Luxury and Revolution: Selling High-Status Garments in Revolutionary France

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This chapter is part of a larger study of the evolution of semi-luxury and luxury markets during the French Revolution: my purpose is to investigate how they evolved from the eve of the French Revolution to the Empire and the Restoration period, from a royal court to an imperial court. According to French historiography, this period is a transitional one, between the pre-modern and modern eras.¹ There is a lot more to investigate from an economic viewpoint, even if major works and a number of current projects already exist.² For the moment, they mainly deal with agrarian questions, the crucial problem of subsistence, economy and trade in wartime, or the future of urban and peasant people. Luxury has been studied through intellectual history and moral economy, rather than through economic history or the material history of civilisation. How policy, political economy, revolution and luxury are connected has been analysed using literary sources, including speeches, reports (memoirs) and correspondence. A privileged debate dealt with how luxury evolved throughout the eighteenth century.³ Fashion has been approached first as discursive practice; conceptualising, as Kate Haulman wrote, material culture as a site of power struggles and contested meanings; fashion is used as a set of symbols.⁴ Therefore, luxury and semi-luxury markets during the Revolution, in their most practical meaning, have yet to be explored: where were markets located? which goods were traded? and who were the various actors – including traders, manufacturers or other entrepreneurs, and consumers?⁵ The aim is to observe how the retail trade evolved during and because of the Revolution, focusing on luxury textiles sold in Paris. Why textiles? Because luxury finds its finest exponent in fast-changing fashions. In his Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, Savary des Bruslons associated ‘modes’ (fashion), ‘nouveautés’ (novelties) and ‘étoffes’ (fabrics).⁶ Why Paris? Because the French capital was central to the production of and trade in luxury goods.⁷ In general terms, the luxury market was fluctuating, mobile and very competitive on the national as well as the international level. It could provide high but fragile profits because of its relationship with fashion: it had to obey novelty, was short lived and dealt with materials and goods which acted as social markers. Above all, luxury goods were made for consumers who belonged to social elites. An important number of these consumers were close to the royal court. How did trade profits evolve when traditional
consumers were disappearing or changing their mode of expenditure, when exchange became more and more difficult or when the institutional framework in which the trading aristocracy had managed to organise (the corporation system) was destroyed? How and why did redeployment, bypassing, transgressions or success occur? In other words, the question is to measure how the market was transformed by, and how it adapted to, political decisions concerning the economy. This returns us, but in an original way that focuses on the distribution process, to the old debate on the economic consequences of the French Revolution. To privilege luxury, and especially textile luxury, which is narrowly connected to fashion, is not an insignificant choice: the Revolution suppressed neither luxury nor fashion and frivolity, yet these things obviously contradicted revolutionary ideals, political wills and the economic context (crisis of subsistence, maximum, customs policy). This contradiction is fascinating to explore.

There are many sources on which to base a study of the textile market during the Revolution, including regulation texts and political laws, newspapers and guides. I will begin by giving pride of place to a medium well known and used by traders, the press: the *Journal de Paris* (a daily newspaper from 1777 to 1840), the *Affiches de Paris* (*Affiches, annonces et avis divers, ou Journal général de France*, daily from 1778), published from 1751 until 1782. Advertising broadly developed in the French press throughout the eighteenth century: in literary newspapers like the *Mercure*; in specialised journals, such as fashion newspapers or the economic press; and especially in the *Affiches* – local leaflets partly dedicated to business and trade. In the *Journal de Paris*, the notices concerning traders were gathered in a *Supplément*, which appeared at the end of every number in 1790 and the end of every month in 1791; it became irregular in 1792 and nearly disappeared in 1794 and 1795.

This chapter will focus on the diffusion of luxury clothes within a restricted market. I focus here on a short period, 1790–1795, to highlight events during the most difficult years of the Revolution. By collecting advertisements in the investigated newspapers, I defined four aspects to study the market for luxury textiles: advertising discourse, visibility of exchange, prices and marketing adaptability, by which I mean the dealers’ ability to make use of existing opportunities. Before targeting the heart of the subject, we need to know something about the established yet evolving relationship between fashion and politics: clothing might reflect political events. The upheaval of 1789 resulted in tremendous changes, but transformations began to occur well before the Revolution. Therefore, we have to take into account the extent to which the Revolution was built on old habits, recent transformations and novelties. As a matter of fact, the period promoted already extant features, such as increased advertising, second-hand goods and warehouses. Nevertheless, the Revolution largely helped them to spread.

**Fashion, cloth and revolution**

Fashion means change, and shopkeepers were used to playing with this idea, often linking products to political events, as with the strange ship-overhanging
hats, ‘à la Boston’, ‘à la Philadelphie’ that appeared during the American Wars of Independence. They were also keen on playing with cultural developments, with hats ‘à la Mongolfière’ (Joseph and Etienne de Montgolfier) and caps ‘à la Suzanne’ (Mozart) and so on. Some historians have questioned the links between fashion and revolutionary events, but Daniel Roche synthesised the discussion as follows. From 1789 to 1791, politics emphasised an aesthetics of simplicity – a phase which began as early as the 1780s with the neoclassical style. The fashion of ‘the natural’ prevailed, with déshabillés or négligés seen in the famous painting of the Duchess of Polignac by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1782, château de Versailles) or Marie-Antoinette’s portrait by the same painter (1783, private collection). This scