fanny Brawne’s close friend Rosa Rodd, had a childhood remembrance of Brawne as “a tall, handsome woman.” This judgment may be attributed to a child’s distorted point of view and the passage of time. The remark was published in the Hampstead and Highgate Express, in 1894.59

Whatever Fanny Brawne’s natural endowments may have been, she was most certainly a woman who knew how to make the most of her assets. She took great pains with her hair. This is borne out by a remark she made in a letter to Fanny Keats: “I have got all my hair to curl, everybody is in bed and the fire half out . . .”60 By John Keats’s own testimony, Brawne was successful at this.61

The subjects of Fanny Brawne’s love of clothes, and interest in fashion and historic costume will be discussed more fully in the chapter following. These topics informed a great a part of Brawne’s personality. They relate so strongly to her artifacts that they deserve more in-depth coverage than would be appropriate here.

Dress, Manner, and Carriage

Fanny Brawne amply demonstrated her belief in dress, manner, and carriage as the key ingredients to social success.62 This belief clearly reflects the advice offered to young women in the books and periodicals of the day, which exhorted readers to cultivate
elegance of manners, dignity of carriage, and taste in attire. A woman who followed this advice could expect to become “so powerful that none (could) behold her without admiration.”

Young Fanny Brawne was just such a woman, in my opinion. John Keats was certainly captivated by her. Although Keats made light of Brawne’s charms in the letter to his brother George, quoted earlier, he later told Brawne: “The very first week I knew you I wrote myself your vassal.” Keats may have tried to resist the stylish Miss Brawne, but could not. Her penchant for “acting stylishly” was repellent to him, but, as Sidney Colvin pointed out, “An attraction which has begun by repulsion is ever the most dangerous of all.”

Her Unsentimental Nature

Other features of Fanny Brawne’s personality were also highly attractive to the poet. The fact that she was self-assured with men put Keats at ease. Keats scholar Walter Jackson Bate suggested that Brawne was unsentimental. This, in Bate’s opinion was a kind of feminized version of the trait of “businesslike energy” that many of Keats’s friends possessed. Bate suggested that Brawne’s lack of sentimentality was remarkable for the period, which he understood to be marked by sensibility at its extreme.

Costume historian C. Willett Cunnington does not agree with Bate’s characterization of the period. In Cunnington’s opinion, women assumed a bolder air at the start of the nineteenth century. Sentiment was discarded, and many women were marked by “a certain coolness.” Magazines of the day conveyed the impression that readers were interested in ideas rather than feelings, and were intrigued with human
Sentimentality, in fact, was a subject for ironic satire - Jane Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) is a prime example of this phenomenon.  

Fanny Brawne lived in a time of shifting attitudes, for although hypersensitivity made a great comeback during the Victorian era, unsentimental feminine attitudes prevailed until the 1820s, according to Cunnington. Throughout the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the concept of “the Lady” was in flux between an older, aristocratic definition and a new set of values associated with the bourgeois family. The fact that the nineteenth century is difficult for twenty-first century students to comprehend is well illustrated by this example of its contradictory attitudes.

**Her Exuberant Personality**

Fanny Brawne’s lively nature, described by Bate as “almost adolescent,” must have attracted Keats as well. Amy Lowell described Brawne as “something of a rattle,” in her liking of smart sallies, badinage, and innocent flirtation. Rosa Perrins reported that people in Hampstead used to repeat Brawne’s latest *bons mots*.  

Irish writer Gerald Griffin first met Fanny Brawne in 1825. He wrote to his sister in 1829 that Brawne was still lively and entertaining in conversation. When Keats was finally parted from Brawne in 1820, he wrote to his friend Charles Brown from aboard the ship *Maria Crowther*. En route to Rome, where he died in 1821, the poet wrote: “Some phrases she was in the habit of using during my last nursing at Wentworth Place ring in my ears.” Author Sheila Birkenhead cited this remark as proof of Brawne’s verbal acuity.  

Marie Adami, in her biography of Keats’s sister, Fanny Keats, described Fanny Brawne as having a “quick brilliance.” If Brawne took after her Brummell cousin when
she acted stylishly, as Richardson has suggested, she also seems to have had some of the Beau’s flare for wit and conversation.  

Kathleen Campbell described Brummell as having the art and personality of an actor. In his case, wit and gaiety were rewarded with a place among the elite society to which birth alone had not entitled him. Fanny Brawne never achieved such exalted social standing, and it is not known whether or not she aspired to it at any time in her life.

We do know that Fanny Brawne was desirous of social activities within the Hampstead milieu. She liked to dance, and indeed did dance with soldiers at balls in the village. She danced the quadrille as well as the waltz, which was new at the time. Brawne also enjoyed playing cards at parties held in the houses of friends. These activities mirrored those of the upper classes, who moved in the higher sphere of London society.

It is important to remember that Brawne was a carefully nurtured girl of the straight-laced middle class, especially when we consider the charge of flirtatiousness that has been leveled against her by her critics. Keats wrote to Brawne in February 1819 as follows: “My greatest torment since I have known you has been the fear of you being a little inclined to the Cressid.” Although Brawne’s reputation was ultimately restored, the Victorian view of her as a heartless flirt endured for a long time.

When Richard Monckton Milnes published his *Life, Letters and Literary Remains of John Keats*, in 1848, he credited Brawne with preserving the poet’s memory “with a sacred honor.” During her lifetime, Brawne was able to read these words written by Milnes about her: “It is no vain assumption, that to have inspired and sustained the one passion of this noble being (Keats) has been a source of grave delight and earnest
thankfulness, through the changes and chances of her earthly pilgrimage." One can only hope that Brawne was heartened by these words as she read them, because many critics were not so charitable toward her.

Her Accomplishments

We have some proofs that Fanny Brawne was an accomplished young woman. Three fine examples of her handwork have survived to testify to her talents in the needle arts. Brawne spoke several languages, read voluminously, followed theater and political happenings with interest, and applied concentration and effort to the pursuit of her hobbies. These attributes define her as a typical upper-middle-class British woman of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Her Facility in Languages

Fanny Brawne had mastery of the French and German languages. German literature was the latest craze of traveled youth during the 1820s, and Brawne applied her skills to the translation of German writings. Amy Lowell reported that Brawne amused herself by making these translations “years after Keats’s death.” Brawne’s son, Herbert Brawne-Lindon, asserted that his mother thought of contributing to Blackwood’s, and did publish several translated tales in the magazine in later life, but this cannot be verified.

The only surviving manuscript of one of Brawne’s translated stories is Nickel List, which was published by M. Buxton Foreman in Blackwood’s in 1942. It is the tale of a Robin Hood-like character, whose violent adventures include forty-nine robberies and copious bloodshed. I agree with Joanna Richardson’s assessment that the piece makes for somewhat tedious reading by today’s standards.
It is not known whether Brawne made the translation before or after her departure for the continent in 1833. After her marriage the same year, Brawne lived mainly in France and Germany, and her fluency in the languages of those countries was a great asset to her. She also studied Italian during her residency abroad, and became able to express herself competently in that language as well.95

Her Habit of Reading

Women read more widely at this time than in previous generations, and, indeed, much has been written about Fanny Brawne’s literary taste.96 This is not surprising given that she was the muse of a literary giant. John Keats advised her in literary matters during their engagement, introducing Brawne to Spencer’s *Faery Queene*, and interpreting certain passages in Shakespeare for her.97 Previous writings focused to a great extent upon Brawne’s reading of serious literature, in an attempt to evaluate her ability to understand and appreciate complex works. The basic underlying question was whether John Keats worshiped at the shrine of a woman whom others would have found unremarkable.

This thesis looks at the totality of Fanny Brawne’s reading, which encompassed magazines and periodicals of the day as well as other works. Women’s magazines contained book reviews, and women were expected to read widely and intelligently.98 These publications contributed to the wider cultural processes that defined women’s positions in society, and shaped their views of themselves.99 Brawne’s reading habits were reflective of those of her peers, and of the larger culture in which she lived.

That Brawne had a taste for the Gothic is borne out by the fact that she read *Frankenstein*, written by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley in 1818.100 The book had caused a
literary sensation in London. One wonders if Brawne was struck by the parallels in her own life to that of Wollstonecraft Shelley. The author, although a very different kind of woman from Fanny Brawne, was just three years Brawne’s senior, and was married to a poet (Percy Bysshe Shelley).  

Brawne penciled a list of books she had read (or intended to read) into her *Literary Pocket Book*, now at Keats House in Hampstead. In addition to *Frankenstein*, Brawne listed works by Charles Lamb, and a two-volume history of literature. The list also includes the *Memoirs of Evelyn*, the *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth*, Lord Orford’s *Reminiscences*, and Walter Scott’s *Tales Of My Landlord*. These selections attest to Brawne’s interest in history.

Pocket books had been popular items for women since the second half of the eighteenth century. They were small, leather-covered books similar to diaries, with ruled pages for memoranda, engagements, and miscellaneous information. Richardson cited Leigh Hunt’s *Literary Pocket-Book* of 1819 in her bibliography. Fanny Brawne’s choice of this particular pocket book from the vast array available is interesting and somewhat amusing in light of the following information.

Leigh Hunt was a friend of John Keats. Bate described Hunt’s pocket book as containing, besides blank pages, such items as short essays by Hunt on each of the months, information on literary matters, and anthologies of poems. Keats wrote to his brother, in a letter dated December 18, 1818: “Hunt keeps on in his old way - I am completely tired of it all - He has lately published a Pocket-Book called the *literary pocket-Book* - full of the most sickening stuff you can imagine.”
The best evidence of Fanny Brawne’s literary tastes is to be found in her letters to Fanny Keats. These letters were written between 1820 and 1824. John Keats had requested that Brawne correspond with his sister. Fanny Keats was three years younger than Brawne, and resided with her guardian, Richard Abbey, during the period of the correspondence. After the death of Keats, Miss Keats had no living relative in England, and had few friends besides the Brawne family and the Dilkes. Her contact with the world outside of rural Walthamstow, where Abbey lived, was very limited.107

The letters provide numerous examples of Brawne’s somewhat self-deprecating humor. Here is one example: “I go on as usual, reading every trumpery novel that comes in my way spoiling my taste and understanding.” In the same letter, Brawne said: “There is nothing I like better to talk about (than books) unless it is to such a very great judge that I am afraid they will think all my delightful criticism nonsense.”108

In a letter to Fanny Keats written in 1821, Brawne admitted she was not a connoisseur of poetry. She reported that she liked comedy of all sorts, and mentioned Lord Byron’s Beppo as a recent favorite. “When you read it you will notice that gratifying account of us English ladies,” Brawne wrote to her young correspondent.109 The passage Brawne alluded to was a commentary on the foibles of fashion:

One has false curls, another too much paint,
A third---where did she buy that frightful turban?
A fourth’s so pale she fears she’s going to faint,
A fifth’s look’s vulgar, dowdyish, and suburban,
A sixth’s white silk has got a yellow taint,
A seventh’s thin muslin surely will be her bane,
And lo! An eighth appears,---“I’ll see no more!”
For fear, like Banquo’s kings, they reach a score.110
In her next letter, Brawne told Miss Keats that she expected the younger woman would like the greater part of *The Indicator*, which Brawne had sent her. It contained two pieces of poetry signed “Caviare” which were actually written by John Keats. The *Indicator* was another publication of Leigh Hunt.

Fanny Brawne’s literary taste is further illuminated by a letter she wrote to Fanny Keats in 1823. In this letter, Brawne explains her early liking for Lord Byron’s poetry, and how she had come to value him less, as a result of Keats’s influence. Keats did not admire Byron’s poetry, according to this letter. Brawne mentions *Beppo* again, as well as *Don Juan*. Brawne also mentioned that her Shakespeare was too large to send by messenger to Miss Keats. She sent, instead, her copy of Spencer’s *Faerie Queen*, wherein Keats had marked the best parts for her.

Both Amy Lowell and H. Buxton Foreman described Fanny Brawne as a voluminous reader. Richardson wrote that Brawne continued to enjoy reading all of her life. It seems likely that their common interest in books was an important element of the connection between Fanny Brawne and John Keats.

*Her Interest in Theater*

Keats and Brawne also shared an interest in theater. The stage was flourishing in early nineteenth-century London. Seasons of opera and plays alternated. There were two great theaters: Drury Lane and Covent Garden. John Keats had a taste for classic and serious drama. Shakespearean plays were a favorite of his, and he was an admirer of Edmund Kean, whom many regarded as the greatest actor of the day. Keats derived income from his work as a drama critic, and had analyzed Kean.
John Keats acted as Fanny Brawne’s drama critic when he advised her: “You did not see Kean to the best advantage in *King Lear* and the play itself is spoiled.” Brawne later wrote to the poet’s sister that she did not approve of an abridged version of *King Lear* she had seen. She recommended *Richard III* or *Othello* to see Kean at his best.

While Fanny Brawne had the advantage John Keats’s expertise to facilitate her understanding and appreciation of theater, the poet was not her sole source of information on the subject. Women’s magazines had notes on music, art and theater, confirming the fact that women were expected to take interest in such matters. A general desire to educate women to a higher level, in order to make them more stimulating companions for their men, was evidenced in the periodicals of the day.

Fanny Brawne’s tastes in theater tended more toward the comedic, mirroring her taste in literature. Her brother Sam shared her interest in theater. Brawne wrote to Fanny Keats on February 3, 1822 that she and Sam would walk to the theater district in London to see a play the next day.

*Her Political Acumen*

Lively discussions on politics were said to have been another of Brawne’s fortes. She was, allegedly, “fiery” in defense of her beliefs. The period of 1815 to 1848 saw the birth of many ideologies. The great need in Europe during this interval was for political and social reorganization, so there was much to discuss. Indeed, the ideologies born in this era - liberal, socialist, nationalist, and conservative - are still the basic value structure for most of Europe today.

Nothing in Brawne’s correspondence attests to her political ideology, nor is there any other form of evidence to indicate exactly what her opinions may have been. As a
British subject, her political convictions probably reflected the stability of English life and its strong bourgeois morality.\textsuperscript{127}

Here, again, Brawne’s actions mirror the expectations illustrated in women’s magazines of the early decades of the nineteenth century. Women were expected to take an interest in political matters, particularly before 1825, after which date coverage of domestic and foreign news and debates on topical questions declined in these publications.\textsuperscript{128} This decline reflected a more restricted feminine ideal of women as modest, pure, and family-bound beings which was on the rise at that point in time.\textsuperscript{129}

\textit{Her Hobbies}

In Frances “Fanny” Brawne, an unusual combination of traits coexisted. On one hand she enjoyed parties and dances, the theater, and the social scene in Hampstead. On the other hand, she enjoyed her own company, and was never at a loss for ways to keep her mind active. She had a need to be purposeful that had been apparent since childhood.\textsuperscript{130} She liked to be alone, and had resources within herself to pass the time in meaningful ways.\textsuperscript{131} She had the capacity to concentrate on the task at hand, be it the study of languages, handwork, or her collections of fashion and costume plates and plates of other subjects now preserved in two books at the London Metropolitan Archives. She was self-sufficient and could focus her energy.\textsuperscript{132}

John Keats remarked to her that she had amusements, that her mind was away, and that she had a thousand activities.\textsuperscript{133} Brawne wrote to Keats’s sister that when friends asked her to tea because they feared she might be lonely, she thought they were “mad.” She told Fanny Keats that she looked forward to evenings at home alone on the rare occasions when her family went out.\textsuperscript{134}
This surprising combination of great social gifts coexisting with the ability to find satisfaction in solitary endeavors was a trait of Brawne’s cousin, George Brummell, and forms yet another striking similarity between the two. Brummell spent his life in the company of royalty and nobility. He dominated London society, and reigned supreme in matters of fashion. Yet, when gambling debts forced him into exile in 1816, he set about to make the best of what was left to him. He passed his time drawing, reading, and studying French. “I have never been in any place in my life where I could not amuse myself,” Brummell said.\textsuperscript{135}

\textit{Reaction to the Death of John Keats}

The resources that Fanny Brawne had within herself were to serve her well. On February 23, 1821, John Keats died in Rome, where he had gone in the last failed hope of recovery from illness.\textsuperscript{136} Brawne then entered into a period of mourning that lasted years.

Richardson found evidence that Brawne wore the signs of widowhood for six years, as well as conflicting evidence from Fanny Brawne’s granddaughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis, that Brawne had worn mourning for three years.\textsuperscript{137} In either case, Fanny Brawne observed a widow’s mourning period that exceeded the norm for this pre-Victorian era. A widow was expected to mourn her husband for two years, and Fanny Brawne, it must be remembered, was not a widow, but only secretly betrothed to Keats.\textsuperscript{138}

In 1828, after a brief respite from the observance of mourning, Fanny Brawne found herself once again in black. Her brother, Sam, died on March twenty-eighth of that year.\textsuperscript{139} Brawne’s mother followed twenty months later. As a result of these two deaths, Fanny Brawne became a woman of considerable property.\textsuperscript{140}
Less is known of Brawne’s life after the death of John Keats than is known of the brief period in her life when she was his muse. She remained in Hampstead, living for part of the time next door to and part of the time with Fanny Keats (now Madame Llanos) and her husband Valentine Llanos. The Llanos family enlarged to include three children, and by 1832 they had moved on, eventually to settle in Spain.\textsuperscript{141} The Brawne sisters and the Llanos family grew very close during this period.

Around this time, Fanny Keats de Llanos persuaded her brother, George, who lived in America, that Fanny Brawne was not “the artful bad-hearted girl” he had long considered her to be. That opinion had most likely been based upon reports from friends of Keats who did not admire Brawne, most notably the Reynolds family.\textsuperscript{142}

George Keats himself had observed “an appearance of want of affection for her Sister and respect for her Mother” in the young Miss Brawne.\textsuperscript{143} Cunnington wrote that the older generation viewed modern young women with considerable alarm during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. As late as 1819, “That undoubted boldness and spirit of ridicule, that inattention to the aged and self-sufficiency now so general” was decried in magazines of the day.\textsuperscript{144} Fanny Brawne may have been manifesting some of these traits when George Keats saw her.

George Keats wrote to his sister in July 1828, mentioning the Brawnes: “Present my respects to that Family, I remember the ripe as well as the growing beauty, and poor Sam-- I remember the chairs and the curtains and the cats, and the twelv(e)th cake.-- I desire much to hear about Miss Brawne.”\textsuperscript{145} The letter demonstrates that George’s bias against Fanny Brawne had softened.
Charles Dilke wrote to George Keats in February 1833, conveying the following report of the Brawne sisters: “The Brawnes are still single & residing with an uncle and cousins in France.”\textsuperscript{146} From this we know that Brawne was “on the continent,” where she was able to fully employ her competencies in the French and German languages.

\textit{Fanny Brawne’s Married Life}

Early in 1833, Brawne spent time in Boulogne, where, according to her granddaughter, Mrs. Ellis, Fanny Brawne met her future husband, Louis Lindo. The Lindos were an old and respected Sephardic Jewish family (see figure 2.4).\textsuperscript{147} Louis Lindo was born and brought up in London. His father, David Alexander Lindo, was a merchant and had been an underwriter at Lloyds. The family, which included seven children, lived in Bloomsbury Square until the end of 1827, at which time they settled in Boulogne.\textsuperscript{148}

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the attraction between Louis Lindo and Fanny Brawne was the disparity in their ages. Brawne, at thirty-two, was twelve years older than Lindo. She agreed to marry him when he came of age, according to Richardson. Louis Lindo celebrated his twenty-first birthday on May 12, 1833, and on June 15, 1833, Fanny Brawne became his wife. The ceremony was performed at St. Marylebone Parish Church. Four witnesses signed the register, but, unfortunately, no further details are known of the ceremony.\textsuperscript{149}

For simplicity’s sake, I will continue to refer to Mrs. Lindo as Fanny Brawne in this thesis, although certainly after her marriage Brawne used her husband’s name. At some point later, the family name was changed to “Lindon.” The earliest printed record
Figure 2.4. Lindo Family Tree. Reprinted from Joanna Richardson, *Fanny Brawne: Fair Love of Keats* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1952), 171.
of the name’s use appears in a Freiburg almanac of 1853. Fanny Brawne’s son, Herbert, adopted “Brawne-Lindon” as his legal surname in 1887.

Marriage at the age of thirty-three surely presented a profound and challenging life change to Brawne. Similar changes in society at large must have affected her as well. Cunnington says that during the 1820s the romantic attitude was consciously assumed, while in the 1830s it became ingrained. In 1833, when Fanny Brawne married Louis Lindo, girls were being taught to “believe in order to obey.” This produced a highly romantic attitude of mind that, by the 1840s had become vapid sentimentalism, in Cunnington’s opinion. These attitudes had not been in vogue during Brawne’s formative years.

The ideal British wife of the 1830s was sedately charming, submissive, and innocent. She was equipped to make her husband comfortable and to produce his children. Her mind was occupied with petty matters, such as the shape of a bonnet, and with vague romantic longings fanned by the novels of the day.

Fanny Brawne’s interests in many ways fit the period. Her interest in dress, and her belief in elegance and poise fit well with the times. Her fiery political discussions and gift for repartee, however, were less in harmony with the prevailing feminine attitudes. Age and experience may have changed Brawne by this time, in any case. She was not the same woman she had been in 1818.

After marriage, men and women of the 1830s lived in different worlds. They shared common interests, but many areas of consciousness were kept secret. The sexes became incomprehensible to each other, as they learned to live in separate spheres.
Fanny Brawne’s asthmatic condition actually became fashionable during the 1830s. Consumption, swooning, and anemia were conditions that showed a romantic disposition. Pallor was in vogue, and Brawne had always been pale. After her marriage, owing to “ill health,” Brawne lived with her husband in Germany and visited Boulogne and London occasionally. No stigma was attached to female debility and, in fact, this attribute was occasionally appropriated by people who followed fashion. There is no evidence, however, that Brawne’s symptoms were not genuine.

In spite of her ill health, Fanny Brawne bore three children. Edmond Vernon Lindon was born in July 1834. Herbert Valentine (later Brawne-Lindon) followed in 1838. Fanny Brawne gave birth to her daughter, Margaret in 1844, when she was forty-four years of age. A photographic portrait of Fanny Brawne taken during the 1850s shows her remarkably youthful in appearance (see figure 3.8).

Shortly after the birth of Edmund, Louis Lindon became an officer in the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain, where he fought the Carlists. It is interesting to contemplate the motives that would inspire a young father to take such action. It was certainly an action that mirrored the ideals of the Romantic Movement that was afoot. Romanticism was partly a revolt against inaction in a society that was seen as complacent and unjust. The action may also provide a key to Lindo’s political leanings and to those of his wife.

Fanny Brawne probably stayed in England during the period of her husband’s military service. After receiving no word from him for a period of time, she wrote to his colonel and learned that Lindo had been ill, and was experiencing memory loss. She then went to Spain to retrieve her husband, bringing baby Edmund along. This sounds like
a daunting undertaking for a woman alone, and certainly not one that could have been
carried out by a delicate female, of the type Cunnington described as typical of the
“Romantic Thirties.”

Hester Chapone, author of *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a
Lady,*” wrote in 1829 that a woman’s courage manifested itself in passive ways, through
patience, fortitude under sufferings, presence of mind, and calm resignation in the face of
danger. In this case, Brawne responded to a crisis actively, as a man might be
expected to do in such circumstances.

By 1838 Fanny Brawne was living on the continent again. Her second son was
born that year, in Bayonne, France. The birth was registered by “Sieur Louis Lindo, âgé
de 32 ans, rentier.” Lindo was, at this time, actually, just twenty-six years of age. The
term “rentier” denotes a gentleman of independent means.

Fanny Brawne was not without family connections during the years she lived on
the European continent. Her sister, Margaret Brawne, married the Chevalier da Cunha,
who was the son of the Marquis de Inhambupé, in France, on November 30, 1833. da
Cunha had a distinguished career ahead of him. From the late 1830s until 1841 he was
Brazilian Minister to the court of Ferdinand I, Emperor of Austria.

Brawne’s Scrapbook, now stored at the London Metropolitan Archives, contains
historic and folk costumes she collected during the years Margaret was in Vienna. Fancy
dress balls were frequent among the higher circles of Austrian society, and subjects were
occasionally taken from the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Richardson says that Brawne’s
sister entertained luminaries such as Princess Esterhazy, Prince Metternich and the
Princess Lichtenstein. Emperor Ferdinand is said to have called Margaret the
handsomest woman at court. If such opportunities to attend such gatherings came Fanny Brawne’s way, they would have been rare departures from an otherwise middle-class norm. Brawne certainly never moved in such circles when she lived in England.

Fanny Brawne went to live in Heidelberg in the early 1840s, where there was an active English colony. It was there that she met Thomas Medwin, who had published *Conversations of Lord Byron*, and other books. Brawne wrote an account of Keats’s character that Medwin quoted in his *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, published in 1847.167

Brawne’s exact whereabouts in every given year are not known. She may have been in Frankfort in 1848, and was in Freiburg by 1853. Richardson believed that Brawne never lost her youthful fire.168 A clue to her political persuasions may be found in Richardson’s statement that Brawne argued warmly about Palmerston later in life, just as she had discussed Cobbett and the Westminster electors in her youth.169 Both of these subjects involved liberal versus conservative values. But what was Fanny Brawne’s position on these controversial figures? Again, one would be speculating beyond the evidence to attribute to her any particular stance.

The Lindon family returned to London in 1859. Their son, Herbert, had finished his education in Germany. The family probably resided at 34 Coleshill Street in Pimlico. By 1861 Louis Lindon was working as a mining agent in Broad Street Buildings.170 Some scholars believe that Lindon worked for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Sir Charles Dilke was a Commissioner, and could have enlisted Lindon’s services as a secretary. Lindon spoke French, German, and possibly Spanish and Dutch, which would have made him a valuable employee, but there are no surviving records to corroborate this suggestion. Some believe Lindon may have actually worked at the International
Exhibition of 1862, (also known as the Great London Exhibition), since he was living in London by then, but this is also undocumented.¹⁷¹

Fanny Brawne’s finances were diminished toward the end of her life. The cost of living had steadily increased during the 1860s, partly due to the growing demand for luxury, and partly due to the new and expensive tastes of women who were no longer content to economize - Brawne never had!¹⁷² She may have contributed to the problem by her lack of economy. In a letter to Fanny Keats in 1822, Brawne had written: “I am a bad person to refer to, because you know my extravagance, but I really think over economy the most expensive thing there is.”¹⁷³ At some point between 1860 and 1865, while her husband was working as a wine merchant’s clerk, Brawne was obliged to sell a miniature of John Keats to Charles Dilke.¹⁷⁴ This hurt her already tarnished reputation, but was, apparently, a financial necessity.¹⁷⁵

The Death of Fanny Brawne

Fanny Brawne died on December 4, 1865, at the age of sixty-five. She is buried in Brompton Cemetery, in the London district of Chelsea. Her death was briefly noted in the Times, as follows: “On the 4th, inst., at 34, Coleshill Street, Eaton-square, Frances, the wife of Louis Lindon, Esq. Friends will kindly accept this intimation.”¹⁷⁶ Yet, with the passage of time, Fanny Brawne’s name became part of the story of English literature, and acquired a humble immortality, not intimated in this modest notation.

Conclusions

The known facts of Fanny Brawne’s life, presented in writings about John Keats and in Joanna Richardson’s biography of Brawne, and culled from letters written by Keats and Brawne, and from other sources, were introduced in this chapter. These facts
have been studied in the past for their ability to shed light upon Brawne’s relationship to John Keats. In this thesis, background information about Brawne’s life serves to support the further study of her character and interests as revealed in her artifacts.

The facts of Fanny Brawne’s life, introduced here, have defined her as a representative woman of her time and place. The morality of the British middle-class, being somewhat sounder than that of the upper class, is reflected in Fanny Brawne’s observance of mourning customs, and in her secret betrothal to John Keats. The charge of flirtatiousness that was leveled against her should also be viewed within this context.

Fanny Brawne’s accomplishments - her handwork skills, her interest in literature and theater, and her political acumen, were typical for readers of women’s publications of the early decades of the nineteenth century. Her fluency in languages was exceptional, as was her devotion to her hobbies – an area to be discussed in depth in future chapters.

Her elegance and her ability to make the most of her physical attributes was likely aided and abetted by the magazines of the day, which were replete with advice on these matters. Brawne’s unsentimental nature was typical of the first twenty years of the decade, and, like her interest in reading, theater, and politics, was reinforced by the magazines she read. That she remained fiery in political discussions demonstrates that Brawne defined herself according to the models of femininity that prevailed in the early decades of the nineteenth century. This was further documented by her trip to Spain to retrieve her husband, an active rather than a passive response to her difficulties.

Fashion and historic costume were also areas of strong interest to Fanny Brawne throughout her life, but were not addressed in this chapter. As they formed so great a part
of her personality, and bear upon many of her artifacts so directly, they will be discussed separately, in the chapter that follows.

Notes

1 Richardson has been criticized by some reviewers. Keats biographer John Evangelist Walsh has called Richardson’s work “a slim volume” which is “little more than conjecture.” While this criticism may be valid as to Richardson’s overly sympathetic analysis of Brawne’s character, I believe that the facts and dates cited by Richardson are reliable. In all cases Richardson used primary sources to verify information and noted any contradictions she encountered in the course of her investigations. I have relied upon Richardson’s scholarship in my research. See John Evangelist Walsh, Darkling I Listen: The Last Days and Death of John Keats (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 143, and Joanna Richardson, Fanny Brawne: ‘Fair Love’ of Keats (New York, The Vanguard Press, 1952), 2.

2 Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 2.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., 3.


8 Ibid., 14.


10 Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 3.

11 Ibid., 4,6.

Richardson did not cite her sources of information about Brawne’s childhood specifically. Anecdotes illustrating Brawne’s intelligence and abounding gaiety were likewise uncited. Richardson generally acknowledged Brawne’s granddaughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis, for answering questions about her grandmother. Mrs. Ellis, therefore, is the most likely source of the information about Brawne’s childhood contained in Richardson’s biography, in my opinion. This information must be understood to be subjective, in any case. Ibid., 4, 5.


Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 5.


Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 5.

Ibid., 7.

Ibid., 8.


Ibid., 68.

26 Fanny Brawne lived at Wentworth Place during the summer of 1818, and from April 1819 until approximately 1829. She may also have resided there with the de Llanos family from 1830 until 1832. Ibid., 9, 13, 122-24.


29 Ibid., 30.


31 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 1.


40 Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 11-12.

41 Ibid., 12.

42 Ibid., 23.


47 Ibid., 342-43.

48 Ibid., 380.

49 Walsh, *Darkling I Listen*, 40.

50 Scudder, *Keats*, 382.

51 Ibid., 384-85.

52 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 22.


57 Bate, *John Keats*, 115.

58 Walsh, *Darkling I Listen*, 29.

59 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 111, 175-76.

60 Brawne, *Letters to Fanny Keats*, 53.


64 Scudder, *Complete Works*, 385.

66 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 16.


69 Ibid., 30.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., 52.


73 Bate, *John Keats*, 383.

74 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 23, 172.


76 Scudder, *Complete Works*, 426.


79 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 5.

80 Campbell, *Beau Brummell*, v.

81 Ibid., 23.


84 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 8.

85 Ibid., 12.


87 This is a reference to Chaucer’s narrative poem, *Troilus and Creseyde*. In the story, the love of Trolius and Cressida is ultimately destroyed when Cressida, a Trojan woman, forms a liaison with the Greek Diomedes. William Shakespeare’s *Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida* (1603) was later so popular that “Cressida” became a synonym for one who was wanton or flirtatious. See Robert Gittings, *The Mask of Keats: A Study of Problems* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 75-77, 96, and G. B. Harrison, ed., *Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), 973-74.

88 Bate, *John Keats*, 420.


90 Lowell, *Keats*, 83; Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 108.


92 Richardson makes note of this in *Fanny Brawne* (107). In an unpublished letter to Joanna Richardson, Keats scholar and author Dorothy Bodurtha wrote that she and M. Buxton Foreman combed every issue of *Blackwood’s* published during Fanny Brawne’s lifetime, and found no contributions attributed to her. See letter by Dorothy Bodurtha, Shaker Heights, to Joanna Richardson, London, 6 February 1951, London Metropolitan Archives, London).

93 Fanny Brawne Lindon, “Nickel List and His Merry Men, or Germany in the Seventeenth Century,” *Blackwood’s Magazine*, February 1942, 81-91.

94 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 108.

95 Bate, *John Keats*, 427.


97 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 63.


101 Charles Cowden Clarke and Mary Cowden Clarke, *Recollections of Writers* (Fontwell, Sussex: Centaur Press Ltd., 1969), 41.

102 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 108.


105 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 180.

106 Bate, *John Keats*, 431.


108 Ibid., 48.

109 Ibid., 52.


111 Brawne, *Letters to Fanny Keats*, 55.

112 *The Indicator* was published weekly for two years, from 1818 until 1819. It was a collection of essays on a wide range of topics. Among the topics addressed were sleep, coaches and their horses, the deaths of little children, and thoughts and guesses on human nature. Leigh Hunt, *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt*, ed. J. E. Morpurgo (London: Cresset Press, 1948), 280, 489.


114 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 135.

116 Ibid., 255.

117 Ibid., 537-38.


119 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 95.

120 Brawne, *Letters to Fanny Keats*, 41.


122 Ibid., 52.

123 Ibid., 59.

124 H. B. Foreman, preface to *Letters of Keats to Brawne*, lxv.


126 Ibid., 256.

127 Ibid., 217.


129 Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, 16.

130 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 4.


132 Bate, *John Keats*, 425

133 Keats, *Letters to Fanny Brawne*, 95.


135 Campbell, *Beau Brummell*, 132.

The report came to Mrs. Ellis from her father, Herbert Brawne-Lindon. See Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 112, 176.


Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 113.

Ibid., 117.

Ibid., 124.


Ibid., 20.


Ibid., 50.

Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 124.

Ibid., 124-25.

Ibid., 125.

Ibid., 127.

Ibid., 135.

Ibid., 148.


Ibid., 94.

Ibid., 95.

Ibid., 83.


Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 171.

159 In Spain, the Regency government of Christina, mother of three-year-old Queen Isabella, was moderately liberal. Don Carlos, a pretender to the throne, would have been a more autocratic ruler, had his claim to it ever succeeded. For forty years his partisans attempted unsuccessfully to install him as King. Britain entered the foray in a limited way in the 1830s. The British Auxiliary Legion was comprised of volunteers paid by the Queen of France. Its principle campaigns against the Carlists were fought in 1836 and 1837. Casualties were heavier for officers than for enlisted men, due to the fact that regimental officers led their men into action. See Turner, *Europe Since 1789*, 322, and M. H. Kaufman, “Clinical Case Histories and Sketches of Gun-Shot Injuries from the Carlist War,” in *Journal of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, ed. S. Maskery (Edinburgh, UK: The Royal College of Surgeons, 2001), 279-289. Accessed 15 June 2007. Available at http://www.rcsed.ac.uk/Journal/vol46_5/4650008.html. Internet.

160 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 129.


162 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 129.

163 Ibid., 135.


166 “At a ball given by Sir Henry Wellesley, the English Ambassador in Vienna, the cream of the Austrian nobility . . . appeared in magnificent costumes and behung with jewels, as Quentin Durwood, Ivanhoe, Leicester, Elizabeth, and Amy Robsart.” See Fischel and von Boehn, *Modes and Manners*, II, 129.

167 Ibid., 131-32, 134.
Ibid., 135.


Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 136-37.

Ibid., 136-37, 176-77.

C. W. Cunnington, Feminine Attitudes, 168.

Brawne, Letters to Fanny Keats, 65.

Walsh, Darkling I Listen, 194.

Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 136-37.

Ibid., 140.
CHAPTER III
FANNY BRAWNE AND FASHION

Introduction

It is always difficult to recapture the essence of a personality from the past. In Fanny Brawne’s case, this is especially true, as documentation about her life is scarce. Her interest in fashion, examined in the context of the times in which she lived, will help us to understand this woman, whose character has long been a source of controversy for Keats scholars. Her letters to Fanny Keats, which are the only internal evidence we have of her, show Brawne’s passion for everything related to clothes. Fashion provided the means through which Brawne translated her vision of herself to the world, and her interpretation of it provides a means to understanding that vision.

Scope of Fashion Interest

Several important shifts took place in feminine dress during Brawne’s lifetime. Since Fanny Brawne was a woman who followed fashion, she was lucky to have lived in interesting times. Brawne probably looked forward with anticipation to the perpetual changes of fashion and accepted new styles with enthusiasm.

Dress historians C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington pointed out that each succeeding nineteenth-century fashion could be said to have an “optimal age.” If this is
true, Fanny Brawne was lucky again. Cunnington’s optimal age for the Regency period was seventeen, since the Classical mode exhibited so much of the body and was merciless upon the middle-aged. Thirty-five would be the optimal age to display the shape of the dress at mid-century, in Cunnington’s opinion.¹ In both cases, Fanny Brawne’s age was perfectly suited to the display of prevalent fashions to their best advantage.

It was certainly not luck alone that made Fanny Brawne a fashionable woman. Diligence and effort had much to do with her success. Innate taste surely played its part, but, more importantly, Brawne knew the value of paying attention to the particulars of fashion.

Good deportment was of prime concern to nineteenth-century women. Fanny Brawne cultivated a graceful and elegant carriage, according to the fashion of the times, which enhanced her attractiveness.² As dress historian Madeleine Ginsburg has pointed out, the simple, classically inspired dresses worn in the first decades of the nineteenth century were not easy to wear. Excellent deportment was necessary to carry off the straight lines and high waists that were in vogue when Fanny Brawne was young.³

In addition, Brawne used fashionable clothing and accessories to enhance her personal appearance, and she was very successful in her endeavors.⁴ This was not the result of chance, but of diligent attendance on her part. Brawne made good use of the resources available to her in order to keep abreast of fashion changes.⁵ This attitude perfectly reflected the opinions expressed in Mirror of the Graces, a guide to female etiquette published in 1811. Love of dress was natural to the (female) sex, according to
the “Lady of Distinction” who authored the guide. “Without dress, a handsome person is a gem, but a gem that is not set,” the author wrote.  

Moreover, the conspicuous attitude of this period was eagerness to conform to whatever was regarded as correct. Abundant written material was available offering guidance on correct deportment, and Brawne, like many other women, probably read and followed it. La Belle Assemblée, a magazine dedicated to the improvement of the female mind, deplored the fact that “More attention (was) paid to the graces, accomplishments and decoration of the person, and the fashion of the times” than to other matters.

On these subjects, Fanny Brawne shared the following advice with Fanny Keats in a letter dated February 27, 1824: “Dress, manner and carriage are just what (one) wants - a person must be a great beauty to look well without them, but they are certainly with in reach of any body of understanding.”

Fanny Brawne’s elegance and grace were noticed by all who knew her. John Keats thought her graceful and elegant. His first impression of her, conveyed in a letter to his brother and sister-in-law, was of a young woman possessed of great charm. The poet described Brawne as: “Beautiful and elegant, graceful, silly, fashionable and strange.”

Keats wrote these words to Brawne in March of 1820: “You are always new . . . the last movement always the gracefull lest. When you passed my window yesterday, I was fill’d with as much admiration as if I had then seen you for the first time. Although we must allow for a lover’s partiality, there were certainly others who shared Keats’s
opinion. An interesting proof of Brawne’s fashionable mien is found in this clever rhyming Valentine composed to her by Keats’s friend, Charles Brown:

Whene’er we chance to meet
  You know the reason why
You pass me in the street
  And toss your head on high-

Because my walking stick
  Is not a dandy twig
Because my boots are thick,
  Because I wear a wig.

Because you think my coat
  Too often has been worn,
And the tie about my throat
  Is at the corners torn.

(Some lines are missing here)

To see me thus equipped
  What folly to be haughty!
Pray were you never whipped
  At school for being naughty?

One perceives an image of the elegant Miss Brawne walking about the village of Hampstead, with her head held high, appearing much like the characterization of her drawn by Charles Brown in the Valentine. Walking was key to elegant deportment, and minute instructions were offered on this topic in publications of the period. The steps had to be short, not to exceed the length of one foot. The advancing leg should not be stiff. There should be no effort to turn the foot out. The head had to be held erect. The chest was to be expanded, and, keeping all this in mind, the motion of the body when walking was to appear “natural!” Fanny Brawne was mistress of these skills, and was admired for it.
Another observer of Fanny Brawne’s charms was the Irish writer, Gerald Griffin. Griffin was a dinner guest at the Brawne’s during the 1820s. He wrote to his sister, Ellen, in 1826, describing “Miss B” as beautiful, elegant and accomplished.14 Rosa Perrins, daughter of Brawne’s friend, Mrs. George Rodd, described her as: “A very striking, dignified woman . . . very clever, and most brilliant in society.”15

Magazines and Periodicals

It is likely that magazines were a main source of counsel to Brawne, just as they were to other young women seeking to cultivate qualities that would attract admiration. Periodical publications contributed to the wider cultural processes, which defined the position of women in society. As they shaped a woman’s view of herself, they also defined society’s view of her.16 Recent scholarship on women’s magazines of the early nineteenth century sheds light upon the ideal of femininity offered to readers for their consideration during that time. We can see from the reactions of others that Brawne was successful in negotiating the constructions of femininity embodied in the various publications she consulted.

Fanny Brawne was fortunate in her proximity to London, as magazines, unlike newspapers, were not published in provincial areas. Throughout the nineteenth century, they showcased an exclusively metropolitan version of femininity.17 These publications were really upper-class institutions. Within their covers, a tone of mental and moral uplift, well suited to literate, leisured ladies prevailed.18 Not until after 1852 did cheaper magazines, geared toward the middle classes, appear.19
Readers often had their magazines bound in volume form, and we have evidence that Brawne did so. In an 1823 letter to Fanny Keats, Brawne wrote: “I send but one magazine on account of the size.” Editor Fred Edgcumbe surmised from this that Brawne was sending bound volumes. On July 28, 1823, Brawne wrote to Miss Keats: “If you have finished Spencer, or any of the bound magazines I will send you some more.”

Before the twentieth century, British women purchased magazines largely through subscription. While this practice is still fairly common in the United States, it has reversed itself in Britain, where most magazines are now purchased over-the-counter. There is no documentation that Fanny Brawne subscribed to magazines, but we have the evidence of her letters to Fanny Keats, and the plate collections, as proof that she owned them, and read them. John Keats wrote to her in March 1820: “If you meet with any thing better (worse) than common in your Magazines let me see it.” The magazines Keats was referring to were probably *The Indicator or London Magazine*, both of which Brawne sent “to and fro” by carrier to the poet’s sister, Fanny Keats, in 1823. They were magazines of literature and the arts, not directed toward a specifically female audience.

As early as the eighteenth century, periodicals geared toward female readers offered helps in “the art of conversation.” This “art” was being reactivated in imitation of the French salons. Magazines provided ideas for hostesses to employ at their tables. Whether or not Fanny Brawne employed devices she picked up in magazines, we know that she was a successful hostess. Gerald Griffin reported that Brawne was animated, lively, and witty in dinner conversation.
Articles devoted to beautifying the female person did not proliferate during the first decade of the nineteenth century. It was not until after 1825 that a reversal of that trend became evident in British periodicals. Scholars have noted that there was a reduction in the coverage of domestic and foreign news as the 1820s progressed. Debates on topical questions demonstrated less reader involvement. A more sober and introverted attitude prevailed. There was a greater emphasis on propriety, purging of indiscretions, and avoiding lapses of taste.\textsuperscript{28}

This attitude reflected changes in the cultural definition of women. The restricted feminine ideal of a woman as a modest, pure, family-bound individual, more interested in her personal appearance than in news of the wider world was typical of the mid-Victorian period.\textsuperscript{29} All of these observations relate to British publications, and, it must be remembered that Fanny Brawne resided on the continent from the early 1830s until about 1860, and so may have been exposed to a somewhat different model of femininity during those years. Her scrapbook shows that she read Austrian, German, and French magazines along with English publications while living abroad.

Apart from her interest in fashion, Fanny Brawne’s attitudes appear to have been shaped in the mold of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. This is demonstrated by her interest in political affairs, her self-control and her capacity for self-analysis.\textsuperscript{30} Brawne’s unsentimental demeanor, mentioned earlier in this thesis, was also characteristic of the period before 1825.

Given the desire to present “an amiable exterior” common throughout the nineteenth-century, the increasing concern with fashion and dress demonstrated in
periodicals of the day is not surprising. Many women’s magazines made good
illustration, especially of fashion plates, a priority. 31 This was evidence of the increasing
importance of appearance over other concerns. According to writers Ros Ballaster,
Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer, and Sandra Hebron, there was a tension between
two ideals—that of the maternal, family-centered woman, and that of the desirable
woman, centering on physical beauty. “Women’s magazines . . . embodied the message
that the visual was central to the feminine.”32

This notion explains, to some degree, such other female pursuits as print
collecting. With its emphasis on pictorial rather than written communication, it falls
within the female sphere of activity. It is clear from Fanny Brawne’s collections that she
took pleasure in an attractive colored plate. This would have been an appropriate
feminine inclination by nineteenth-century standards.

Historian Irene Dancyger wrote that a man could display genius, but a woman
became ridiculous if she tried.33 John Keats himself was not immune to these prejudices.
The poet wrote to J. H. Reynolds on September 21, 1817, bemoaning the fact that
England was beset with women who had: “Set themselves up for towers of Babel in
Languages, Sapphos in poetry—Euclids in Geometry—and everything in nothing. I
[long] for some real feminine Modesty in these things.”34 An editorial in The Ladies
Cabinet of 1832, entitled “The Education of Women,” warned its readers as follows: “If
a lady has a natural turn for poetry or literary composition I do not see why she should
not cultivate it. But . . . when they are grave they are disagreeable.”
Magazines and guides to etiquette helped women to conform to the expectations of society. In regard to dress, there was much to consider. Custom regulated the covering of body parts. *Mirror of the Graces* offered advice on the topic as follows: “In the morning, arms and bosom are covered to the throat and wrists. At the dinner hour to the end of the day, arms are covered to above the elbow.” The neck and shoulders could be unveiled in the evening.35

The author, “A Lady of Distinction,” warned her readers against diversity of colors, which could show vulgarity of taste. “When in doubt, “array oneself in white,” she cautioned, as white was a “primeval hue” that never offended.36 Fanny Brawne gave similar advice to Fanny Keats in a letter written in the summer of 1822. Having offered some advice on the trimming of a sleeve, Brawne cautioned Miss Keats: “If you should have it be sure to let them put no colors about the gown, nothing but white.” 37

*Fashionable Dress*

An examination of the dress of the period shows us that fashions were in harmony with mental attitudes. Costume historian C. Willett Cunnington summarized the years 1818 to 1821, when Fanny Brawne and John Keats were acquainted, as characterized by diminishing Classical form, with increasing Gothic form and ornament in clothing. Classical influence, held over from the post-war era, was losing its energy and being modified by Gothic notions. The first signs of the trend were seen in the Gothic embellishments added to dresses, such as vandykes, gores, puffed hems, and flounces.38

Later on, Gothic signs could be seen in the form of the dress, with skirt widths increasing, waists narrowing, and an overall angular effect. The high waist remained,
while the disproportionately long skirt took on a tubular form. By 1821, the waist had returned almost to its normal position, although England was a bit reluctant to embrace the new style.

During the years 1818 through 1821, when Fanny Brawne was the sweetheart of John Keats, she might have arrayed herself in a round frock of fine cambric with muslin flounces, embroidered with “Clarence” blue. She might have worn a silk “spencer”—these were ubiquitous—with wide cuffs and lapels of white satin. Perhaps she would have chosen a “Castilian” fichu with a full Spanish ruff. Her Clarence blue bonnet might have been finished at the edge with a double row of white and blue larkspur blossoms, surmounted with a full bouquet of roses. Her accessories might have included yellow “Limerick” gloves, and flat-heeled white kid boots, laced and calashed in blue. She might have thrown a light fringed cashmere shawl in pale blue over her shoulders for walks on the heath (see figure 3.1). Indeed, George Keats wrote to his brother John on November 8, 1820: “We will send Miss Brawn(e) an India Crape dress or merino shawl” in appreciation of her kindness to John Keats during his illness.

In 1820, Fanny Brawne could have selected a grogram dress with a somewhat lengthened bodice that ended in a point à la Marie Stuart, and with a pointed lace collar à la Marie de Medici. When John Keats wrote to her in March of 1820 that he imagined her “sitting in her new black dress which he [liked] so much,” it might have been one styled in this fashion.

For walking, Brawne might have chosen a pelisse of gros de Naples with a pelerine of the same material, perhaps in lilac or a muted purple.
Figure 3.1. Lady in Autumnal Half-Dress 1818. In the waning years of the classical period, Fanny Brawne might have worn an ensemble like the one pictured here, characterized by diminishing classical form and increased Gothic form and ornament. Reprinted from Angus Holden, *Elegant Modes in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Greenberg, 1936), 33.
During these years, special occasions such as balls called for even greater attention to attire. Fanny Brawne, who had always selected her dresses with care and worn them well, was equal to the task. Amy Lowell asserted that entrancing frocks were a significant part of Brawne’s allure.\textsuperscript{46}

Fancy dress balls and other entertainments led English ladies to make a study of old styles of dress.\textsuperscript{47} Brawne’s extensive knowledge of historic costume served her well on such occasions. In an 1820 letter to Brawne, John Keats wrote: “Yesterday and this morning I have been haunted by a sweet vision - I have seen you the whole time in your shepherdess dress.”\textsuperscript{48} This could have been a reference to a costume that Brawne had recently worn to a fancy dress ball. In 1825, George Keats wrote to his sister, Fanny Keats, recalling Fanny Brawne as she had been when he had last seen her, in 1820. George Keats wrote: “When I saw her last I remember a young artist complimented her on her having revived a tasty headdress of the age of Charles the 2\textsuperscript{nd},” another likely reference to fancy dress.”\textsuperscript{49}

Fanny Brawne’s biographer, Joanna Richardson, related a story of Brawne’s behavior at a ball given in Hampstead in the late 1820s. Brawne is said to have been wearing a dress liberally decorated with bugles. John Hamilton Reynolds made the following comment: “It’s good to wear bugles and be heard wherever one goes,” to which Fanny Brawne replied: “And it’s good to be a brother-in-law of Tom Hood’s and get jokes for nothing.” The animosity between the two was evident in the exchange. Brawne’s repartee was circulated in Hampstead “as usual,” according to Richardson.\textsuperscript{50}
One may ask whether Fanny Brawne, with all of her fashion expertise, was a fashion leader. During this period in British history, however, the fashionable world was comprised of titled and royal people. These aristocrats were the fashion-leaders of the day. Brawne was a middle-class woman, living in a suburban area of London, and as such, could not have been influential beyond her own very limited environs. Brawne followed fashion, but was not a fashion setter on a large stage.

The fancy dress balls she attended, mentioned previously, presented an additional opportunity for Fanny Brawne to inspire imitators. Brawne’s raiments at costume parties must have been remarkable, given the care she took with her clothing at all times, her extensive knowledge of historic costume, and her delight in social occasions at which she desired to make a favorable impression. It is likely that her efforts were remarked upon by those who saw her, and may have been copied. Although her impact would have been limited in scope, she nevertheless may be said to have been influential on a smaller stage.

While it is true that Brawne probably relied heavily on fashion plates when choosing dresses, her costume efforts may have been more innovative. Perhaps in this area she could use her creativity to a greater extent. Relying confidently upon her expertise in costume history, she may indeed have attracted admiration as both innovator and leader in designing costumes among her peers in Hampstead society.

John Middleton Murry, in his 1962 book about Keats, noted that Fanny Brawne had a good deal of skill in designing what she wanted to wear. How original these designs were is unclear. It is likely that Brawne used fashion plates as one source of ideas, and made modifications as she saw fit in order to make the best of her own assets.
Choosing the right fabrics for dresses was important and required great care. Textiles were expensive, and their quality varied greatly. Fanny Brawne had to consider questions of texture, weight, drape, color, and pattern when deciding upon fabrics from which to make her dresses. There would be difficulties in commissioning dressmakers as well, as Fanny Brawne’s requirements were probably exacting.\textsuperscript{52}

Joanna Richardson reported that Brawne used an expensive dressmaker, Mrs. Bell, whose shop was located at 62 Newman Street-Oxford Street, in London.\textsuperscript{53} A Mrs. Morgan, milliner and dressmaker, also made dresses for Brawne. Her shop was at 33 St. James’s Street, also in the city.

\textit{Fashion and Correspondence}

Much of what we know about Fanny Brawne’s fashion sense comes from the letters she wrote to Fanny Keats. As has previously been mentioned, Brawne wrote to John Keats’s younger sister, also named Fanny, from 1820 until 1824. Those letters were preserved by Miss Keats, later Fanny Keats de Llanos.

Brawne began the correspondence at the request of John Keats. In so doing, she began a friendship that was gratifying to both women. Hester Chapone, in her \textit{Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a Lady}, pointed out that young women stood to gain the noblest advantages from the counsels of older friends. Mrs. Chapone believed that there was no better way to improve oneself than by imparting attainments to another.\textsuperscript{54} The friendly, affectionate letters exchanged between Fanny Brawne and Fanny Keats would certainly have met with Mrs. Chapone’s approval.
M. Buxton Foreman said that the letters show Fanny Brawne to have been an ordinary person, “of sound common sense, and good and faithful heart.”\textsuperscript{55} She wrote of everyday events with ease, and nothing in the letters sounds forced or artificial. Yet, when asked a question about fashion, a different Fanny Brawne is heard. In her reply, Brawne begins to write in greater detail, and demonstrates a level of interest that gives evidence of her passion for the subject. She offers alternative solutions, and uses diagrams to enhance her explanations. Nowhere do we hear the voice of Fanny Brawne more animated than when she is offering advice about fashion to her younger friend.

In a letter written in the summer of 1822, Brawne wrote:

If you have a body to your grey silk you cannot get it made under a guinea or perhaps 25 shillings and it will be of very little use to you afterwards as short sleeve & etc. are not much worn out of full dress particularly to you who are not much in the habit of seeing company, not that I would advise you to have a new dress if you cannot get it for 30 shillings but I suppose you might have a clear muslin for that money, I mention clear muslin because a silk petticoat would not be necessary, as I know many who wear them without, and I don’t think there is any difference in the appearance, gowns are made quite plain so that there is very little expense as to trimming I have seen some made in crepe lisse that would do very well for a pattern for muslin; with two folds of the same stuff as the gown, one straight round the bottom, forming the hem, the other brought to a point in front (on one side) and finished with a flower, in this manner (see figure 3.2).

If you should have it be sure to let them put no colours about the gown, nothing but white, indeed I do not like any satin at all, the bands of course will be put in with small cords covered with muslin: as to the body I saw one the other day at Mrs. Morgans made for a dance quite plain as to trimming something like the make of my red and black, but lower round the throat and confined at the shoulders as well as in the front. The back something the same, but very little fullness except at the bottom of the waist. The sleeve as you see is a plain one of the usual size, with a frill round the arm, which you can put in lace (see figure 3.3).

(T)his pattern will I think do for the grey body, if you find the muslin makes a great difference in the expence for then it certainly would be better to have the grey. I should be sorry to persuade you to any extra expense, but you buy your things yourself and can therefore get them very reasonable and I believe they do not charge you a great deal for making them, you must not have a very coarse muslin.

Figure 3.3. Design for a Body. “Quite plain as to trimming . . . and (low) round the throat.” Ibid.
Still, if you are not likely to go to any more parties I really would have the grey. I think net sleeves out of the question.  

Dress historians may easily date this letter by the description of the dress Fanny Brawne has recommended. In 1822, while white was still fashionable, colored dresses were gaining acceptance. A daring innovation of the early 1820s was the colored bodice with a white skirt. Colors were more “tender” than vibrant, with lavender grey being one of the most popular. Brawne favors all white over the grey body, but this may be because she believes it will be more flattering to her young friend’s thin frame (see next letter), or for reasons of economy.

She shows her ability to innovate when she mentions a dress made up in crepe lisse that could also work in muslin. This also confirms that Brawne had knowledge of the inherent properties of muslin (drape, weight, etc). Brawne’s reference to the quality of the muslin illustrates a common concern. Muslin quality varied greatly at this time, with lower-quality muslins being prone to falling out of shape.

The letter also contains several references to economy. Although Brawne admitted to her own extravagance, she advised her younger friend wisely and prudently with regard to expenditures for clothing. Economy was an important measure of a woman’s character, and it is clear that Brawne did not want to lead her younger friend beyond her means. Later in the summer of 1822, Brawne wrote:

I will send the gown to Pancras Lane tomorrow but I am afraid you will find a high gown of little use especially as I guess by the blouse it will be rather a dress one, remember if you go to any dances next winter you will want a gown low to the neck, and from being thin you would look a thousand times better in white silk or muslin. If however you still intend to have a gown à la Jacque, there is a french sleeve worn that would be very becoming to you. The top sleeve I send you is 6 fingers and ½ wide. The sleeve I want to describe has the same sort of top but
about eleven fingers wide and falls below the elbow where it is joined in with straps so as to set close to the arm. I will try to draw it, but it can be only to make you understand, not your dressmaker (see figure 3.4).

What I have drawn is, God knows, as unlike a sleeve with an arm in it, as heart can wish, and gives no great idea of my skill in drawing; the fine strokes at the top are the gathers which are set in fine plaits, and the pieces between the straps are separate and of an equal size, it takes a great deal of silk, I dare say and you may not like the idea so do not be over persuaded to have it- if you have a double cape, which I think you ought with blouse it takes two yards and a half but I am not sure that fringe will not look richer unless it is to be full dress.\footnote{59}

Fanny Brawne’s caution to Fanny Keats not to show the drawing to her dressmaker provides a clue to Brawne’s own practices. It is evident from this remark that Brawne was in the habit of making drawings to be used as guides by her dressmakers. Her drawings in such cases, apparently, were better - more detailed, more draftsman-like, and perhaps larger than this example, although the example would probably be adequate for such a purpose. The remark supports John Middleton Murry’s contention, in Keats, that Brawne had a good deal of skill in designing what she wanted to wear.\footnote{60}

Later in the same letter, Brawne gives us another glimpse of her preferences in gowns. Brawne wrote: “Margaret and I are red hot to make a chinks gown apiece. Mine is to be à la Jacke: a pattern she is unfortunately barred from, in consequence of the obstinate imitations of the 3 Miss Richardsons.”

I can find no reference to “chinks gowns” among my sources. This may be a colloquial allusion to “chintz,” as chintz patterns of three or four colors were popular for daytime wear during the early 1820s.\footnote{61} The wording of the remark seems to indicate that the sisters will make their own dresses.
Figure 3.4. Design for a Sleeve. “I will try to draw it, but it can only be to make you understand.” Brawne cautioned Fanny Keats not to show this drawing to her dressmaker, as it gave “No great idea of [her] skill at drawing.” Reprinted from Fanny Brawne, *Letters of Fanny Brawne to Fanny Keats*, ed. Fred Edgcumbe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), 70.
Fanny Keats evidently continued to rely upon Fanny Brawne as her source of information on fashion. In her reply to Miss Keats written later in the summer of 1822 Brawne wrote: “I have destroyed your letter forgetting you wanted an answer about your pelisse.” She goes on to say: “If I am prevented from seeing you (in London) the best dressmaker I know is Mrs. Bell, 62 Newman Street-Oxford Street - She is not very expeditious but as she cannot have much to do at this time of the year, if you fix your time she may let you have it soon enough - if you prefer Mrs. Morgan, her direction is 37, St. James’ Place, St. James’ Street - but she is very expensive, you had better know the price in either case and I think it would be as well to mention my name.”

The statement that dressmakers were likely not to be overburdened with work could be a reference to the London Season among the haute ton. High-born members of society congregated in London from spring until sometime in June. After their departure for the countryside, dressmakers who catered to that clientele would experience a slow period. Dress historian Madeleine Ginsburg reported that dressmakers suffered from the seasonality of the trade, especially from April to the end of July. If Fanny Brawne used dressmakers who worked for the elite of London society, they must indeed have been expensive! The fact that she tells Fanny Keats to mention her name indicates that she was probably a good customer in these shops.

It must be noted that the period during which these letters were written was not generally a happy time in Fanny Brawne’s life. She saw John Keats for the last time on September 13, 1820, and she wrote her first letter to the poet’s sister that same month.
John Keats died four months later, in Rome, on February 23, 1821. Brawne then entered into an extended period of mourning.

**Mourning Fashion**

The exact period of time that Brawne remained in mourning is not clear. H. Buxton foreman, in his 1878 edition of the *Letters of John Keats to Fanny Brawne*, stated that Brawne mourned for Keats for ten years. Richardson reported that Brawne bore the signs of her “widowhood” for six years, citing an 1827 notation by the Nestor of Hampstead to the effect that Fanny Brawne had come out of mourning that year.64 Brawne’s son Herbert gave a conflicting report to his daughter, Mrs. Ellis, stating that Brawne wore black for three years.65

In determining the likely period of Fanny Brawne’s mourning it would seem logical to look at the custom of the day. The period would be easy to ascertain if Brawne had been mourning the death of a husband, since mourning customs were carefully laid out for widows, but there was really no accepted norm for the mourning of a departed lover. Contemporary guides do not recommend an appropriate mourning period for a suitor or a fiancé, although hints may be found elsewhere. The expression “wearing the willow” refers to mourning a lost love or lover.66 Shakespeare mentioned “wearing the willow garland,” the badge of a deserted lover, in *Henry IV*.67

Certainly the times were conducive to prolonged mourning for a lost love. *Weltschmertz* was the fashion.68 Authors Oscar Fischel and Max von Boehn described the romantic atmosphere of the 1820s as follows: “Love was . . . the one lasting object of life and being . . . Everybody who claimed to be a *bel-esprit* was torn in soul. Urns and
weeping-willows, lonely sea-shores and quiet churchyards, became the subjects of poetry and art. In the absence of a proscribed mourning period, broken-hearted lovers might go on mourning endlessly. While the protracted mourning periods of the age are often decried, they would have, in these cases, placed limits upon suffering that was unbounded without them.

Elaborate mourning customs and rituals had filtered down from royal circles to the middle classes. By 1821, such customs were well established, although they did not reach their apex until the years 1850 through 1885.

Three years before she went into mourning for John Keats, Fanny Brawne was exposed to an elaborate public mourning ritual. The death of Princess Charlotte in November of 1817 had a profound effect upon the English people. Fashion magazines issued special mourning plates and the Lord Chamberlain ordered official Court mourning for all who could afford it. Ladies were to wear black bombazines, plain muslins or long lawn crepe hoods, shammy shoes and gloves, and crepe fans.

Two months later instructions were given for the second stage of Court mourning. Ladies were then allowed to wear black silk fabric, with fringed or plain linen, white gloves, black shoes, fans and tippets, white necklaces and earrings, with white or grey lustrings, tabbies or damasks and all types of lightweight silks for undress wear. In the third and final stage of mourning, women were permitted the use of black silk and velvet, colored ribbons, fans and tippets and even plain white or white and gold or white and silver stuffs with black ribbons.
Ackermann’s *Repository of Arts* featured a series of black dresses after Charlotte’s death. Designs for evening, walking, and carriage clothes were shown. A half-mourning dress was presented in the January 1819 edition, all white, with a matching hat trimmed in ostrich feathers, with black accessories.72

Fabric selections for deepest mourning were limited, as nothing about mourning dress could shine. Black bombazine, a mixture of silk and wool was *de rigueur*. A twill weave, woven with the worsted surface uppermost, it gave the densely black appearance that protocol demanded.73

Imported crepe of the “hard” variety, heavily crimped and made entirely of silk, was used primarily for trimmings, adorning gowns and headwear, as well as for veils, scarves, and hatbands. “Modern” crepe was made at Norwich beginning in the early nineteenth century, and was so often worn that it came to epitomize deep grief. This was an all-silk crepe, of different construction from the imported variety.74

During the 1820s, the bombazine trade was rather severely impacted by the taste for flimsy muslins and silks used for the neo-classical styles then in vogue. Ladies magazines had successfully linked mourning dress and current fashions, and bombazine could not produce the necessary fluidity of line these fashions required.75

Fanny Brawne, with her interest in clothes, would surely have followed fashion in her choice of mourning clothes. For daytime, she might have worn a round dress, with the bottom of the skirt trimmed with a flounce of scalloped work, done in black crepe. Her bonnet might have been composed of black *du cape*. It would have had a low crown, and a very large brim, which would have been lined with black. A full plume of black
marabouts could have been placed at the right side of the crown, and a black bow attached to the base of the plum. She might have chosen black gros de Naples strings with which to tie her bonnet, and black shammy shoes with flat heels to complete the ensemble.76

For evening, she might have worn a low gown made of black crepe. The corsage might have been cut square, decorated with black crepe leaves, and folds of the same material. The trimming of the skirt might have been composed of plain black crepe intermixed with black gros de Napes, and black buttons. Black chamois leather shoes and gloves would have finished the outfit appropriately.77

As the 1820s progressed, Brawne would have noted the widening shoulder line, and her upper sleeve would have filled out. As her waistline dropped, her skirts would have been weighted with puffing and foliage patterns to balance the widening top. Gothic ornaments would prevail over Greek key-patterns as time went on. She may have trimmed her dresses with vandyking and scalloping, and with crochets and dog-tooth designs. Early English patterns of blonde lace would have appeared at her neck and sleeves. By the end of the decade, Brawne would have worn dresses with immense shoulder width, a pelerine cape, and huge puffed sleeves. Her body would have looked somewhat like an inverted triangle balanced on a tiny waist, above the larger triangle formed by her skirt.78

Brawne’s hair might have been parted on her forehead à la Madonna, with ringlets extending over each temple to the tips of her ears. She might have scattered sprigs of flowers among the bows in her hair, and her bows, even if they were black,
might have been striped with silver. She might have owned a very high ornamental
tortoiseshell comb to hold up large curls at the top of her head, arranged in an “Apollo’s
knot.”

We know from her letters to Fanny Keats that Brawne restricted her social
activities while she was in mourning. Between November 17 and December 12, 1821,
Brawne wrote: “I who call on nobody have actually four calls and two visits to make as
soon as the weather will suffer it.” On December 18, Brawne wrote: “I was at a party
last night the first real party I have been to this year - You would have laughed had you
seen me dressed out in my cap &c - I did feel a little queer.”

Despite these proofs of Brawne’s bereavement, I am puzzled by the reference to
“chinks dresses,” mentioned earlier. During the summer of 1822, Brawne wrote:
“Margaret and I are red hot to make a chinks gown apiece.” This statement, both in its
content and in its tone, does not correlate with suggestions that Brawne mourned John
Keats for a minimum of three, and possibly as many as ten years. It does not corroborate
Joanna Richardson’s statement that in 1822: “In dress and spirit (Brawne) was wedded to
remembrance.”

Dress historian James Laver reported that during the mid-twenties, chintzes came
into favor for morning dresses and for home costume during the day. If the reference is
to chintz, perhaps the dress was intended for at-home wear only, or, if the colors were
somber, the fabric might have been suitable for second mourning. Assuming, again, that
the reference is to chintz, then one of these explanations must be correct, or Richardson’s
statement that Brawne still wore “widow’s clothes” in the early months of 1823 is not to be taken literally.

After the death of Brawne’s mother, Frances Brawne, in November of 1829, another period of bereavement, and the inevitable wearing of black, would have curtailed Brawne’s fashion options. “Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book,” now at the London Metropolitan Archives, contains one fashion plate from 1827, and one from 1829, but no more until 1833. That year was marked by an event that may have compelled Brawne to make significant additions to her wardrobe.

On June 15, 1833, Fanny Brawne married Louis Lindo at St. Marylebone Parish Church. Her Costume Plate Book attests to a renewed interest in fashion after that point. The collection assembled there includes plates from such European publications as *Petit Courrier des Dames, La Chronique de Paris, Illustrierte Theaterzeitung*, and *Le Voleur*.

*Images of Fanny Brawne*

One of the best pieces of evidence that we have of Fanny Brawne’s appearance is the silhouette that was cut of her in 1829 (see figure 3.5). By this time, according to Richardson, Brawne was out of mourning. Noted silhouette artist Augustin Edouart made the silhouette, which shows Brawne in full-length profile. Her family considered that the silhouette presented an accurate characterization within the limits of the artform.

We can see that Brawne’s hair is dressed with the back forming an elaborate chignon. In 1829, the chignon was often surrounded by a plait with some ringlets left to fall on the neck, which we can see that Brawne is wearing. The style was sometimes
worn with ringlets at the sides. Joyce Asser’s *Historic Hairdressing* illustrates this elaborate style, which was worn between 1820 and 1830 (see figure 3.6).

Brawne is wearing a dress with a low, off-the-shoulder neckline. The corsage appears plain, finished around the top with a ruffle, possibly of lace. The sleeves appear to be leg-of-mutton, with a deep cuff. The waistline appears to be at or near normal level. There is considerable fullness about the hips, gathered into the waist. This fashion was relatively new, having appeared about 1828.85

The skirt is floor-length, with a deep flounce above the hem. This is notable, as skirts had shortened about 1828. From the end of the 1820s until about 1836 they were ankle-length or slightly shorter.86 The fact that Brawne is wearing the longer length in 1829 indicates that lengths being worn had not caught up with ideal versions being shown in magazines.

Bustles were among the costume components for women in 1829. These were small, down or cotton-filled pads tied on around the waist at the back.87 Brawne was undoubtedly making use of this undergarment, as we can see fullness at the back of the skirt.

In the silhouette, Brawne carried a diminutive fan in her right hand, according to the fashion of the day. The artist, in rendering the fan with two white dots cut out, may have been attempting to indicate sticks of carved ivory or mother of pearl. These were favored by ladies of fashion in 1829.88 Brawne’s graceful posture is evident in the silhouette. Edouart captured a strong likeness in her nose, which appears pronouncedly aquiline, and in her chin.
Figure 3.6. Fanny Brawne’s Hairstyle, 1829. This illustration gives a more complete idea of the elaborate hairstyle worn by Brawne in the silhouette. Reprinted from Joyce Asser, *Historic Hairdressing* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd, 1966), 94.
A painted miniature of Fanny Brawne of about 1830 is of interest although Brawne’s facial features seem to be painted rather generically (see figure 3.7). A year after the silhouette was cut, we can see that Brawne wore her hair center-parted, with side plaits draped, and covering her ears. Sprigs of flowers were scattered among the bows in her hair. She wore a colletette with lace trim, held together by a small piece of jewelry.

The best proof that we have of Fanny Brawne’s fashionability in later life exists in the form of a photographic portrait, made sometime after 1850 (see figure 3.8). The photograph has been identified as an ambrotype, and dated “ca.1850.” To say that Brawne looks youthful in the picture is an understatement. Her hair is dark, with not a trace of gray. Her face and neck are smooth and unlined, and her hands look soft and rounded. Yet the photograph cannot be dated any earlier than 1850, when Brawne would have been fifty years old.

The term “ambrotype” is usually applied to any collodian-positive photograph. Strictly speaking, this term should only be applied to collodian-positive images prepared by a patented variant of the process. The variant operated in America in the 1850s, although popular misusage from that period onward has legitimized its use.89

Collodian images were produced from 1852 through 1890. The collodian transparency is a positive image on glass. The image has a characteristic creamy appearance when placed against a black surface. This was accomplished by means of black paint applied to the back of a glass plate, or by placing black paper or black fabric behind the glass. The plate was then covered with a brass matt and cover glass, held
Figure 3.7. Painted Miniature, 1830. From the original miniature in the possession of Keats House. Photograph from http://academicbrooklyn.cuny.edu/melani/csb/fanny.jpg.
Figure 3.8. Ambrotype Portrait, ca. 1850. Fanny Brawne was fifty years old in 1850, and looks remarkably young. Her costume contains many stylish attributes of the 1850s, attesting to her lifelong devotion to fashion. Photograph used with permission of the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
together by a brass foil frame. This is exactly the presentation method used to frame Fanny Brawne’s portrait.

Brawne struck a pensive pose for this seated portrait. Her hair is worn in the typical style of the 1850s with a center parting and the hair slightly puffed at the sides before being drawn smoothly into a bun, or loose chignon, at the nape of her neck. The hair at the back is partially concealed by a cache peigne, or comb concealer. This appears to consist of a bow, ornamented in some way, possibly with flowers or fruit, but the ornamentation is difficult to identify in this partial view. The Empress Eugenie, whose style was much admired and followed, was responsible for the popularity of the cache peigne in the late 1850s.

Brawne’s day dress has a plain, high, round neck, over which Brawne wears a detachable whitework collar with short lappets crossed at the front and held in place by a broach. The sleeves of Brawne’s dress are comprised of two tiers, trimmed in lace. They are somewhat fitted below the shoulder, then flaring widely below the elbow. They extend about three quarters of the way down her arm.

A separate white undersleeve, or engageant, appears to be enhanced with broderie anglaise. This embroidery was of Swiss, not English origin. It consisted of holes cut out of muslin, cotton or linen, finished with buttonhole stitches which framed them. Round or oval holes were the most common, and buttonhole-edged borders finished off undersleeves decorated with this technique. Broderie anglaise on engageantes became too common, and dropped out of favor by the early 1860s.
Undersleeves were considered as articles of lingerie, and, given Brawne’s talent for work, it is likely that she embroidered these herself.\textsuperscript{97}

Bracelets of similar design to one another are worn over the sleeves at the wrist. From their medium-gray tone in this black and white image, it appears that they could be comprised of coral beads. Coral was a fashionable material at the time.\textsuperscript{98} Dress historian James Laver described the sleeves of a bodice of 1857 as “terminating in bracelets of coral.”\textsuperscript{99}

The dress has a bodice \textit{en bretelle}, fitted to the waist and trimmed with long fringe, which was the most fashionable trimming, particularly for \textit{bretelles}, in 1856. Author Alison Gernsheim reported that in May of that year, Parisians complained that: “\textit{Bretelles} are worn by half the little \textit{grisettes} in the streets.” This would indicate that the fashion had run its course, but English ladies wore them for a few seasons more.\textsuperscript{100} Exuberant use of lace and trimming was characteristic of the 1850s.\textsuperscript{101}

The bodice of the dress is fastened at the front with a series of tiny buttons. It is difficult to determine whether the dress is one-piece, with bodice and skirt seamed together at the waist, or two-piece, with separate bodice and skirt.

The skirt is flounced. The first flounce appears to be a \textit{basque}, as it appears shortened at the front. If this is the case, it may have been cut in one piece with the bodice. Beginning with the second tier, horizontal bands of contrasting fabric are used.

The fabric may be printed cotton, or possibly a silk-wool barège material. The body of the dress has an overall pattern of evenly-spaced flowers. The flounce that is visible in the portrait has the same pattern, but with a wide border in a formal, paisley
pattern. Textile manufacturers and designers of flat pattern in Britain adopted such
Indian styles enthusiastically from about 1840 onward. Indian motifs and patterns were
often highly stylized, and used with European rather than Indian color choices.  

Dresses with a pattern printed so that it complemented the shape of the dress
when made up were popular in the late 1850s and 1860s. In such cases, the material
used was a “disposition” – meaning that it was printed with a special border for the
flounces. There are many in museum collections, with an outstanding example at the
Victoria and Albert Museum. The Victoria and Albert example is so strikingly similar to
the one worn by Fanny Brawne, that it is possible that the portrait could date as late as
1858, which is the date the museum attributes to their example (see figure 3.9).

Admittedly, Brawne’s youthful appearance seems to rule out that date. It is
difficult to believe that she was fifty years old in the portrait (using the ca.1850 date),
but if the portrait was in fact made in 1858, then Brawne was an astounding fifty-eight
years old at the time. Nothing in her appearance suggests a woman in advanced middle-
age, and yet, there is evidence to the contrary.

Finally, I note that Fanny Brawne chose a day dress for her portrait, but it is not a
simple day dress. The dress is actually somewhat extravagant, because of the amount of
material, in contrasting patterns, required to make it. The use of expensive trimmings
such as lace, and silk fringe, as well as the floral print and use of mixed fabrics was
fashionable Rococo revival. The coral bracelets were au current. Fashion critics
might suggest that the dress was overloaded with embellishments, creating a fussy effect, but this was also characteristic of the period.

The ambrotype portrait is a convincing piece of evidence that Fanny Brawne was a woman who followed fashion. Her costume incorporates many fashionable accouterments of the day, just as her youthful appearance attests to her ability to make the best of her attributes. The portrait proves that Brawne remained a woman of fashion well into middle age. Her interest in “dress, manner and carriage” was unabated by time.

Interest in Historic Costume

Fanny Brawne’s interest in fashion was not limited to the fashions of her day. She collected plates of historic costume along with contemporary fashion plates. All of these plates are now incorporated into one book, housed at the London Metropolitan Archives. A second book at the archives contains a more eclectic assemblage of plates preserved by Brawne, with a variety of subjects represented. Several examples of historic costume are included in that book as well. These books are examined Chapter IV of this thesis. Fanny Brawne’s knowledge of the history of dress always impressed her friends, and she could answer questions on the subject at a moment’s notice.107

Historic costume was of interest to readers of women’s magazines, such as Court Magazine, which Brawne is known to have consulted. In June 1838, the magazine ran an article entitled “Outlines of British Female Costume,” by Sutherland Menzies.108 Menzies wrote: “Not one of the least important parts of the history of manners and civilization is the history of costume. The dress of a people is always in some degree an
indication of the progress they have made in wealth as well as in taste.” The eight-page article that followed was detail-oriented.

It appears, then, that Brawne’s choice of historic costume as an area of interest was not terribly unusual. The fact that her friends were impressed with her knowledge, however, attests to the body of information Brawne had accumulated. Brawne’s collection of fashion plates and illustrations of costumes from the past has survived to further document her enthusiasm for this topic.

The collections now contained in the books at the London Metropolitan Archives also attest to Brawne’s ability to concentrate on detailed work. Since Keats himself was concerned with ideas of effort and concentration, he cannot have failed to notice and approve of this trait in Fanny Brawne. Keats found relief in the companionship of people who were clear-cut, direct, and uncomplicated. As Keats scholar and author Walter Jackson Bate stated: “[These characteristics] would inevitably appeal to a richly sympathetic imagination that enjoyed the self-sufficiency of others.”

Fanny Brawne’s interest in historic costume was not highly unusual for the times, just as her concern with deportment, and lifelong interest in everything related to clothes were typical for women of her class. It was not the interests themselves, but Brawne’s level of interest that was remarkable.

Given that level of interest, Brawne may have consulted other references besides magazines in her quest for information, as other sources were available to serious clothing scholars. We know that Fanny Brawne took notice of the illustrations in Bell’s Shakespeare, because she collected two plates from a 1775 edition.
Thomas Hope’s *Costume of the Ancients* was another excellent source of information. Published in 1809, Hope’s book featured excellent outline plates by Henry Moses. Hope published a second book in 1812, entitled *Designs of Modern Costumes*. Whether Fanny Brawne knew of these works or consulted them is not known, but they were available to her.

Another source of costume history was Bonnard’s *Costume Historique*. This two-volume set of engravings was first published in Paris in 1829. The subjects were taken from paintings, sculpture and miniatures. There is no evidence that Fanny Brawne knew of these engravings. I can only state that these sources existed, and that Brawne may have known of them and consulted them.

Fanny Brawne may have looked at works of art as costume references. Paintings and antiquities could be seen in museums, and in collections on display elsewhere. On March 18, 1822, Brawne wrote to Miss Keats: “One thing you can do, which is, to let me know if you go to any public places, exhibitions &c . . . One of the places I am going to is Hampton Court. I would give the world if you could go with me the palace is so beautiful, at least I think so, who never saw any other.” In a letter written two months later Brawne wrote to her young friend: “(N)ow I think of it perhaps we shall meet at the exhibition I am going there with Mrs. Dilke in about ten days.”

It is possible that some of Fanny Brawne’s knowledge of costume history came from history books. Ancient paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum were reproduced in such books, and these were excellent sources of information about ancient Roman costume. Beside the Bell edition, there were several other illustrated editions of
Shakespeare’s works that Bawone could have seen. Any of these would have been valuable aids to the understanding of historic British clothing.

Literary sources could have proven beneficial to anyone interested in historic costume. Modes of dressing the hair as well as toilette practices in ancient Rome were well described by Ovid, to mention but one example.\textsuperscript{115}

The purpose of this discussion is not to attribute scholarly attributes to Fanny Bawone that she did not possess. The only sources we know that she used were magazines and the Bell’s \textit{Shakespeare}. Given that friends regarded her as an authority, the \textit{possibility} exists that she used other materials to augment her knowledge. The examples given are offered only as proofs that other resources were in existence, and to suggest that she may have availed herself of them. To that end, a more complete list of books about costume, in print during Fanny Bawone’s lifetime, is included in this thesis (see appendix A).

\textit{Conclusions}

Fanny Bawone’s dual interests in fashion and historic costume were important components of her personality. Bawone’s elegance and grace were noted by John Keats and Charles Brown as well as others. Her love of clothes, extolled as “Natural to the sex” in an advice manual of the day, was both a means to an end and a passion for Bawone. Through it she translated her vision of herself to the world, and from it she derived the greatest pleasure as she recorded its fluctuations in her own wardrobe and in her collections of fashion and costume plates. She shared her belief in the power of dress, manner, and carriage to ensure social success with her young friend, Fanny Keats.
Fanny Brawne was a regular reader of women’s magazines of the day, and as such, she could not help but be influenced by the models of femininity presented in those periodicals. The feminine exemplars presented in the first two decades of the century shaped her personality and defined her role in society more perhaps than later models, in my opinion. All of the magazines Brawne is known to have read presented exclusively metropolitan versions of womanhood within upper-class boundaries. They were geared toward literate and leisured readers, of which Fanny Brawne was one.

The images of Brawne, at 29, 30, and 50 years of age suggest that her interest in fashion endured throughout her life. In her letters to Fanny Keats, the pace of her language accelerated whenever she wrote about anything related to dress, and her enthusiasm was evident. The letters are highly revelatory of Brawne’s passion for clothes, and her interest in historic costume was a natural extension of this. Fanny Brawne understood the important role clothing played in her own life and in the history of civilization and, as the next chapter will show, her collections and artifacts give evidence that she was equally ardent about both topics.

Notes


5 Ibid.


11 Ibid., 367.

12 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 164.


18 Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, 15.

19 White, *Women’s Magazines*, 44.

20 Ibid., 9.

22 Ibid., 88.


25 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 94.


27 Griffin, *Life of Griffin*, 236.


29 Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, 16.

30 Murry, *Keats*, 76.

31 Ballaster, et al., *Women’s Worlds*, 81.

32 Ibid.


36 Ibid., 122.


39 Ibid., 47.

Ibid., 32-33.

Crepe


Richardson retold this story in *Fanny Brawne*, 113. In the story, the bugles are understood literally to be bugles, but as it was not made clear that this was a fancy dress occasion, I wonder if in fact they were bugle beads.


Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 103.


M. B. Foreman, preface to *Keats, Letters*, vii.


60 Murry, *Keats*, 30.

61 Cunnington, *Feminine Attitudes*, 57.


64 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 112.

65 Ibid., 176.


68 Defined as sorrow or sadness over the present or future evils or woes of the world in general, or as sentimental pessimism. See *Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary* (1996).

69 Fischel and von Boehn, *Modes & Manners*, II, 64, 71.


71 Ibid., 128.

72 Ibid.


74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., 52-54.


77 Ibid., 32.

78 Cunnington, Feminine Attitudes, 56-58.

79 Laver, English Costume, 30.

80 Brawne, Letters to Fanny Keats, 52.

81 Ibid., 55.

82 Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 98.

83 Laver, English Costume, 28.

84 Ibid., 117.


86 Ibid., 283

87 Ibid., 280.


90 Ibid., 18.

91 Joyce Asser, Historic Hairdressing (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd, 1966), 96-97.

92 Holden, Elegant Modes, 93.


97 Laver, *English Costume*, 52.


100 Gernsheim, *Fashion and Reality*, 43.


102 Decorative Arts Circa 1800-1865, Victoria and Albert Museum, Cromwell Road, London SW7 2RL.

103 Ginsburg, et al., *Four Hundred Years*, 135.


110 Eleanor Parker, “Introduction” to *Male and Female Costume*, by Beau Brummell (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1932), xvii.


113 Ibid., 62-63.


115 Brummell, *Costume*, 189-94.
CHAPTER IV

THE COLLECTIONS AND ARTIFACTS

Introduction

The London Metropolitan Archives houses two books containing the plates that Fanny Brawne collected. The archive also holds two small knitted purses and an embroidered net fichu that are attributed to Brawne. All of the items were originally donated to Keats House, London, by Mrs. Oswald Ellis, Fanny Brawne’s granddaughter.¹ Several writers have mentioned the existence of these artifacts, but the items have never been subjected to thorough analysis. In this chapter, these artifacts will be examined systematically for their ability to shed light upon Fanny Brawne and the culture in which she lived.

Fanny Brawne was not alone in her desire to collect things and to preserve the things she collected in albums. There was a plethora of printed imagery available in the first half of the nineteenth century, and society enjoyed looking at its own reflection through the mirror this imagery provided.² It was the custom, in fashionable society, to pass the time on rainy days in English country houses, looking at albums and scrapbooks. Such items were left lying about in drawing rooms for this purpose.³

It is probable that this custom was adopted by the British middle classes as well. In that event, Fanny Brawne’s friends may have seen her costume plate collection,
although they are more likely to have seen her scrapbook, because of its more universal appeal.

Fanny Brawne’s collections are worthy of study because they reflect, both consciously and unconsciously, Brawne’s values, interests and attitudes, and, by extension, the values, beliefs and attitudes of the larger society to which she belonged. Art Historian Jules David Prown wrote that objects in some ways express culture more reliably than written historical records.4

Albums and scrapbooks are indicators of society’s values, as important as its elite artifacts or its literary remains.5 As cultural expressions, they are less self-conscious than fine art, and therefore are potentially more truthful.6 Objects created in the past are the only historical documents that continue to exist in the present. As such, they allow us to study history first hand.

Folklorist Henry Glassie wrote that the collection, a new unit composed of gathered bits, is a major expressive mode of industrial civilization.7 As the collection of paintings expresses its collector, Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book and Scrapbook express Fanny Brawne.

The books contain much that is related to Brawne’s interest in fashion, and, for this reason, they are revelatory on another level. There is a high correlation between clothing and personal values. Criticism of clothing is taken more personally, and this phenomenon suggests a high correlation between what an individual chooses to wear and her personal identity.8

When we look at the two books now containing Fanny Brawne’s plate collections, however, we are not looking at the books as Fanny Brawne originally made them. It is
not even certain that the collection was bound into book form when it was first proposed as a donation to Keats House. The Accession Sheet there describes the donation as “a collection of fashion plates, given as single sheets and subsequently bound into volumes.”

This is not an accurate description of the subject matter of the plates, and raises some question as to the designation of “single sheets.” Were the sheets loosely bound together in some way? Was there evidence that the sheets had once been incorporated into two books, as they are now? It seems logical that the plates would be preserved in a manner that approximated Brawne’s original compilation of them, but we cannot be certain that this is the case.

There is evidence of an attempt to keep the plates in chronological order. Upon close inspection, it is possible to discern numbers written faintly in pencil on each plate. This indicates that an attempt was made to keep the collection organized as Fanny Brawne probably intended, that is, in chronological order.

Ultimately, some of the plates were bound into a volume (K/AR/01/251 [KH0092]) titled “Fanny Brawn’s Costume Plate book.” The title “Costume Plate Book” is something of a misnomer, because the book contains both fashion plates and costume plates. This problem notwithstanding, I will refer to this book as the “Costume Plate Book” throughout the discussion that follows in this chapter.

A second volume (K/AR/01/251 [KH0092a]) contains a mixture of nineteenth-century imagery dealing with a variety of topics, including many travel scenes. That volume is entitled “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook.” Keats House documents also describe
the item as “Fanny Brawne’s German Scrapbook.” In order to avoid confusion, I will refer to this item as “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook” exclusively.

Records at Keats House show that there had been committee meetings to discuss the donations, after which Editor Maurice Buxton Foreman advised Fanny Brawne’s family that the items would make a suitable gift to Keats House. In February 1934 one item was donated, with the second item being donated in April of the same year. Records do not show which item was donated first.

The books are mentioned in the annotated 1934 guidebook, in the list of “Notable Acquisitions since the Publication of (the) Edition, 1934.” They are described as: “Fanny Brawne’s Scrap-book and Fashion-plate book [another inconsistency], presented by her granddaughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis.”

During the 1930s, donated items were listed in the guidebooks, but identification numbers were not assigned. Numbers were assigned during the 1960s, although only one of Fanny Brawne’s books received one. In the 1970s both items were given the call numbers mentioned above. A notation I found in the file at the London Metropolitan Archives to the effect that the items were donated in 1999 is purely a cataloguer’s error, according to Kenneth Page, Information Officer at Keats House.

In Fanny Brawne’s plate collections, we see evidence of her taste in clothing. Brawne had a clear sense of herself, and clothing was the agent she used to translate that vision into reality. Social anthropologist Alfred Gell’s theories of the extended person emphasized the relationship between the individual and his or her externality. Gell described the ways in which clothes permit the individual to extend outward to influence
others. Material culturist Sophie Woodward noted that clothing choices also render the individual vulnerable to the penetrating criticisms of others.\textsuperscript{15}

Brawne’s handwork is also worthy of study. The ability to do fine handwork was a yardstick of a woman’s accomplishments during Brawne’s lifetime. Fanny Brawne’s handwork is of a high quality. The purses are sophisticated in their design and flawless in their execution. The fichu, which is of embroidered net, shows innovative variations in the patterns Brawne used to embellish its surface.

These artifacts help to delineate Fanny Brawne’s place in society and are tangible expressions of the items shown in fashion plates. They are evidence of how a mid-nineteenth century, middle-class woman living in Britain and abroad used her leisure time. Such evidence can reasonably be used to extrapolate the habits of other women of Brawne’s class and station.

\textit{Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book}

Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book contains a compilation of fashion and costume plates Brawne collected over a fifty-year period. All of the plates, with the possible exception of fourteen theatrical costume plates, originally appeared in magazines published in England, France, Austria, and Germany between 1812 and 1863. Brawne was twelve years old when the earliest plate was printed, and she was sixty-three when she collected the last plate in the book.

\textit{Description}

The Costume Plate Book measures 13 and $\frac{5}{8}$-by-10 inches. The covers of the book are of blue leather, with blue leather binding. The title “\textit{Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plates}” is embossed in gold on the spine. The back of the cover and the first page of the
The book contains fifty-one pages of plates. These pages are of “sugar paper,” a type of paper commonly used in photo albums and scrapbooks in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Guards were used to protect the pages, but no protective sheets were placed between the pages.

In the opinion of Seren Fisher, Conservator at the London Metropolitan Archives, the book was probably bound professionally, but not by a museum (such as Keats House). The binding was most likely commissioned by the donor. The most probable scenario is that the donor had the plates bound into their present form at the suggestion of a representative of Keats House, or possibly of Maurice Buxton Foreman who was advising the family about the donation at the time. While it would not meet the more exacting standards for the preservation of archival materials today, the binding was probably judged to be adequate and appropriate in 1934, when the plates were donated.

Fanny Brawne was not consistent in her manner of trimming the prints assembled here. Some of the plates are intact pages taken from their sources, while others were trimmed minimally without disturbing the text. Several plates were trimmed, leaving some of the original text, and cutting away part of it. In some cases all of the original text was cut off, and the image was mounted on paper, with titles written in Fanny Brawne’s handwriting. One page contains two cutout figures, trimmed along the edges of the figures, like paper dolls, and mounted on white card stock. As a result of these inconsistencies, the sources of some of the plates were easily identified, while others
required additional research before the identity of their sources could be fixed (see appendix B).

More than half of the plates are undated, while the rest have dates of publication indicated in some manner (see appendix C). The exact dimensions of each plate, a brief description of each, the source of each plate and its country of origin, the name of the artist, or artists, if known, and the date the plate first appeared, in a table, are attached to this thesis as a supplement (see appendix D).

Generally speaking, the subject matter represented in Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book is quite circumscribed. Fashion plates, historic costume plates, theatrical costume plates, and one fancy-dress costume plate are represented in the collection (for a more specific listing of types of dress depicted, see appendix E).

In terms of composition, only one plate shows an assortment of hats, while a second shows a single model wearing a round dress in the “Grecian” style. All of the later plates feature two or more models. Occasionally a child is shown, and only one plate includes a male model. Plates in the collection from before 1833 show the same dress displayed from front and back views. Beginning that year, plates show different fashions in the same scene, with models arranged so as to display as much as possible of the fashions worn.17

Settings are vague, suggesting interiors and garden locations. Only the last plate in the collection shows a location removed from the home – a racetrack. As a rule, backgrounds become progressively more elaborate with the passage of time. Subjects are rendered in line engraving, with color applied by hand.
Most of the plates have text written in French. One plate, labeled “Modebilder zur Theaterzeitung,” has German text. English text accompanies the historic costume plates. Three plates from The World of Fashion also have English language text, as do the last two plates in the book, which are from The Queen (for a complete listing of magazines, with their countries of origin, see appendix D).

Most of the fashion plates in Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book are unsigned. One early plate bears the initial “D” in the lower left corner, and “B” in the lower right corner, and eighteen others have artist’s surnames or full names indicated (see appendix D).

Motivation for Collecting

It is likely that Fanny Brawne assembled her plates in albums in a configuration similar to their present arrangement. If such is the case, Brawne used creativity to arrange her collection, as it is a creative act that brings forth a new composition. This was certainly an enterprise that brought pleasure into Brawne’s life. Prown wrote that things associated with the idea of giving pleasure seem not to fit into other functional categories of study. They share the characteristic of providing entertainment to the mind or body. They have an affinity with art.¹

An interesting parallel exists between Fanny Brawne’s collecting habits and those of her famous cousin, Beau Brummell. During his years of exile in Calais, Brummell compiled a collection of illustrations of male and female costumes. Brummell removed plates from books, cut them out, and pasted them on blank leaves and bound them with a manuscript.¹⁸ It is likely, from the marginal notes he made to the engraver, that Brummell intended his work to be published.¹⁹ Beau Brummell was a thorough master of
his subject, and his text was authentic and valuable. Fanny Brawne’s book cannot lay claim to these attributes. Yet I am fascinated by the parallels in the interests and personality traits of these two cousins. Each loved clothes and was fascinated by fashion. Each had an interest in historic costume and compiled plates of these as a hobby. Both were comfortable in society, and yet had the ability to amuse themselves productively when alone.

While Fanny Brawne’s interest in fashion may have been fueled by the knowledge that she was related to Brummell, an outstanding authority on the subject, she could never have known that Brummell also collected plates as she did, and preserved them in similar fashion. In this case the likely explanation for similar habits is an innate predisposition toward these kinds of activities, shared by both.

Brummell used Thomas Hope’s *Costume of the Ancients* as the source of his illustrations of ancient Greek and Roman costume, and illustrations from other books to illustrate early British costume, while Fanny Brawne’s resources were mostly magazines (see appendix D). Clearly, Brawne never intended her collection to be published, as Brummell did. Quite the opposite purpose existed in Brawne’s case. Her collection of costume and fashion plates was simply a pleasant pastime she pursued.

Collecting Habits

All of the fashion plates in Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book, and, indeed, the historic and fancy dress costume plates as well, came from magazines. Brawne was obviously a regular reader of these publications, and may have been a subscriber. Throughout the nineteenth century, magazines appeared in bound annual volumes, as well as in weekly and monthly parts. Readers who could afford to do so had weekly
and monthly magazines bound in volume form as well.\textsuperscript{22} These publications were intended to be preserved on bookshelves.\textsuperscript{23} We know, also, that Fanny Brawne sent bound volumes of literary magazines to Fanny Keats. If her fashion magazines were bound, it seems unlikely that she would cut pages out of them.

This suggests the possibility that Brawne collected individual plates that came her way that were separate from the magazines she subscribed to. In this way, she could keep her bound magazines intact, while preserving a record of other memorabilia that documented her interest in clothing.

Alternatively, Fanny Brawne may have saved the fashion plates in her Costume Plate Book because she modeled her wardrobe upon the clothing depicted. In that case, we are seeing not just what Brawne liked, but what she both liked and thought was appropriate for herself. We are seeing dresses that met her needs in terms of the image of herself she wished to present to the world.

In another possible scenario, perhaps Brawne chose an eclectic mix of plates that included some she liked but never copied, some she copied, some plates she showed to her dressmakers, some she used as references when designing costumes for fancy dress balls, and some that document theatrical productions she had attended. This is the most likely scenario, in my opinion.

Fanny Brawne was twelve years old when the earliest plates in her collection were printed. We have no way of knowing when she collected them. Brawne may have begun collecting when she was a child. Alternatively, the plates may have been several years old when, as an adult, she pasted them into onto sheets and preserved them, probably in an album of some sort.
Notes on Selected Plates

Introduction

The following discussion concerns itself with selected plates, or series of plates, rather than giving equal attention to all of the plates in Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book (see appendix F for information about the subject matter of the plates not discussed).

The Plates

The earliest fashion plates in Brawne’s book date to 1812. These two examples, along with one from 1827, are identified as *Costumes Parisiens*. Plates identified in this manner had been offered since about 1797, as a regular feature of *Le Journal des Dames et des Modes*.24

Plate one depicts a group of hats with delightful French appellations (see figure 4.1). At this time, hats were a principal means of expressing one’s individuality, and there was a wide variety of styles available.25 In addition, women exchanged patterns for bonnets, which they and their *modistes* used to make copies of originals such as those shown in the plate.26 *Le Journal des Dames* featured plates of hat styles regularly.27

The second “*Costume Parisien*” plate features a round dress in the Grecian style, with differently colored trimmings. The use of trimmings of a color different from the body of the dress was not introduced until 1812, and the plate is noteworthy for that reason.28 These very pretty line engravings are numbered consecutively, as was the practice in *Le Journal des Dames et des Modes* between 1797 and 1839.29 The text of this French publication was naturally written entirely in that language.
Figure 4.1. *Costumes Parisiens* 1812. This plate appears on page one of Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book. Hat designs were a regular feature of *Costumes Parisiens*. Photograph from www.costumes.org/history/100pages/1800-1817costumesparisiens.htm.
Historian Irene Dancyger pointed out that without French, a woman could scarcely have ordered her wardrobe, but Brawne was not hindered by this, as she spoke and read French fluently. Fashion was Paris–dominated. While French fashion plates often found their way into English magazines, Brawne appears to have preferred to go to the source.

Perhaps Brawne or another member of the household subscribed to *Le Journal des Dames et des Modes*, since a third plate from “*Le Journal*” appears on page three of the Costume Plate Book. Brawne may have continued to read and possibly subscribe to that publication for fifteen years, as this plate is from 1827.

The plate appearing on page four of Fanny Brawne’s costume plate book is one of only two to which I have not been able to ascribe a source. The year “1829” was written in pencil on the plate, and this, I believe, is accurate. Shoulder-width hats adorned with immense ostrich plumes were popular that year. Skirts had been gored until 1828, when they began to be gathered into the waist. Fur tippets, like the one pictured here, were for winter use (see figure 4.2).

The year 1829 was the year that Fanny Brawne’s silhouette was cut. It was also a year during which most authorities agree she was not in mourning for John Keats any longer, although she must surely have worn black again upon the death of her mother in November. As a result, this is a time in her life when she may have been making additions to her wardrobe.

Whether or not this was the case in 1829, it was certainly true in 1833. This was the year Fanny Brawne married Louis Lindo. Plates from the *Petit Courrier des Dames*, on pages five and six in the costume plate book, are both from 1833. I found plate five in the “10 Octobre” issue of the magazine. Plate six is dated 20 Decembre 1833.
Figure 4.2. Pelisse, Fur Tippet, and Plumed Hat 1829
By the end of the twenties, the transformation from classical lines to Gothic angles was complete. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Brawne’s costume plate book contains eleven plates from the *Petit Courrier des Dames*. The magazine was one of the most important of the French fashion magazines, and contained some of the best fashion plates of the nineteenth century. It ran from 1821 until 1868, when it was absorbed by the *Journal des Demoiselles*.

Because an English-language version of the *Petit Courrier des Dames* was published under another title during these years, the address “S. and J. Fuller Publishers” appears on some of the plates. Fanny Brawne is believed to have lived on the continent after her marriage, so it is unlikely she would have bought the English variant of the magazine.

In the early 1830s, the *Petit Courrier des Dames* appeared every five days. Each issue contained eight pages of text. Fashion reviews, theatrical reviews, stories, poems, and historical sketches were included. Patterns for dresses, accessories, and handwork appeared in issues published between 1833 and 1835 (see figure 4.3).

One or two hand-colored copperplate engravings of fashions, printed on heavier paper, appeared in each edition. The plates were numbered continuously. There was no description of the fashions shown in the text of the magazine. Fashion plates were not signed by the artists who designed and engraved them during this period.

The heading “*Modes de Paris*” appeared above each illustration. Below appeared the name of the journal and its address. Names of dressmakers, with separate captions for milliners, hairdressers, jewelers, florists, and other purveyors of fashion, were also included.

The fashion plates appearing on pages 7, 8, and 9 of the book are interesting because they came from a journal of literature and politics, not primarily directed toward
Figure 4.3. Dress Pattern 1835. The *Petit Courrier des Dames* featured patterns for a brief period during the 1830s. Reprinted from *Petit Courrier des Dames* [microform] Paris: Imp. de Dondey-Dupré; New Haven, CT: Research Publications.
a female audience. Prior to 1836, *La Chronique de Paris* was a royalist paper. The publication appeared monthly.37 Brawne collected prints from April, May, and June of 1835.38 All three are signed: “Montaut d’Oloron” at the lower right corner. This could be a reference to Gabriel-Xavier Montaut, a draftsman and engraver who executed many plates for the *Petit Courrier des Dames*.39

An illustration of fancy dress costume of 1839 appears in the plate on page ten (see figure 4.4). “Diane” and a “Sicilienne” are depicted. Although the name of the journal does not appear on the plate, I located it in the *Petit Courrier Des Dames, 29 Janvier* issue.40

We can place Brawne in Bayonne a year before that plate appeared, because her second son, Herbert, was born there on May 22, 1838.41 Richardson says that in the late thirties and early forties: “The Lindons must have enjoyed some experience of Vienna,” where Margaret Brawne’s husband was the Brazilian Minister.42

Fanny Brawne is known to have attended fancy dress balls when she lived in Hampstead. Since Vienna was the “capital of Germanic gaiety” she may well have attended such parties there in 1839.43 An illustration from *The World of Fashion* dated 1 July 1838, shows that fancy dress was of interest to many. This example depicts Turkish, Spanish, and German folk costumes. Historian Irene Dancyger captioned the plate as follows: “All the fun of the fancy dress ball and the chance to ‘show a leg’” (see figure 4.5).

In the nineteenth century, women had to be very circumspect, and one of the few frivolous relaxations they had was the fancy dress ball. Fashion magazines frequently
Figure 4.4. Fancy Dress Costume 1839. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Figure 4.5. The Chance to Show a Leg 1838. Fancy dress balls provided one of the few legitimate opportunities for women to wear trousers or short skirts. Reprinted from Irene Dancyger, *A World of Women* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), 22.
contained suggestions for fancy dress. Whatever the date of the costume represented, the basic design of the dress always followed the prevailing fashion of the moment.44

Only one German language fashion plate is included Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book, appearing on page eleven (see figure 4.6).45 Illustrierte Theatrezzeitung (Illustrated Theater Newspaper) is the source of the plate. This publication, founded by Adolph Bäuerle, was in print from 1806 until 1860. The magazine featured a variety of plates depicting theatrical life in Vienna.46 Modebilder zur Theaterzeitung was a series on fashion that appeared in the magazine.47 Fanny Brawne, with her love of theater and clothes, must have enjoyed this publication on both levels. Her facility in the German language was amply demonstrated by her translation of Nickel List (see chapter III).

In this plate, the models pictured wear their hair in the “Apollo Knot,” a fashion that waned after 1836, and the plate can be dated accordingly.48 It is more difficult to date the plate by the style of the dresses pictured, as Viennese women had their own fashions during the early years of the nineteenth century.49 Similar dresses appeared in the Petit Courrier des Dames between 1836 and 1839.50

A series of eleven plates from Le Voleur, Gazette des Journaux Francais et Etrangers follows the Theaterzeitung plate (pages twelve to twenty-two). This magazine was published in Leipzig and Paris, from 1828 until 1847.51 Le Voleur was known for the high quality of its fashion plates. During the 1830s the magazine used the same plates as La Mode, a competing magazine in which many plates were designed by the renowned artist known as “Gavarni.”

By means of comparison to dated plates that appeared in other magazines, it is possible to determine that these plates probably originated in the late 1830s or very early
Figure 4.6. *Modebilder zur Theaterzeitung.* Author’s photograph, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
1840s. Plate “No. 85,” the next-to-last in the group, compares very well to an example in *Petit Courrier des Dames*, dated 1839.\(^52\)

Plate “No. 87” depicts a white wedding dress. The white wedding only became customary during the neo-classical era. By the 1830s it had come to represent the purity of the bride, and was indispensable.\(^53\) Most magazines issued a bridal plate every three or six months.\(^54\)

I wondered why Brawne preserved a wedding dress. Actually, there are three of them in the costume plate book. Perhaps someone asked her advice in selecting a dress, or possibly she liked the lines of the dress and planned to design a similar one in color for herself. Maybe the white wedding dress stirred her romantic sensibilities, or perhaps collecting wedding dress plates seemed a good way to document changing fashions.

A white dress suitable for a bride is also pictured on page twenty-three. This plate dates from 1839, the year Queen Victoria married in white, greatly adding to the popularity of the style. This example came from *Petit Courrier des Dames*.

Six attractive historic costume plates follow on pages twenty-five through thirty. The historic persons illustrated, in order of appearance, and with titles as they appear on the plates are:

- *Mary Tudor, Duchesse of Suffolk*
- *Clara, daughter to the Duc d’Hautéfort*
- *Marguerite, Duchesse de Joyeuse, Renée de Riéux, Comtesse de Chateauneuf, Catherine de Médicis, Queen of Henry the Second of France*
- *Charlotte, Princess of Condé, Mother to the Great Condé*

These plates are authentic as to the periods the costumes were worn, as compared to fancy dress plates, which were not (see figure 4.7).
Figure 4.7. Ancient Portraits. Brawne collected six of these portraits, but some women owned complete sets of 150 or more prints in bound volumes. This attests to a widespread interest in historic costume. Author’s photographs, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
The portraits are from the “Ancient Portrait Series” that ran in *The Court, Lady’s Magazine, Monthly Critic and Museum*, and formed a major feature of the magazine. The publication was actually divided into four parts – original tales and poetry/reviews, miscellaneous notices, such as births, marriages, and deaths – the Paris fashions (*Le Follet*) and French Letter-press - and the portraits, with detailed descriptions and memoirs of the persons depicted for separate binding. The fact that the series formed such a substantial part of the magazine attests to the interest women had in history and historic costume, and to the fact that Fanny Brawne was not alone in her fascination with these topics.

The series began just prior to 1832, with an ancient portrait appearing in each monthly edition of the magazine from that year forward, until at least June 1847. The fact that the series ran for at least fifteen years is further proof of interest on the part of the magazine’s readership in history and historic costume plates.

The plates do not appear in chronological order in Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book. If presented in chronological order, they would appear as follows:

- *Renée de Rieux*, number thirty-nine in the series, May 1836
- *Queen Catherine de Medicis*, number forty-one, July 1836
- *Marguerite de Lorraine*, number forty-four, October 1836
- *Clara d’Hautefort*, number forty-five, November 1836
- *Charlotte, Princess of Condé*, number forty-six, December 1836
- *Mary Tudor*, number fifty-three, June 1837

Portraits in the series could be purchased individually, for “1s. 6d. each.” Discounts were offered for purchases of twenty-five or more and fifty or more. The complete series could also be purchased, with instructions to binders specifying that it should be titled “Memoirs (With Authenticated Portraits) of Kings and Queens of...
England and Celebrated Personages (Chiefly Women).”  Fanny Brawne is thought to have been living in England while Louis Lindo was fighting in the Carlist Wars – probably during 1836 and 1837, so the plates, or the magazines in which they appeared, were probably purchased during that interval (see chapter II, notes).

The next group of items in Fanny Brawne’s costume plate book is a series of fourteen delightful theatrical costume plates (see figure 4.8). These small engravings are hand-painted in vivid colors. Brawne cut the plates out and mounted them on colored papers. She wrote the titles of the plates in black ink. This allows the reader the advantage of seeing Brawne’s handwriting, as well as bits of the original paper to which she attached the plates. Unfortunately, information about the plates themselves was lost in the cutting and mounting process.

These theatrical plates were originally a part of the Petit galerie dramatique, ou Recueil de différents costumes d’acteurs des théâtres de la capitale, published in Paris, by Chez Martinet, libraire, rue du Coq, no. 15. The series was printed from 1796 until 1843. Houghton Library, Harvard College Library of Harvard University, owns a complete sixteen volume set of the Petit galerie Dramatique, in the Harry Elkins Widener Collection. The series is indexed by names of actors and miscellaneous characters, and this made comparisons to Fanny Brawne’s plates difficult, as Brawne titled her plates differently. In spite of this problem, six of the fourteen plates Fanny Brawne collected have been matched to prints in the collection at Houghton Library. It is likely that the other eight prints match as well, but this has not yet been established.

The plates at Houghton Library contain much pertinent information that Brawne had cut off of her plates, such as the number of the plate in the series, the name of the
Figure 4.8. Theatrical Costumes. These six plates match plates in the *Petit galerie dramatique, ou Recueil de différents costumes d’acteurs des théâtres de la capitale*. Brawne collected eight others that probably came from the same source. Author’s photographs, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
actor pictured, the role he or she played, and the name of the performance in which the
costume was worn. Four of the plates are titled as to the scene portrayed in the plate.
The name of the theater in which the play was performed is also cited (see appendix G).
All six of the plates were designed by the same artist – J. Maleuvre, who probably created
the other eight plates as well, as they are consistent in style. Unfortunately, neither the
plates nor the volumes containing them were dated. The possibility also exists that these
theatrical costume plates were reproduced in magazines. In any case, we cannot know
when Brawne collected them.

Fanny Brawne’s love of theater, particularly of comedy, has been discussed in
Chapter II of this thesis. Brawne may have collected prints from performances she saw,
and, in that case, the plates illuminate Brawne’s preferences – it appears from them that
she enjoyed opera, comic opera, and ballet.

After a gap of some ten years in her collecting habits, Brawne placed a plate from
Petit Courrier des Dames, dated 2 Octobre 1852, on page thirty-nine of her Costume
Plate Book. Plates from this period are of interest because they can be compared to the
ambrotype of Brawne, “ca. 1850.” This plate, for example, shows a skirt with bands of
contrasting material placed along each flounce. This is a feature of the dress Brawne
wore in the portrait. The bodice appears to have a basque. Both dresses shown in the
plate have lace collars and embroidered undersleeves. These are features of Brawne’s
portrait attire. The style of the sleeve shown in the plate, however, is different from the
sleeve of the dress Brawne wore in the portrait (see figure 4.9).

The next three plates, appearing on pages 40, 41, and 42, have the name of the
English journal, The World of Fashion, printed below the illustration. Dress historian
Figure 4.9. Day dresses 1852. These dresses have features that correspond to the dress Fanny Brawne wore in her ambrotype portrait dated ca. 1850. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Vyvyan Holland judged the plates from this publication to be inferior to the French originals, from which they were invariably copied. Of English fashion plates from this period, however, plates from *The World of Fashion* were those most commonly available to collectors a century later, according to Holland.63

Whether or not she found plates from *The World of Fashion* inferior, Brawne did return to the *Petit Courrier de Dames* for the next six plates in her costume plate book. These dated plates are from 1853 and 1854.

An interesting deviation from the norm can be found in the plate appearing on page forty-four (see figure 4.10). This is the only plate in Fanny Brawne’s costume plate book that depicts children’s costume exclusively. Several others show children accompanied by adults, an arrangement that was popularized by the artist known as “Gavarni.”64 This plate depicts children’s fashions, including lingerie. Since little girls’ skirts were shorter than the adult models they imitated, their underlinen was allowed to show.65 I note that the linen is not shown on the model, but discretely arranged around her. Fanny Brawne’s daughter, Margaret, was nine years old in 1853, and would have been the likely beneficiary of any garment modeled on the examples in this illustration.

Two cutout figures wearing ca.1861 evening dress and outerwear are arranged on page forty-nine. This is the only plate with two partial figures, closely cut, like paper dolls. Perhaps Brawne cut them out to remember details of trim or construction, and later decided to incorporate them in her collection. The source of these two examples has not been determined, although their size indicates a large-format publication.
Figure 4.10. Children’s Costume 1853. Brawne’s daughter, Margaret, was nine years old when this plate was printed, and could have worn the fashions it depicts. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
The last two plates in the book are from *The Queen*. This publication was aimed at
society ladies, and was relatively expensive, at six penny a week. It was to become the
leading British fashion magazine of its time.\(^{66}\)

The first of the two plates is dated July 26, 1862. The second plate - the last one in
Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book - is probably from the same year. Hat and dress
styles correspond well to an 1863 print in *Godey’s Ladies Book*, but as this was an
American publication, the *Godey’s* example may be about a year behind.\(^{67}\) This
plate is the only example in Fanny Brawne’s collection of the work of the artist
Jules David, creator of the some of the most charming fashion plates of the
Victorian era (see figure 4.11).\(^{68}\)

Conclusions

Prowne wrote that there are aspects of mind to be discovered in objects that differ
from, complement, supplement and contradict what can be learned from more traditional
sources.\(^{69}\) Fanny Brawne’s collection of costume and fashion plates allows this
discovery. Through it we can see Brawne’s taste and judgment in clothing. The history
of fashion documented in the plates is also the history of the woman who collected them.

The collection demonstrates Brawne’s hobbies and interests illuminated in plates
she collected from various high-quality fashion publications from her youth until two
years before her death. We also see the refined upper-class models of femininity that
were presented to her over and over again in the magazines she read. These she must
have inculcated by virtue of the frequency with which they were presented to her.

Through the study of the magazines Brawne read, we can see that interest in
historic costume was widespread. The popularity of the Ancient Portrait plates that
Figure 4.11. Jules David Plate ca. 1863. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Brawne collected demonstrates that British women were fascinated by this topic. Brawne was atypical only in the level of her expertise. Theatrical costume plates were also published over a long period, and women were the audience to whom they were likely directed. Once again, Brawne’s interests mirrored those of her peers.

The plates in her Costume Plate Book help to define Fanny Brawne as a typical British woman of the first half of the nineteenth century. While we cannot know how Brawne interpreted the feminine identities defined by the plates she collected, we can speculate upon the woman they seem to construct. Literate and leisured, interested in books, theater, and history, and agreeable in society – these traits possessed by Fanny Brawne were also promulgated in the periodicals of the day.

Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book is a highly revelatory artifact that defines the woman whose collection it contains. Brawne’s Scrapbook performs a similar function, and will illuminate other aspects of her personality.

*Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook*

Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook contains fifty-four pages, many of them double-sided, upon which a wide variety of plates have been preserved. These were probably collected between 1833 and 1859, while Brawne lived primarily on the European continent. Unlike the collection in her Costume Plate Book, the plates in the Scrapbook are eclectic. Costume plates are included in this collection, but there are many other topics illustrated as well. Travel-related pictures, and plates with religious themes were particularly well-represented. These complement and add to the insights gained about Fanny Brawne through the study of her Costume Plate Book.
Description

Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook, measuring 19-by-12 ½ inches, has a red cloth covering and red leather binding. The title “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook” is embossed in gold on the spine. The number “KH92A” is written in pencil on the inside cover. The numbers “KH0092a” and “KH/AR/01/014” are written in pencil on the first page.

The scrapbook has fifty-four pages of plates, and these, like the pages in the Costume Plate Book, are made of “sugar paper.” Many pages have items pasted to their front and back sides. Pages are not numbered, but I have assigned numbers to them to facilitate discussion. Where pages have pictures on front and back sides, I refer to the front of the page as “a” and the back of the page as “b.”

There is evidence of acid-degradation along the edges of the pages. Where tape was used, it appears to have been Japanese, adhered with non-archival adhesive, probably animal glue. Items in the Scrapbook are adhered to the pages by means of glue, also probably of animal origin. This is holding up very well, with no damage evident to the paper and no visible fading of colors. There is very minimal bleeding of a few images onto the back sides of the pages preceding them. For example, the purple color of the drapery in *Femme Grecque d’Athens*, on page twenty-three, has transferred faintly onto the back of the page preceding it (see figure 4.12).

Conservator Seren Fisher concluded that Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook, like her Costume Plate Book, was bound professionally. The binding was likely done by a professional person, but not by a museum, such as the Keats House.

The presentation style used in the Scrapbook is more elegant than that used in the Costume Plate Book. Where there are multiple pictures on one page, images have been
Figure 4.12. *Femme Grecque d’Athens*. This and a companion print, *Turque Albanese*, are signed by artist Eugenio Fulgenze. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
arranged symmetrically. There is evidence of the attention given to placement in the form of very faint pencil measurements visible on the pages. Prints in this collection are trimmed into precise square and rectangular shapes, and beginning with page seventeen, many have thin black design lines drawn on the paper around them. This framing device was used to set the prints off, and enhance the appearance of the page.

Why was the manner of presentation changed? It is possible that the Scrapbook and Costume Plate Book were bound by different people. It also seems possible that the more elegant presentation was deemed appropriate for the Scrapbook because its content was judged to be more valuable and more important. This assignment of value would reflect the attitudes of later generations of persons, and not necessarily those of Fanny Brawne. Finally, Brawne may have used design lines to set off the plates in an earlier scrapbook, and the maker of the later one may have been attempting to duplicate Brawne’s presentation, for the sake of accuracy.

Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook is quite unlike her Costume Plate Book in that the latter is a homogeneous collection of plates dealing with costume and fashion. With the possible exception of the theatrical plates, all of the plates in the Costume Plate Book are from magazines, and are uniform in size, style, and coloration. The Scrapbook, on the other hand, is eclectic. It contains an assortment of imagery from a variety of sources. Magazines are unlikely to have been the sources of many of them (see appendix H).

By far, the largest group of plates in the Scrapbook are depictions of locations throughout Europe that Brawne probably visited. Genre scenes are to be found on six pages in the scrapbook. Two plates depict romantic scenes between a man and a woman - quite a low number saved by a woman who is known to us primarily as the love of a
Romantic poet! Portraits received more attention - eight plates depict famous people, and three others illustrate historic events.

Humorous plates are well represented in the collection. Of eight plates I identified as primarily humor-related, six are satirical in nature. Satire and social commentary were clearly of interest to their collector. A related category, “Grotesques,” accounts for four more pages in Brawne’s scrapbook, being a series of brutish faces, the source of which I could not determine (see figure 4.13).

That Fanny Brawne believed in God is borne out by the thirteen plates in her scrapbook illuminating religious topics. A reference in John Keats’s letter to Brawne in May 1820 to “that Christ you believe in” had been my only prior clue to Brawne’s spirituality. I identified eight plates that deal purely with costume and fashion. Additionally, several of the portraits are of fashionable people, and some of the satirical plates are fashion-related.

Motivation for Collecting

During the nineteenth century, many people made scrapbooks. It was agreeable to the mind and senses, and provided a pleasant way to pass their leisure hours. In a practice mentioned earlier, scrapbooks were left lying about in drawing rooms in upper-class British country houses, so that guests might amuse themselves by looking at them on rainy days.

The era was remarkable for the amount of printed imagery available for inclusion in such collections. A variety of art media and methods were employed in the making of prints during the years we are considering. The demand for prints was so great that a faster printing process was needed and so lithography, because of its speed, superseded
Figure 4.13. Grotesque Characters. This is but a portion of a series of twelve plates Fanny Brawne collected of absurdly ugly people. These ghoulish, fantastic cartoons show that Brawne was not averse to the grim or the grotesque. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
engraving as the most prevalent mode of reproducing pictures. Millions of lithographic plates were published to meet the public craving for pictures.  

The “feverish rage” for lithographs was satirized by Nicolas Toussaint Charlet in his 1826 lithographic print *Lithographic Sketches: It is the End of the World!* In the print, Charlet depicted albums raining down from the sky (see figure 4.14). Oscar Fischel and Max von Beohn explained the phenomenon as follows: “Society, like a pretty woman, cannot too often look upon its own reflection . . . the ineradicable desire of seeing reproductions of oneself and one’s neighbor was now fully satisfied by the mirror held up to society by lithography.”

How did the plate collection represented in the Scrapbook function differently from the Costume Plate Book collection for Fanny Brawne? As noted previously, the Costume Plate Book collection may have had a practical purpose in addition to its purpose as a pleasant pastime. It may be a record of clothes after which Brawne modeled her own wardrobe. The Scrapbook collection had no such practical application. It was a way to preserve the memory of some of the places she had lived or had visited, and a pleasant pastime that helped to fill Brawne’s leisure hours, which were probably abundant.

During the 1830s and 1840s, as a result of diverse influences brought to bear on them, women were passive spectators. While they might notice something of the turmoil around them, they usually did not take an active role in response to it, except in the employment of their feelings. The sentimental Gothic spirit prevailed during these years, and Gothic taste drew a veil of prettiness over reality. How logical, then, that Fanny Brawne preserved some of that “prettiness” in her collections.
1824. This lithographic print by Nicholas Toussaint Charlet satirized the volume of printed imagery that was raining down upon an appreciative public. Fanny Brawne had a vast assortment from which to choose the plates she collected. Reprinted with permission from the Cleveland Museum of Art.
The 1850s brought an increasing consciousness of moral obligation due to fellow human beings. C. Willett Cunnington commented that although women in the fifties endeavored to improve society, there was a growing concern about “preserving the picturesque,” which had been endangered by some of the improvements to society then afoot. Brawne’s architectural and scenic plates, which take up twenty-six pages of her scrapbook, are definitely picturesque, and perhaps reflect the concern Cunnington mentioned.

Collecting Habits

Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book has been dated precisely. We know that it covers a fifty-year span of time. We cannot be as certain about the period of collecting represented in the Scrapbook, because only a few plates in the Scrapbook are dated. The earliest dated plate is from 1834, and the latest is labeled “1854.” As a result, while some of the plates in the Scrapbook are old, and valuable for their age, we cannot know when Brawne collected them.

The secondary title of the Scrapbook, “Fanny Brawne’s German Scrapbook,” mentioned in Keats House records, supports the theory that Brawne collected the items in the book after her marriage, while she was living on the continent. This would be a period from 1833 until about 1860 that corresponds roughly to the evidence of the dated plates. Based upon the combined evidence of these two sources, the collection of plates in the Scrapbook covers a twenty-one to twenty-seven-year time span, from 1833-34 through 1854-60.

It is curious to note just what Fanny Brawne extracted from the vast array of available imagery for inclusion in her scrapbook. Portraits, architectural and landscape
scenes, picturesque views of foreign lands, historical events, many of them panoramic in scope, were ubiquitous. Caricature, satirical interpretations of current events, botanical prints, religious and charitable subjects, and genre and moralistic themes, all were illustrated graphically for the benefit of an appreciative audience. From this picturesque assortment, Brawne selected plates that were meaningful to her, and preserved them in the collection that has survived as “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook.”

A review of the places Fanny Brawne lived and visited from 1833 onward helps to place the items she collected in the context of her whereabouts. Fanny Brawne’s biographer, Joanna Richardson, wrote that Brawne and her husband traveled by river to Cologne in the early years of their marriage, and that Brawne changed her place of residence frequently after 1833. She moved from Pemplefort, a suburb of Dusseldorf, to other German cities in the first years of her marriage. While living in Germany, Brawne frequently visited Boulogne and London. Brawne stayed in London during Louis Lindo’s service with the British Legion around 1836. By 1838 she was living in Bayonne, from where she may have changed her place of residence to Vienna. Richardson suggested that Brawne either lived in, or spent time in Vienna while her sister and brother-in-law were living there, but Chevalier de Cunha retired in 1841, at which time the couple left Vienna. Brawne lived in Heidelberg in the 1840s, although she is known to have been in England in 1841. She possibly lived in Frankfort by 1848 and was definitely in Freiburg in 1853. Fanny Brawne returned, finally, to England around 1859, where she remained until the end of her life (see figure 4.15). Brawne’s collection is one of the main proofs of the frequency with which she changed her place of residence.78
Notes on Selected Plates

Introduction

Since the study of Fanny Brawne’s interest in fashion is an important element of this thesis, plates dealing with that topic are deserving of detailed commentary. I identified seven plates devoted to costume and fashion. Additionally, several of the portraits are of fashionable people, and some of the satirical plates are fashion-related (see appendix H for information about all of the plates in the Scrapbook).

The Plates

Two plates are representations of folk costume. Page twenty-three contains a charming depiction of a “Femme Grecque d’Athens,” or “Greek woman from Athens” (see figure 4.12). A colossal figure stands on a tiny landscape in which a classical building on a body of blue water is shown. She holds a botanical specimen in her hand, possibly an olive branch. Her clothing is painted with a bright palette, featuring particularly intense red and yellow hues.

A print by the same artist - both plates are signed “Eugenio Fulgenze” - appears on page twenty-four (a). The subject in the second print is a “Turque Albanese,” or Albanian Turk. The same format - a colossal figure on a tiny landscape, with vivid coloration - is used.

Both plates have Arabic writing below the captions. Plates twenty-three and twenty-four (a) in Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook are the only evidence in this collection of her interest in folk costumes of other lands. This interest is highly reflective of the times in which Brawne lived, as historicizing and exotic details often found their way into dress
and design, most notably at fancy dress balls. One print in the Costume Plate Book depicted national costume – a “Sicilienne,” interpreted as a fancy dress costume.

Two engravings from Bell’s Shakespeare, with original captions from Brawne’s Scrapbook, appear on page 24b (see figure 4.16). The example on the left is dated March 16, 1775, while the illustration on the left is labeled “1775.” These plates are very important, because they prove that Brawne did consult old books in search of information about historic costume. While there were many available texts and resources on the subject, this is the only hard evidence that exists that Brawne drew upon them for information about historic costume (see appendix A).

Six hairstyles, quite bizarre by today’s standards, appear on page twenty-six of Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook (see figure 4.17). Brawne cut them out in oval shapes. A small caption on brown paper says “1772.” I believe I have located the original print from which these clippings were taken. The Lewis Walpole Library of Yale University owns a print entitled: New Head Dresses for 1772, call number 772.9.1.1. The print bears some identifying text. “New Head Dresses for 1772. Published as the .let [?] directs Septb. 2nd 1772” appears above the image. “Designed by D. Ritchie” appears below.

These curious examples may have been taken directly from David Ritchie’s book, A Treatise on Hair. Around 1772, hairdressers were enjoying high esteem, and wrote books upon their “important art.” Ritchie stated, among other curious and learned conclusions, that hair was “a vapour or excrement of the brain, arising from the digestion performed at the instant of its nourishment.” The plate demonstrates Brawne’s taste for the bizarre, and for eccentric representations of fashion in particular.
Figure 4.16. Bell’s *Shakespeare* 1775. The inclusion of plates from this eighteenth-century work suggests that Fanny Brawne used sources beyond magazines in her quest for information about historic costume. Author’s photographs, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Figure 4.17. New Head Dresses for 1772. Fanny Brawne cut out the oval images from this original plate, or from a copy of it, and preserved them in her Scrapbook. Reprinted from The Digital Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University [www.lwimages.library.yale.edu].
The portrait of a fashionable lady appears on page twenty-seven (see figure 4.18). “Miss Fox” wears a bejeweled dress of silk and lace, with the gigantic sleeves of the 1830s. An ermine cape is draped over one shoulder. The source of this picture could not be identified. It is very likely from one of the British “annuals” published in the 1830s. Annuals served much the same function as today’s coffee table books. Called “boudoir literature,” they were amply illustrated, and had gilded morocco covers. The Drawing Room Scrapbook, published from 1832 until 1839, featured thirty pictures per volume. This and many other annuals showed pictures of “beauties” as a regular feature. Portraits of fashionable beauties were a special feature of The Book of Beauty, edited by the Countess of Blessington, but I have searched the index of illustrations for all the years that publication appeared, and I have not found “Miss Fox” listed.

A series of five prints satirizing the modes of the French Directoire period begin on page thirty-one of Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook. These measure 10 ¾ x 11½ inches. Four of the prints are identified with French language titles written in Fanny Brawne’s handwriting. The titles are: La Rencontre des Merveilleuses, Les Croyables au Triport, Aristede et Brise (?) Scelle (?), and Croyables au Arsny (?). The untitled print depicts two incroyables and one merveilleuse. As one incroyable kisses the merveilleuse, the second incroyable picks his pocket (see figure 4.19).

The series characterizes the period in France after the fall of Robespierre, in 1794. At this point, a reaction set in, often called the “Thermidorian Reaction,” after the corresponding date in the Revolutionary calendar. French citizenry were tired of bloodshed, and the Terror came to an end. There was a general air of relaxation and
Figure 4.18. Miss Fox. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
1. *La Rencontre des Merveilleuses.*
Fischel and von Boehn attributed this composition to Lefèvre-Baubini.

2. *Les Croyables au Triport*

3. Title Unknown

4. *Aristede et Brise Scelle.*

Figure 4.19. Caricatures: The Thermidorian Reaction. Satirical plates such as these often appeared in French publications such as *Le Bon Genre.* Not pictured: *Croyables au Arsnv.* Author’s photographs, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
return to pleasure, especially in Paris, where freedom from morals was most pronounced.  

An atmosphere of speculation was prevalent, with gambling rooms, card tables, and roulette wheels becoming very popular. *Les Croyables au Triport* illustrates this phenomenon. The elaborate fashions of the day are satirized in *La Rencontre des Merveilleuses*, while *Croyables au Arsny* depicts a man offering slips with “Promerre mandat territor” printed on them to another who has coins in his hands. A third man picks the pocket of the first.

Caricatures such as these appeared regularly in publications such as *Le Supreme Bon Ton* (1810-1815), and *Le Bon Genre*. The stories that have come down to us about merveilleuses wetting their dresses to make them cling to their naked bodies may actually have had their origins in these and other nineteenth-century satirical works. In size and style, Fanny Brawne’s satirical plates most resemble prints that appeared in *Le Bon Genre*.

A similar composition to *La Rencontre des Merveilleuses*, but with black background rather than white, appears in Fischel and von Boehn’s *Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century: 1790-1817*, and is attributed to Lefèvre and Baubini. Such prints were often copied and appeared in various incarnations in different publications, so it is difficult to determine who made the prints Fanny Brawne collected, which so amusingly deride the vices and follies of the French Directoire period. It is likewise not possible to determine how and when they came into Brawne’s possession.

A portrait of the Countess of Blessington graces page thirty-five of Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook (see figure 4.20). Lady Blessington was known as a great beauty,
Figure 4.20. The Countess of Blessington. This plate is modeled after a watercolor by Alfred Edward Chalon and likely appeared in more than one publication. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
and a brilliant conversationalist. She led an intellectual salon in London somewhat like that of Madam Récamier in Paris. A controversial figure, the Countess’s relationship to Count D’Orsay was much the subject of gossip. As a writer, she was best known for her *Journal of Conversations with Lord Byron*, published in 1832. She also wrote fashionable novels, such as *The Two Friends* (1832). In 1833, Lady Blessington was named editor of *The Book of Beauty*. She also edited *The Drawing Room Scrapbook*, which appeared from 1832 until 1839, and typically featured about thirty pictures per volume. Most had appeared earlier in other books. Such was the case with *The Sisters*, a print that appeared in *Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrapbook* that Fanny Brawne collected from another source (see figure 4.21).90

The portrait of Lady Blessington in Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook is modeled after an 1834 watercolor by Alfred Edward Chalon.91 It likely appeared in several publications and in several forms, in color and in black and white.

Brawne must have admired Lady Blessington, but as the Countess had such a variety of attributes, it is difficult to know what Brawn regarded as most notable about her. Did Brawne admire Lady Blessington because she was a member of fashionable society, was beautiful and brilliant in conversation (a quality that Brawne’s acquaintance Rosa Rodd attributed to Brawne herself), or did she admire more the Countess’s literary accomplishments? Was Lady Blessington’s notoriety and controversial private life the reason for her inclusion? It would be interesting to know.

The last two plates I will discuss depict eighteenth-century fashions (see figure 4.22).92 Brawne preserved them on pages thirty-six (b) and 37 of her scrapbook. The
Figure 4.21. The Sisters. The only plate in Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook with what amounts to a complete citation: Engraved by J. Thomson, January 1836, printed by McQueen for The Proprietor. The same image appeared in Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrap-book, edited by Letitia Landon, which often printed plates that had appeared in other books – a common practice. Reprinted from Alison Adburgham, Silver Fork Society (London: Constable, 1983), 253.
Figure 4.22. Eighteenth-Century Fashions. These plates depicting fashions from the reign of Louis XVI testify that Brawne took note of representations of historic costume other that those featured in magazines. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
prints may be mezzotints, a process characterized by the absence of pure line, commonly used between 1770 and 1830. The plates have no identifying marks or text.

The models in both plates wear their hair in the high headdress popular after about 1775, with pinners worn flat atop their tall coiffures. The first plate depicts a woman standing next to a wall in a garden holding a copy of Harvey’s *Dialogues*. The second shows a woman at her dressing table, looking at her own reflection in the mirror. She wears a *casaquin*, a fitted jacket flaring out below the waist, with tight sleeves. The whole ensemble resembles the pseudo-shepherdess style popular at the court of Louis XVI.

If these prints were made in the eighteenth century, they are rare and valuable. They may be fashion illustrations, but if they are, I do not think they came from the *Monument du Costume* or the *Gallerie des Modes*, as both of these publications used line engravings. Also, the English text of Harvey’s *Dialogues* in the hands of one of the figures seems to indicate that the prints came from an English source.

Conclusions

In Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book we had evidence of Brawne’s passion for clothes. We saw there, too, the models of femininity she was invited to emulate. Brawne’s Scrapbook takes us a step further. In it, we see a broader range of Brawne’s interests. If numbers count, and they probably do, the large selection of travel plates documents Brawne’s somewhat nomadic existence on the European continent between 1833 and the late 1850s.

A surprisingly high number of plates depicted religious themes. These shed light on Brawne’s piety – an aspect of her personality alluded to in a letter written to Brawne
by John Keats, but not mentioned elsewhere. Magazines and periodicals of the 1830s and 40s often addressed issues of religious duty and family life, and these concerns are reflected by the plates Fanny Brawne collected. The historic costume plates, and related satirical prints depicting fashionable life in her Scrapbook show the depth of Brawne’s understanding of that topic. Far from being a fashion pedant, Brawne recognized the historic import and the humorous aspects of the subject she knew and loved so well.

Fanny Brawne’s Handwork

The final items to be considered, Fanny Brawne’s handworked fashion accessories, will help to complete the interpretation of her artifacts. Like most girls of her age, Fanny Brawne learned to sew, and by the age of twelve, had learned fine embroidery. There is written evidence of Brawne’s interest in fine sewing. In the pocket book she kept during 1820, Brawne made brief notations such as: “Work unfinished: a muslin flounce for an apron.” She made reference to her new morning gown, and a “lutestring body with scarlet.” She wrote a reminder to herself to buy a skein of silk.

In a note to Brawne written in February of 1820, John Keats wrote: “Whenever he [Charles Brown, with whom Keats was living] goes out, you may bring your work.” This simple reference documents the practice of nineteenth-century women occupying themselves with stitchery projects. Hester Chapone wrote that absolute idleness was inexcusable in a woman, because “the needle is always at hand.” Irene Dancyger quoted an editorial from The Ladies Cabinet of 1832 that stated: “An elegant woman is
never seen to so much advantage as when she is fully occupied before her workbox with something useful.”

Victorian women occupied themselves making a plethora of fashionable accessories and decorative items, and so, evidently, did Fanny Brawne. While plain sewing and mending was usually left to domestics, the lady of the house occupied herself with such projects as fine embroidery, worked slippers, card-racks and pen-wipers. Among the popular needlework projects of the 1840s were bead purses.

Fanny Brawne’s Knitted Purses

Two miniature purses made by Fanny Brawne, meticulously worked and with cut steel embellishments, are now housed at the London Metropolitan Archives. Item K/AR/01/30 in the archives’ collection is a drawstring purse knitted in terra cotta and beige silk, measuring 6 ½ x 3 inches (see figure 4.23). The top third of the purse is done in horizontal bands of openwork, possibly crochet. The lower area has a simple, geometric pattern, with a regular repeat. This consists of five alternating vertical columns of beige and terra cotta (2 ½ on each side). Each column is composed of four diamond shapes. Cut steel beads frame each column, and a geometric arrangement of cut steel beads is knitted into the center of each diamond.

Steel beads had been very popular in the eighteenth century, and were often used to outline shapes in nineteenth-century applications. The smallest, and most finely crafted steel beads came from France. Fine steel needles were used for delicate knitting and for incorporating beads of steel. Fanny Brawne used loops of cut steel beads to finish the bottom edge of this bag.
Figure 4.23. Knitted Drawstring Purse. K/AR/01/30. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Women knit thousands of small purses such as this in the nineteenth century. Simple patterns of stripes and geometric designs were common earlier in the century, with floral motifs coming into vogue later.  

Item K/AR/01/29 is a tubular purse with a round lid, supported by a metal frame (see figure 4.24). The 2 ½ inch metal frame has a hinged top. The purse is about six inches long and measures two inches in width. The lid is worked in a mandala pattern comprised of a wheel with six spokes fitting inside of a six-pointed star of cut steel beads.

The tubular portion of the bag is worked in an attractive vertical wave pattern of cut steel beads against a navy blue background with beige and olive accents. The purse is weighted at the bottom by a 1 ½ inch tassel made up of a small faceted steel bead and a larger one, approximately one-half inch in diameter, with eleven strands of cut steel beads of various shapes descending from the bottom of the larger bead. Some beads have fallen off, and have been preserved with the purse.

Diminutive purses such as these two were often kept inside a larger reticule or hung from a chatelaine. Each is attractive enough to have doubled as an evening bag. Small knitted purses were frequently given as gifts, and this may have been Fanny Brawne’s intended purpose in making them. Barbara Johnson (1738-1825), whose album of styles and fabrics has been published by the Victoria and Albert Museum and Thames and Hudson, Ltd., is known to have knitted silk purses to give to her friends.

Early in the nineteenth century, purse silk, or “twist,” could be bought at specialty shops. Thomas Gardom, a watch chain and purse-maker in St. James’s Street, London, advertised that: “Ladies [could] be accommodated with great choice of Purse-Twist, Tassels, and Sliders.” Fanny Brawne may have taken the tubular purse to a
Figure 4.24. Knitted tubular purse. K/AR/01/29. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
casemaker to be mounted on its hinged metal frame.\textsuperscript{114} It is difficult to state exactly when these fine items were made. By the 1860s, beadwork was out of fashion, so the bags undoubtedly were made before that decade.\textsuperscript{115}

Fanny Brawne’s Fichu

Another example of Fanny Brawne’s deft needlework is her embroidered net fichu, item K/AR/01/33 at the London Metropolitan Archives.\textsuperscript{116} Dress historian Stella Blum defines a fichu as a kerchief or small scarf, generally of thin, filmy material, that was worn around the neckline.\textsuperscript{117} This is an apt description of Brawne’s garment.

When laid out flat, the fichu is somewhat V-shaped, and measures 33 inches by 49 ½ inches. Because of its size, and the intricate embroidery patterns used, this must have been a major undertaking. Brawne used an all-over sprig pattern to embroider the net fichu. The infinite variety of sprigs suggests to me that Brawne manipulated her patterns in order to create a unique garment (see figure 4.25).

Net embroidery resembled lace and was worked on hand or machine net. Brussels machine net was considered the best in quality.\textsuperscript{118} In my opinion, Fanny Brawne’s fichu is made of machine net, because of the regularity of its surface. Brawne used a variety of stitches, including satin and buttonhole stitches, in her work.

I made a doll-sized scale model of the fichu by tracing my photographs of it and enlarging the photographs on a Xerox machine. I then traced the Xeroxed images to produce the scale model, which I put on a doll (see figure 4.26). The fichu lays flat over the doll’s shoulders in cape-like fashion, and extends out very slightly over the shoulders. The front ends meet just below the bust, and the point at the back of the fichu does not extend to the natural waist.
Figure 4.25. Embroidered Net Fichu 1864. K/AR/01/33. Samples of Fanny Brawne’s skill at embroidery are shown above. Author’s photograph, printed with permission from the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.
Figure 4.26. Scale Model of Fanny Brawne’s Fichu. Author’s photograph.
Records at Keats House show that Fanny Brawne’s fichu originally had a note with it that said that Brawne finished it in 1864. This information was supplied by Brawne’s family. Fichus were worn during this period with dinner and evening dresses with low bodices, to cover the décolletage. They were favored by older ladies – Brawne was sixty-four at the time - and were often worn in colder weather. A dress with a “low body” could be made appropriate for walking with the addition of a fichu of slightly heavier material.

The fichu, finished shortly before her death, is further evidence of Fanny Brawne’s status as a woman of style throughout her whole life. Through it, we understand how Brawne used her needlework skills to make fashionable accessories to enhance her wardrobe.

Sophie Woodward, who has studied women’s ways of assembling outfits, focused on the processes of layering clothing. Woodward concluded that these processes were highly revelatory of the self, “being the site where the self is constituted through both its internal and external relationships.” Fanny Brawne’s handworked accessories were the finishing touches to her wardrobe. The fichu, in particular is an element of fashion used to complete an ensemble. These artifacts, along with Brawne’s Costume Plate Book and Scrapbook provide a means through which we can understand Fanny Brawne’s personal aesthetic, and the ways in which clothing mediated the relationship between the individual woman and the outside world.

Conclusions

In assembling the collections contained in these books, Fanny Brawne demonstrated her ability to use her leisure time constructively. An interesting dichotomy in Brawne’s personality was her love of society, and her equal ability to enjoy solitary
activities. The collections demonstrate the latter characteristic. Her love of attractive colored plates was typical for the period, particularly for women, for whom visual communication was central.

Fanny Brawne’s plate collections have illuminated several aspects of Brawne’s personality. It is clear from the Costume Plate Book that Brawne followed fashion closely. Through the book we can follow her changing wardrobe over a fifty-year period. The book shows her taste in clothing and gives us a clear idea of the image of herself that Brawne wished to project to the world. The costume plates prove her interest in historic dress, while the theatrical costume plates support the notion that she enjoyed theater, opera and ballet.

Some plates, such as the white wedding dress from the year of Queen Victoria’s marriage, mirror historic happenings. Trends, such as the changing definition of femininity, are reflected in the evolution of fashion shown in Fanny Brawne’s plates.

At the same time, it is interesting to note the models of femininity presented by the plates to Brawne. Status was an underlying theme in the fashion plates Brawne collected. Many depicted fashions against the backdrop of an elaborate interior. The variety of settings shown conveyed to the reader that there would be many delightful opportunities to wear the fashions they depicted. The plates take us to a rarefied world in which everyone is good-looking and carefree. All of the ladies and gentlemen are polite. Dressmakers’ bills are of no consequence to them. The delicate beauties pictured in nineteenth-century fashion plates have been called “the prettiest women ever drawn.” Stella Blum described them as: “Sweet without being cloying.” They embodied the new Romantic sentimentality that swept Europe after the fall of the First French Empire.
Like modern photographs in a family photo album, in which family members mask relationships that are not always harmonious, the wistful, doll-like models in the plates put a positive spin on women’s lives. The plates in which they appeared gave form to the concept of femininity that Brawne was invited to imitate. They enticed women to be the one looked at and admired for these qualities. We have evidence, from the silhouette of Brawne that was made in 1829, and from the ambrotype of ca. 1850, that she did indeed follow the fashions shown throughout her life.

Brawne’s Scrapbook offers indications of Brawne’s personality traits. In it we see Brawne’s sense of humor, with a tendency toward the satirical amply demonstrated. That Brawne was not immune to sentimentality is demonstrated by her inclusion of several genre scenes in the book. Thirty plates related to Brawne’s journeys and places of residence - by far the largest group of pictures represented - prove her experience of travel and her fondness for the places she had lived. Her interest in history is borne out by the historical plates and portraits of historical figures she collected.

I noted that Brawne included a significant number (13) of plates depicting religious subjects. I had seen no hint of her belief system in her letters to Fanny Keats, and found little mention of it in her biography. The Scrapbook shed light upon this important aspect of Brawne’s character as no other source of information had done.

The Scrapbook’s fashion-related plates were of prime interest to me. The knowledge gained from these plates complemented and expanded upon that conveyed by the contemporary fashion plates in the Costume Plate Book. They suggested Brawne was interested in folk costume. They proved that Brawne consulted historic texts. They showed that Brawne saw the folly of fashion and found satirical representations of it.
amusing. We now have a picture of Brawne not merely as a fashion pedant, but as one who understood fashion’s role in history, appreciated it as evidence of the world’s diversity, and most of all, could laugh it its follies and foibles.

Finally, Fanny Brawne’s handwork shows us Brawne’s skill in fine sewing. This lady-like accomplishment established her as a refined woman of the British middle-class. Handwork skills were marks of an accomplished woman, and we can see from the quality of the knit purses and the fichu, that Brawne’s talent was considerable.

These flawlessly executed artifacts attest to Fanny Brawne’s ability to make fashionable accessories to enhance her own wardrobe. She exercised judgment when she added adornments such as these to complete her costumes. The sophisticated patterns of the purses would have stood out strikingly against a plain skirt, while the fichu would provide a delicately beautiful way for the mature Fanny Brawne to cover the décolletage of an evening dress. Her taste and creativity are evident in these fine examples of her proficiency with a needle.

As has been stated previously, it is always difficult to recapture the essence of a personality from the past. Traditional historical and cultural analyses of Fanny Brawne have been limited by the dearth of information available about her. In this study, known facts about Brawne were culled from various sources and these provided a basis for further study of Fanny Brawne through her existing artifacts. Prown pointed out that there are aspects of the mind to be discovered in objects that differ from, complement, supplement and at times contradict evidence from other sources. This was the purpose of including the material culture study of Fanny Brawne’s collections and artifacts in this thesis.
The plate collections and handworks discussed in this chapter have helped us to know Fanny Brawne, whose character is of interest to so many, by giving us a deeper understanding of this well-known historical figure, commonly viewed through the lens of her relationship to John Keats.

A lesser-known poet once wrote that, “Taste is the feminine of genius.” Fanny Brawne has stood in the shadow of John Keats, and this is only to be expected, since Keats was a poetic genius and a great literary figure. But it is amusing to contemplate, however, that if we think in different terms, Fanny Brawne herself was touched with just a bit of genius, of the feminine variety, the genius of taste and style.

Fanny Brawne emerges from this study as a woman of substance, whose character and interests are highly reflective of her status as a middle-class British woman living in the early to middle nineteenth century, as defined by the magazines and periodicals of the day. These sources, reflected in Brawne’s choices of material to incorporate into her collections, provide important clues to Fanny Brawne’s character. The history of women’s magazines is also the history of the women who read them, and through the study of the plates Brawne collected we see Fanny Brawne depicted realistically. As a representative woman of her time and class, Fanny Brawne successfully negotiated the contradictions and conflicts of feminine identity presented to her, and from them she constructed the woman who captivated a poet, mourned her lost love, and went on to live a full life as a wife, mother, and citizen of Europe.
Notes

1 All of the items under discussion in this chapter are the property of Keats House, Keats Grove, Hampstead, London NW3 2RR. The items are now housed at The London Metropolitan Archives, at 40 Northampton Road, Clerkenwell, London, EC1R 0HB.

2 Oskar Fischel and Max von Boehn, *Modes & Manners of the Nineteenth Century as Represented in the Pictures and Engravings of the Time* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1970) II, 101


8 Ibid., 13.


10 Vyvyan Holland defines a fashion plate as a drawing made for the purpose of showing clothing design of the present time in order to guide people who wish to dress according to current fashion. It differs fundamentally from the costume plate, which depicts national or theatrical costume, or fashions from the past. See Vyvyan Holland, *Hand Coloured Fashion Plates 1770 to 1899* (Boston: Boston Book Shop, 1955), 21-22.

11 Page interview.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.


17 In fashion plates of the 1830s, mannequins often stand or sit stiffly in the center of the frame, facing forward or turned slightly to one side. When there is more than one figure, they tend to form a composition in the shape of a pyramid – a natural format to accommodate the bulk of the skirts worn during the period. Le Petit Courrier used a format that showed one primary female figure facing forward, and another somewhat further back, facing away – a double. Sometimes a mirror was added to show the back of the dress and hairstyle. By the 1840s, two women were shown side by side. Valerie Steele, Paris Fashion: A Cultural History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1114-1115.


19 Ibid., viii. Another interesting coincidence exists in the fact that Brummell’s book was not actually published until 1932, just one year before Fanny Brawne’s collection of costume and fashion plates came to light.

20 Ibid., xvii.

21 Ibid., 45.


27 Fashion plates, called “Costumes Parisiens,” originally appeared in Le Journal des Dames, but were also published in portfolio form under the title: “Costumes
Plates of hats were a regular feature, accounting for about one of every eight plates in the portfolio. Fanny Brawne’s plates appeared in volume 11 of the series. It is more likely, however, that Brawne got her plates from the magazine, rather than the folio, as both plates appeared in the same monthly edition of Le Journal des Dames. Costumes Parisiens, 1797-1839 [microform], Pierre La Mésengère, ed. (France: Studios Photographiques Harcourt. New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1980)


33 Ibid., 392.

34 “Modes de Paris,” *Petit Courrier des Dames*, 10 October 1833, Plate 1007.

35 Holland, *Hand Coloured Fashion Plates*, 64.


38 Honore de Balzac bought *La Chronique de Paris*, and began publishing it under the same title, on January 1, 1836. Brawne did not collect plates during the period of Balzac’s ownership. Ibid.


42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 130.


45 The English translation of *Illustrierte Theaterzeitung* is “Illustrated Theater Newspaper.” *Modebilder Theaterzeitung* translates as “Newspaper Fashion Pictures.”


50 “*Modes de Paris,*” *Petit Courrier des Dames*, 20 January 1839, Plate 1512.

51 Holland, *Hand Coloured Fashion Plates*, 76.


57 These are the titles as listed in the Index. They differ somewhat from the titles as they appear on the plates. Ibid.


59 The titles of the theatrical plates, in order of their appearance, are: *Opéra de Guillaume Tell, Ferdinand dans le Bandit, Edwige dans Guillaume Tell, Costume d’une*
Jiannot dans le Bal de Gustave III (two plates), Gregorio dans Ludovic, Taglioni dans le Ballet de Nathalie, Catherine dans la Belle Fermiere, Ludovic, Une Danseuse dans le Ballet de Chao-Kang, Figaro, Betty dans le Chalet, Un Page, and Ballet de Gustave III.


Ibid.

This research was conducted by Betty Falsey at Houghton Library, Harvard College Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, From 24-28 September 2007, at the author’s request.

Holland, Hand Coloured Fashion Plates, 67.

Ibid., 69.


“Godey’s Fashions,” in Doris Langley-Moore, Fashion Through Fashion Plates, Plate 43.

Holland, Hand Coloured Fashion Plates, 97-98.


Ibid.


Adburgham, Silver Fork Society, 138.

The three basic types of printing are relief, intaglio and planographic, or surface printing. Relief printing is by far the oldest method. In this process, non-printing areas
of the relief block are cut away. The block is inked, and paper is laid over it. The two are then run through a printing press.

Most of the prints in Brawne’s collection are intaglio prints. In this process, ink is held in grooves below the surface of the printing plate. Much greater pressure is required to force the ink out of the grooves onto paper, so a rolling press is used. Engravings, etchings, drypoints, mezzotints and aquatints are all intaglio processes. Lithographic prints are examples of planographic printing. A drawing is made on a stone with a greasy crayon, or tusche, and then washed with water. When ink is applied to the stone, it sticks to the greasy drawing, but runs off the wet surface. A lithography press or offset roller press is used to form the image on paper. This process is much faster that intaglio printing, and is versatile, with the resulting impressions having characteristics of drawings or incised images, and making identification quite difficult. See Bamber Gascoigne. *How to Identify Prints* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 1-1b.


77 Ibid., 146.

78 Richardson, *Fanny Brawne*, 128.


80 The Lewis Walpole Collection at the Walpole Library of Yale University contains examples of English caricatures and political satirical prints from the late seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. Walpole Digital Library. Available at http://www.lwlimages.library.yale.edu. Internet.


84 The English translations of the titles, in order, are: “The Meeting of the Marvelous Ones,” “The Incredibles at Triport,” “Aristede and Brise Scelle,” and “Incredibles at Arsny.”


Steele, Paris Fashion, 52.

Fischel and von Boehn, Modes and Manners, I, 44, 45, 110, 112, 121, 128, 140, 150, 163.

Ibid., I, 143.

Adburgham, Silver Fork Society, 254.


There is one additional plate of historic costume appearing on page 38(a) of Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook. It is a color plate of a sixteenth-century man dressed in armor, with a tunic over the armor extending to the thigh, and a beret-like hat with plumage, of the type worn by Henry VIII in many portraits. While there were many books treating of military costume available, this, and male costume in general, are not known to have been areas of great interest to Brawne (see Appendix A). Her Costume Plate Book contained only one representation of a man, and this was in a plate that also featured female fashions.

Gascoigne, How to Identify Prints, 15b-18a.


Ibid., 244.

Sitwell, Gallery of Fashion, 1-2.

Fanny Brawne’s sister, Margaret Brawne da Cunha, upon her death, left much of her money to the Free Church of the Canton of Vaud, for the widows of ministers, the propagation of the Gospel, and the mission to South Africa, showing a religious propensity in the family. See Richardson, Fanny Brawne, 147.

Ballaster, et al., Women’s Worlds, 85.

Ibid., 8.

Ibid., 57.


103 Dancyger, *A World of Women*, 45.

104 Cunnington, *Feminine Attitudes*, 114.

105 Fanny Brawne’s granddaughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis, donated the purses to Keats House in 1927. Information from Kenneth Page, Information Officer at Keats House, 21 September, 2007.


108 Ibid., 1.


114 Ibid., 56.

115 Warren, 39

116 Fanny Brawne’s granddaughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis, donated the fichu to Keats House in 1972. Kenneth Page, Information Officer at Keats House. 21 September 2007.

117 Blum, *Ackermann’s Costume Plates*, 89.

118 Warren, 32.


121 Peterson’s Magazine. February 1864.


126 English poet Edward Fitzgerald. As quoted in Angus Holden, Elegant Modes in the Nineteenth Century, From High Waist to Bustle (New York: Greenberg, 1936), epigraph.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY/CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examined the life of Fanny Brawne, who lived from 1880 until 1865. Brawne is a historical figure primarily known as the beloved of the English Romantic poet, John Keats. The thesis looked at Brawne outside of the context of her relationship to Keats, as a typical middle-class British woman of the early to mid-nineteenth century. and examined her life and interests both as revelations of her own character and as indicators of women’s hobbies and interests of the period, with emphasis upon Brawne’s lifelong interest in fashion and historic costume.

Traditional historical and cultural analyses of Fanny Brawne have been limited by the dearth of information available about her. In this study, known facts about Brawne were culled from various sources and these provided a basis for further study of Fanny Brawne through her existing artifacts. Prown pointed out that there are aspects of the mind to be discovered in objects that differ from, complement, supplement, and at times contradict evidence from other sources. Fanny Brawne’s artifacts have facilitated discoveries in exactly that manner.

Previous research about Fanny Brawne has often focused upon the question of whether she was exceptional enough to have merited the attentions of Keats. I took the opposite approach. Rather than seeking to cast Brawne as ordinary or outstanding, I
looked at Fanny Brawne and asked if she was a typical middle-class woman of her time and place.

Fanny Brawne’s biographer, and other writers, reported that Brawne came from an upper-middle class background. In her youth, Brawne was socially successful within the confines of Hampstead, the London suburb in which she lived. After her marriage, at age thirty-three, she changed her place of residence frequently, living in various cities in France, Germany and possibly Austria, finally returning to England around 1859.

Many writers commented upon Brawne’s attention to her appearance. By all reports, Brawne took great pains with her hair, chose her dresses carefully and wore them well. Her graceful and elegant carriage was also noted. She confirmed in a letter to John Keats’s sister, Fanny Keats (later Fanny Keats de Llanos) that dress, manner and carriage were the most important keys to a woman’s attractiveness. This opinion perfectly reflects the advice given in magazines and other periodicals of the period. We know that Brawne read these publications because the fashion and costume plates she collected came from them.

Fanny Brawne followed fashion, but was not a fashion leader on a large stage. As a middle-class woman in a suburban culture, she could only be influential within that small circle. Brawne was undoubtedly noticed for her style and grace, and was surely regarded with approval for these qualities. Her dresses were chosen carefully and worn with flair and this, too, was certainly remarked by her contemporaries. Brawne’s fancy dress costumes must have been remarkable, given her knowledge of historic costume, and these too were certainly admired by those who knew her.
Fanny Brawne has been described as “unsentimental” by nature. This trait was common to young women during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, who were interested in ideas rather than feelings, and were intrigued by human nature. Brawne manifested traits of independence throughout her life, as when she was fiery in political discussions, and took an active role in retrieving her injured husband from the battlefront in 1837. Magazines document that women’s roles changed during the middle twenties, beginning a trend that moved toward vapid sentimentalism by mid-century. During that period, however, Brawne is not known to have demonstrated maudlin emotion, and may have retained the unsentimental habits of mind she formed in her youth.

Fanny Brawne was an accomplished woman. Her surviving handwork shows her skill in the needle arts. She spoke French and German fluently, and had facility with other languages as well. Brawne read widely, as women were extolled to do in the magazines they subscribed to. Brawne’s interests in theater and politics were likewise reinforced in the periodicals of the day.

Fanny Brawne’s letters to Fanny Keats are invaluable keys to her character, as it is only through them that we hear the voice of Fanny Brawne. In these letters, Fanny Brawne advises her younger friend about clothing. When she speaks about dress, Brawne’s passion is evident. She writes with more conviction, and in much greater detail than is demonstrated elsewhere in the correspondence. Brawne drew diagrams to augment her explanations, made recommendations about fabric and cut, and in all probability exceeded the expectations of Fanny Keats, who relied upon Brawne’s expertise in these areas.
The passion shown in the letters explains why Fanny Brawne collected fashion and costume plates, and other visual imagery. Brawne’s collections, now housed in the London Metropolitan Archives, consist of two albums, and three examples of her handwork. Specifically, the archive houses a collection of fashion, costume, and theatrical plates incorporated into a volume entitled “Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book,” and a second more eclectic compilation which appears in a volume entitled “Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook.” The handworks consist of two small hand-knitted purses, and an embroidered net fichu.

Henry Glassie wrote that the collection is a major expressive mode of industrial civilization. Collections reflect the values of their collectors. Fanny Brawne’s collections are highly revelatory of her personality, as they deal largely with clothing. There is a high correlation between clothing and personal values. I agree with Keats scholar Walter Jackson Bate that Fanny Brawne’s interest in clothes may have been encouraged by her knowledge that her father was first cousin to Beau Brummell.\textsuperscript{1} Brummell, coincidentally, also collected historic costume plates.

This thesis analyzed the content of the plates Fanny Brawne collected, and researched their origins. The information discovered adds to and complements what was known of Fanny Brawne. Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book contains plates Brawne collected over a fifty-year period. She was twelve years old when the first plate was printed, and sixty-three when she collected the last plate in the album. This shows that Fanny Brawne followed fashion changes closely throughout her life. Through the collection, we see the reaction of a fashion-conscious person to the styles of her times.
Brawne read French publications primarily. As France was the center of European fashion, plates from that country represented the most current fashions being presented. Whether English, French, German or Austrian, Brawne’s magazines were all upper-class publications, geared toward literate and leisured women. The models of refinement and femininity presented in them must have impressed themselves upon their readers, and there is no reason to believe that this was not the case with Fanny Brawne.

Brawne’s historic costume plates in the Costume Plate Book came from Court Magazine, a British publication that also carried articles about historic costume occasionally. The six plates Brawne saved came from a long-running series in the magazine entitled “Ancient Portraits” that featured a plate and a memoir of the person depicted in each issue. The series ran for at least fifteen years, and accounted for about a quarter of the magazine’s content. The plates could be purchased separately, or in complete sets, bound in volumes. This demonstrates that Fanny Brawne’s interest in historic costume was not unusual for the times. Many other women shared her fascination with this topic. The testimony of friends that Brawne could answer questions about historic costume at a moment’s notice, however, affirms her expertise, which appears from the remark to have been exceptional.

The theatrical plates Brawne collected also came from a long-running series. The Petit galerie dramatique, published in Paris, appeared for forty seven years, from 1797 until 1843. The popularity of the series shows that Brawne was not alone in her attraction to these delightful colored plates, and suggests that there may have been many who collected them.
While reinforcing her interest in fashion, Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook also provided a window into some of Brawne’s other interests. The nineteenth century was rich in visual material illustrating events, people, places, and literature. From the plethora of imagery available, Fanny Brawne selected items that interested her. Her choices shed light on several aspects of her personality.

As this thesis stressed Fanny Brawne’s interest in fashion, many of the plates selected for discussion focused on that aspect. Two plates in the Scrapbook from Bell’s Shakespeare (an eighteenth-century work), showed that Brawne referred to eighteenth-century sources from time to time, in her quest for information about historic costume.

Fanny Brawne liked comedy. She enjoyed humor in literature and in theatrical productions. Her scrapbook shows that she was fascinated by the humorous aspects of fashion. One of the most telling items in the book is the series of small oval images titled “New Head Dresses for 1772.” These illustrations originally appeared in A Treatise on Hair, published in 1772 by hairdresser David Ritchie. The text that accompanied the picture in its original context was really quite outrageous. Brawne surely saw the humor.

She likewise enjoyed satire that related to fashionable life and society, as shown by the satirical prints in her scrapbook depicting French Directoire society. This strongly indicates that Brawne’s interest in fashion was far from pedantic. She saw the big picture. The beauty and elegance, the potential for personal enhancement, but also the historical and cultural ramifications of clothing, and especially the humor engendered by the follies and foibles associated with fashion and fashionable people.

Fanny Brawne was in motion for much of her life. She lived in a half-dozen European cities during her lifetime. Based upon the few dated plates it contains,
Brawne’s Scrapbook was assembled during the period after Brawne’s marriage in 1833, and through them, we can see a woman who traveled extensively, and wished to remember scenes from the places she had lived. Brawne admired certain individuals enough to preserve their images, and we see her abiding interest in history well documented throughout the book. Religious themes are evident in the collection, and testify to Brawne’s spirituality.

Three images of Brawne were analyzed in this thesis. A full-length silhouette made in 1829 offered much that documented Brawne’s fashionable mien. The elaborate hairstyle, graceful posture, and stylish profile depicted in the cut-out showed Fanny Brawne was a fashionable woman at the age of twenty-nine.

A painted miniature of a year later shows Fanny Brawne with small flowers distributed throughout her coiffure, and side plaits looped about her ears. While painted rather generically, the miniature has value because it demonstrates the efforts Brawne took with her hair.

One photographic portrait of Fanny Brawne exists. The ambrotype of Fanny Brawne at Keats House, in London, has been dated “ca. 1850.” Based upon Brawne’s hairstyle and clothing, I would date the picture slightly later. With her smoothly combed hair, pretty lace collar, and snow white *engageants* beneath her sleeves, Brawne was still the picture of fashionability in middle age. Her youthful appearance attests to a lifelong beauty regimen of some sort. It is apparent that her belief in “dress, manner and carriage” as keys to social success continued to guide her throughout her life.

While Fanny Brawne’s early life was atypical – not many can claim to have been loved by a literary giant - much of what we know about her life experiences, habits and
beliefs has relevance to other upper-middle-class British women of her time. The influence of upper-class urban magazines and periodicals is undeniable, and delineated Brawne’s place in society as it did for all of its readers. Her life story is relevant to the history of nineteenth-century British women, and provides clues to the wider cultural processes that defined the society in which they lived.

Art Historian Jules Prown posed the question: “Should one bother to investigate material objects in the quest for culture? Prown then presented evidence to answer his own question in the affirmative. While all societies have expressed themselves in their words and deeds, the things they made also speak. In the final analysis, Fanny Brawne’s artifacts, in concert with writings about her, pictures of her, and her letters to Fanny Keats, spoke clearly of the woman and her world. They reflect, both consciously and unconsciously, the values, interests, and attitudes of Fanny Brawne and the larger society to which she belonged.

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Notes


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Articles

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Artifact Sources

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Fanny Brawne’s Costume Plate Book, LMA reference numbers K/AR/01/251 and KH 0092, in the London Metropolitan Archives, 40 Northampton Road, Clerkenwell, London, EC1R 0HB.

Fanny Brawne’s Scrapbook, LMA reference numbers K/AR/01/014 and KH 0092a, in the London Metropolitan Archives, 40 Northampton Road, Clerkenwell, London, EC1R 0HB.

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Fanny Brawne’s knitted tubular purse, LMA reference number K/AR/01/29, in the London Metropolitan Archives, 40 Northampton Road, Clerkenwell, London, EC1R 0HB.

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Letters and Memoirs


Books


Periodicals


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Secondary Works

Articles


Books


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

BOOKS TREATING OF COSTUME

The following abridged list was compiled from a list entitled “Books Treating of Costume,” in Volume I of *Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century*.

Books printed after 1865 and those that were undated were omitted from the list.

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<td>Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume (Percy Society)</td>
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<td><em>La Armeria Real.</em> Madrid</td>
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Knight, C. Old England 1845
________ Pictorial History of England 1837-1851
Lodge Portraits of Illustrious Personages 1823
Louard Dress of the British Soldier 1852
Meyrick, S. Critical Inquiry Into Ancient Armour 1842
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Nichols, J. Progresses of Queen Elizabeth 1823
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Shaw, H. Dresses and Decorations 1843
Smith, C. H. Selections of the Ancient Costume of Great Britain and Ireland 1814
Strutt, J. *Horda Angel cynnau* 1774-1776
________ Dress and Habits 1842
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________ Sports and Pastimes 1838
Viollet Le Duc *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier Francais* 1858-1875
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Waller, J.G. Monumental Brasses 1840
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________ Archæological Album 1845
Vigne, F.DE. *Vade mocum du Peintre* 1835-1840

Several articles in *Archæologia* were listed, but not dated.

This notation appeared at the bottom of the list: “The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries and the Journals of the Royal Archæological Institute and Association will also give many illustrations of costume.”
**APPENDIX B**

**FANNY BRAWNE’S COSTUME PLATE BOOK**

**PLATES LISTED BY SOURCE**
(as printed on plate)

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**APPENDIX C**

**FANNY BRAWNE’S COSTUME PLATE BOOK**

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## APPENDIX D

**FANNY BRAWNE’S COSTUME PLATE BOOK**

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<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>25 Janvier 1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fashion plate</td>
<td><em>Illustrierte Theatrezeitung</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Andre Geiger</td>
<td>ca. 1836-1840*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>6 x 9 3/8”</td>
<td>Fashion plate</td>
<td><em>Illustrierte Theatrezeitung</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Andre Geiger</td>
<td>ca. 1836-1840*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>9 5/8 x 6 1/8”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1837-1841*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>6 1/8 x 9 5/8”</td>
<td>Fashion plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1837-1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>6 5/16 x 9 9/16”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1837-1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>6 5/16 x 9 9/16”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1838*</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>6 3/8 x 9 1/2”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>6 3/8 x 9 1/2”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>6 3/4 x 9 1/2”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>6 3/8 x 9 1/8”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>6 1/2 x 9 15/16”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>6 1/2 x 10 1/8”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1839*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>6 1/2 x 10”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Le Voleur</em></td>
<td>German/French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1840*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>6 1/2 x 10”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>10 Mai 1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>6 3/8 x 9 7/8”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>10 Decembre 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>6 x 9 1/8”</td>
<td>Historic Costume Plate</td>
<td>Court Magazine*</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>E². Hargrave Sculpt.</td>
<td>1837*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>6 x 8 5/8”</td>
<td>Historic Costume Plate</td>
<td>Court Magazine*</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>E². Hargrave Sculpt.</td>
<td>1836*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>6 1/8 x 9”</td>
<td>Historic Costume Plate</td>
<td>Court Magazine*</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>E². Hargrave Sculpt.</td>
<td>1836*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>6 1/8 x 8 3/4”</td>
<td>Historic Costume Plate</td>
<td>Court Magazine*</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>E². Hargrave Sculpt.</td>
<td>1836*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>6 1/4 x 8 3/4”</td>
<td>Historic Costume Plate</td>
<td>Court Magazine*</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>E². Hargrave Sculpt.</td>
<td>1836*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>Editor/Imp. Details</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>6 ¼ x 9”</td>
<td>Historic Costume Plate</td>
<td>Court Magazine*</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td></td>
<td>1836*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>3 7/8 x 6 1/8”</td>
<td>Theatrical Costume Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>3 ¾ x 6”</td>
<td>Theatrical Costume Plates (2)</td>
<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>4 x 6 ¼”</td>
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<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>3 5/8 x 5 7/8”</td>
<td>Theatrical Costume Plates (2)</td>
<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>4 x 6 7/8”</td>
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<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>3 ¼ x 5 13/16”</td>
<td>Theatrical Costume Plates (2)</td>
<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>3 ¾ x 6”</td>
<td>Theatrical Costume Plates (2)</td>
<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>3 7/8 x 6 1/8”</td>
<td>Theatrical Costume Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit galerie dramatique . . .</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11 ¼”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td>*Petit Courrier des Dames</td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Ressin imp. 2 Octobre 1852</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>7 5/16 x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td>The World of Fashion</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>February 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>7 3/8 x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td>The World of Fashion</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>February 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Printer/Artist</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>7 ½ x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td>The World of Fashion</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11 ¼”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Hopwood et Préval</td>
<td>9 Avril 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11 ¼”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Ressin imp.</td>
<td>4 Juin 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Ressin imp.</td>
<td>4 Juin 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Ressin imp. Hopwood et Prévaut(?</td>
<td>4 Mars 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11 3/8”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Ressin imp. Hopwood et Jelpl(?)</td>
<td>10 Mars 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>7 ¼ x 11 3/8”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td><em>Petit Courrier des Dames</em></td>
<td>French*</td>
<td>Rossins imp. Hopwood et Barreau Sculp'</td>
<td>9 Decembre 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>3 x 4 ½”</td>
<td>Cut out figures</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ca. 1858-1860*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>8 x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td>The Queen</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>Gilquin et Dupain imp. Souquet A. Sottier</td>
<td>26 July 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>8 x 11”</td>
<td>Fashion Plate</td>
<td>The Queen</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>Jules David L. Guerdet sc</td>
<td>ca. 1863*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates information was not printed on the plate, but was determined through research.
APPENDIX E
FANNY BRAWNE’S COSTUME PLATE BOOK
TYPES OF CLOTHING DEPICTED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of clothing</th>
<th>Number of Depictions</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headwear</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening dresses</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2, 6, 11, 12, 16, 20, 21, 23, 40, 41, 43, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day dresses</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer garments</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5, 9, 19, 24, 40, 41, 42, 48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy dress costume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s clothing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7, 16, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding dresses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22, 46, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic costume</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theatrical costume</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lingerie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s clothing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
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</table>
### Description of Fashions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description of fashions</th>
<th>Fabrics used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hats, Hat, Bonnet, Cornette (Bonnet-style day cap), Bonnets</td>
<td>Velvet, “Reps.,” Muslin, Muslin, Muslin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Round dress, Embroidered shawl</td>
<td>Cashmere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hat, Promenade dress, Mantille</td>
<td>Crêpe trimmed in satin, Gros de Naples (corded Italian silk), Fine silk net, embroidered with cashmere flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pelisse, Hat with plumes, Tippet</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hat with Plumes, Pellerine mantlet</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Turban with plumes, Tunic</td>
<td>Gaze, Foulard of Smyrna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Promenade Dress, Echarpe, Redingote, Fichu (kerchief), Child’s dress</td>
<td>Peu de soie, Cashmere, Muslin/cashmere, Lace, Gros de Naples, Brussels lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hat, Canezou (short, sleeveless jacket like large collar), Dress</td>
<td>Rice straw, Batiste/ lace, Printed fabric and embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Evening dress, Hat, Mantlet</td>
<td>Muslin embroidered with wool, Peu de soie, Blonde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Evening dress with Bertha, long to the ground</td>
<td>Silk (?), lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Evening dress, long to the ground</td>
<td>Muslin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Description</td>
<td>Materials</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Capote ouatée de Lucy (Bonnet)</td>
<td>Velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mantelet</td>
<td>Satin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bonnet with plumes</td>
<td><em>Peu de soie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redingote</td>
<td><em>Peu de soie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Child’s bonnet and dress</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td><em>Peu de soie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redingote</td>
<td><em>Peu de soie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mantelet</td>
<td>Embroidered organdy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td>Rice straw/ marabou feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evening dress</td>
<td>Silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Child’s mantelet</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td>Italian straw/ flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redingote</td>
<td><em>Silk de line</em>/ ribbons/lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td><em>Crêpe</em>/marabou feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day dress (for travel)</td>
<td><em>Foulard d’Arabic</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td>Satin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bournous el Kabir (evening cloak)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dress with Bertha and Volant</td>
<td>Velvet/lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bonnet with plumes</td>
<td>Velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>Capote</em></td>
<td>Marabou feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redingote</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skirt (<em>élastique, bouffant</em>)</td>
<td><em>Crîne-zephir Oudinet</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>White wedding dress</td>
<td>Silk (?)/lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td>Rice straw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redingote ornamened with a <em>Résille</em></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dress</td>
<td>Embroidered muslin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td>Velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coat</td>
<td>Satin/velvet trim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mantle</td>
<td>Velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Day dress with three flounces in contrasting material</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Day Dress</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day dress with three flounces</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pelisse</em> mantle</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Evening dress</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visiting dress</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very large shawl</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Evening dress with <em>engageants</em></td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evening dress with low <em>décolletage</em></td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Child’s dress and underlinen</td>
<td>Trimmed in lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Bonnet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dress with serrated flounces and matching mantle</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>White wedding dress with four flounces</td>
<td>Silk (?) and lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shawl</td>
<td>Cashmere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plaid day dress</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Dresses with four flounces (2). Separate bodices with flaring basques.</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Engageants.</em></td>
<td>Lace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Visiting costume with exposed chemisette, closed to the neck and with bold vertical bands descending from the shoulders, crossing at the waist and reaching the floor. Visiting and walking dress with cloak and muff.</td>
<td>Silk (?), velvet (?), and lace.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Velvet, ermine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>White evening dress trimmed with blue ribbons Black pardessus with red trim.</td>
<td>Silk (?), silk ribbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Velvet (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Evening dress with very full skirt, supported by a crinoline. Pink ribbon sash.</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gray dress, closed to the neck with hat of same fabric.</td>
<td>Silk ribbons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Promenade dress with coat sleeves.</td>
<td>Silk (?), braid trim, lace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promenade dress trimmed extensively with pleating.</td>
<td>Silk (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX G

**FANNY BRAWNE’S COSTUME PLATE BOOK**

**THEATRICAL COSTUME PLATES**

Fanny Brawne had six plates in her collection of fourteen that matched exactly plates in the *Petite galerie Dramatique, ou, Recueil de différents costumes d’acteurs des théâtres de la capitale*, at Houghton Library, Harvard College. The table below supplies the volume and number from the *Petite galerie Dramatique*, as well as other information from the plates, which Fanny Brawne had cut away. All of the plates were designed by the same artist, J. Maleuvre. It is likely that the other eight plates in Brawne’s collection are from the *Petit galerie* as well, but this has not been established.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brawne’s title and page #</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name of Ballet or Opera</th>
<th>Title of plate</th>
<th>Theater</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“<em>Opéra de Guillaume Tell,</em>” 31</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>Simon et M&quot;rr. Elie</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Guillaume Tell</em></td>
<td>Pas Militaire Acte III</td>
<td>Academie Royale de Musique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“<em>Taglioni dans le Ballet de Nathalie,</em>” 34(rt)</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>M&quot;rr. Taglioni</td>
<td>Nathalie</td>
<td>Nathalie</td>
<td></td>
<td>Academie Royale de Musique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“<em>Ludovic,</em>” 35(rt)</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>Lemonnier</td>
<td>Ludovic</td>
<td>Ludovic</td>
<td></td>
<td>Th. de l’Opéra Comique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gregorio dans Ludovic,“ 34 (l)</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>Férélol</td>
<td>Gregorio</td>
<td>Ludovic</td>
<td>Acte I”</td>
<td>Th. de l’Opéra Comique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“<em>Ballet de Gustave III,</em>” 38</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>M’. et M&quot;rr. Paul Taglioni</td>
<td>Gustav, ou Le Bal Masqué</td>
<td>Pas Styrien</td>
<td></td>
<td>Academie Royale de Musique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“<em>Danseuse dans le Ballet de Chao-Kang,</em>” 36 (l)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>Danseuse</td>
<td>Chao-Kang</td>
<td>Pas du Mariage, Acte I”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Th. Nautique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX H

FANNY BRAWNE’S SCRAPBOOK

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Six hand painted engravings of palaces in Germany</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Untitled landscape</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Museums and theaters</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panoramic scenic views including <em>Die Alt-Neuschele</em> and <em>Der alt Judenfreidhof</em></td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Six buildings and interiors. German captions</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Five views of cities: Prague, <em>Elufs auf worts</em>, three of Neustadt</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Three churches and a view of Laurensberg.</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Six architectural views, one of Prague</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Six panoramic cityscapes: <em>Hradschin Wissebrad Hirschgraben</em></td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Six architectural views</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Four views, one of Prague</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Six architectural views</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Five views, one panoramic of <em>Buda us Pest</em></td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Five architectural views, one panoramic of <em>Joseph-Platz</em></td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>Three foldout panoramic views reinforced with Japanese paper. One of Prague, two of <em>Pestmek arzkepe</em></td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td>Three more views of Prague</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>Six views; Architecture, interiors</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td><em>Werk Khonhauser oder Seefahrt</em>. Black and white</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>Six views including Pest, Palatinal Isel, Stad waldchen. Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>Full page illustration: Darmstadt/Die Goliath Strasse. Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>“Demoiselle en faille Antwerp.” Surrounded by hand-drawn design lines and small handwritten titles on brown paper. Appears to be from the original scrapbook. Allegorical subject or literary reference (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>Black and white plate of man, woman and child. Man plays lyre Genre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>A castle on a hill; A poor family. Untitled. Genre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>Frankfort, Weinheim. Two black and white plates. Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>St. Michael’s Mount. Melrose Abby Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>Three landscapes: Cistra, Spezzia, Bay of Naples. Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20b</td>
<td>Five Italian scenes. Monument of Handel Caprea, Roman countryside. Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>Thirteen small black and white plates. Landscapes and architectural subjects. Sussex, Cornwall, Doretshire, Devonshire, etc. Travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Full page color plate. Dervishes/ Constantinople, with Arabic writing below the French. Travel or Exotic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23*</td>
<td>*Femme Grecque d’Athens: signed Eugenio Fulgenze, inc. 1836 Folk costume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24*</td>
<td>*Turque Albanese signed: Eugenio Fulgenze 1836 Folk costume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a</td>
<td>Full-page black and white plate of church, untitled. Label in brown paper: “Mantua above portrait of Elconora Magdalena Therefia.” Six humorous plates with French titles: Le DepotAmoureux, LaCritique de l’Escole, etc. One untitled dated 1748.</td>
<td>Travel or Religious Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25b*</td>
<td>Two plates from Bell’s Shakespeare. One captioned “March 16, 1775,” but brown label says “1780,” and one captioned Dec. 1, 1775, with brown label that says “1775.”</td>
<td>Historic costume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26a</td>
<td>Full page plate: Stephanskirche, 1834.</td>
<td>Travel/Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b*</td>
<td>Twelve plates: Nine without labels. One, of extreme hairstyles, has brown label that says “1772.” Two others are labeled “1778.”</td>
<td>Fashion/Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27a*</td>
<td>Four images: Three portraits, one labeled “Miss Fox.” One image of Sir Thomas More, labeled “Th Moore.” Brown paper label says “1515.”</td>
<td>Portraits/Fashionable person, Historic figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27b</td>
<td>Two idyllic landscapes.</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28b</td>
<td>The Sleeping Congregation, by Hogarth</td>
<td>Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29a</td>
<td>Erasmus</td>
<td>Portrait/Humanist, Theologian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29b</td>
<td>Engraved by Medland after a drawing by Slothard. Published 6 April 1790. Looks like Jesus sitting in a dwelling.</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Brown (Brown Label).</td>
<td>Portrait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30b</td>
<td>The House of Commons. The King proroguing Parliament, April 1831. Note: Destroyed by fire in 1834. House of Lords.</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31*</td>
<td>LaRencontre des Merveilleuses 10 ¾ x 11 ½”</td>
<td>Humor/Satire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32*</td>
<td>Les Croyables au Triport 10 ¾ x 11 ½”</td>
<td>Humor/Satire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33a*</td>
<td>Les Croyables au Triport 10 ¾ x 11 ½”</td>
<td>Humor/Satire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33b*</td>
<td>Aristede et Brise (?) Scelle (?) 10 x 11 ½”</td>
<td>Humor/Satire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34a*</td>
<td>Croyables au Arstyl (?) Man offers slips with “premier mandat territory” printed on them to another who has coins in his hands. A third man picks the pocket of the first. 10 ¾” x 11 ½”</td>
<td>Humor/Satire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34b</td>
<td>Holy ghost, angel and woman. Full page, no titles</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35a</td>
<td>Colored image on heavy paper (May have been a box cover, or perhaps was the cover of the original album). Hand painted. Mostly sepia-toned with white painted accents. Depicts lovers. Man seated at woman's feet, hugging her. She has a huge hat. Very dark and difficult to see.</td>
<td>Romantic love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35b*</td>
<td>The Countess of Blessington. No date. Hand-applied colors. Full page: 12 5/8” x 9 ¾”</td>
<td>Portrait/Fashion-able woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36a*</td>
<td>“Engraved by J. Thomson” <em>The Sisters</em> (lithograph). Depicts two girls, one reading. “January 1836, Printed by McQueen for The Proprietor.” 9 ½ x 12”</td>
<td>Illustration of a story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36b*</td>
<td>Full page: Woman holding Harvey's Dialogues. No identifying marks or text. (10” x 13”).</td>
<td>18th century fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37a*</td>
<td>Woman looks at self in mirror. No identifying marks or text. Same style as previous picture. (10” x 13”).</td>
<td>18th century fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37b</td>
<td>* Croquis d’Expressions No 24 Des preunes!...des preunes!...tut mon quartier, tout la ville sait parbleau! Bien...je suis cocu et recocu, je puis m’en vanter Full page color plate (10” x 13 ¼”).</td>
<td>Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38a</td>
<td>Armored sixteenth-century man. Color plate with no marks or title. (10 ¼” x 7 ¼”).</td>
<td>Historic costume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38b</td>
<td>Medieval scene. Black and white. Full page.</td>
<td>Scenic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39a</td>
<td>George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Engraved portrait. (8 ¾” 13 ¾”).</td>
<td>Portrait/Historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39b</td>
<td>“The Enraged Antiquary.” Published in 1836. Child hiding in chest. Children have done damage to antiques (in a shop?). Proprietor is mad.</td>
<td>Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Two panoramic black and white plates. <em>Sinus de Gibraltar</em> and Malta</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41a</td>
<td>Full-page plate with much text in German. A hero on horseback rides above twelve numbered towns below.</td>
<td>Historic or literary reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41b</td>
<td>Woman with a small bow in her hand cradles a baby holding two doves. “XVIII.” No marks, titles, or dates. (Diana?)</td>
<td>Mythology (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42a</td>
<td>Like Forty-one: Full-page of German text. Three portraits in oval frames: Madasti, Frangipani and Serini</td>
<td>Portraits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42b</td>
<td>Large architectural subject. German text. <em>Vorstellung der Huldigung...</em></td>
<td>Scenic/Theatrical (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43-45*</td>
<td>Series of grotesque characters, 7 x 9 ¼ inches. Two characters face each other in each plate. Two plates per page.</td>
<td>Humor/Grotesques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46a</td>
<td>Lamentation scene after the crucifixion. Twelve figures surround the dying Jesus.</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46b</td>
<td>“TXV.” Figure in classical drapery stands on plain sphere, blows horn.</td>
<td>Mythology (?) or Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Genre/Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>“TXVII” Female figure held by four angels (nude above the waist, with drapery below) Full page, no title or dates. (The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin)</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48a</td>
<td>Two engravings with German and Latin titles. One round, one rectangular Medieval settings. Above: Woman hugs man while another man directs him (conscription?) Below: A battle scene. Liedekercke, Rouck, Bourse.</td>
<td>Genre Historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48b</td>
<td>Woman plays flute while man watches. Both are seated at a table. They look very poor. The man is ugly. Black and white.</td>
<td>Genre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49a</td>
<td>Large plate of draped young man begging forgiveness. Older man, father(?) strikes him with hand. Background figures otherwise engaged</td>
<td>Genre Biblical reference?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49b</td>
<td>Holy family. Joseph looks perplexed.</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50a</td>
<td>Woman holds Latin text, looks heavenward. Angels watch from above. Boy with angel wings and halo at her side. Full page: no marks, date, etc.</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50b</td>
<td>Portrait of a man (a Pope?) in skullcap and fur-lined cape over ecclesiastic garb. No date or marks. Full page.</td>
<td>Portrait/Religious?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Child says prayers at mother’s knee</td>
<td>Genre Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>“TXIX” Sixteenth century man</td>
<td>Portrait historic figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Albert Smith. Full page engraving by Field Talfourd. Signed: “Albert Smith to his friend Drinkwater Meadows, July 1854”</td>
<td>Autographed Portrait/literary figure?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Virgin Mary. Eyes cast down. Hand under cloak. Oval image: 4 ¾” x 5 ¾. Titles or date</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Chapter IV, Notes on Selected Plates.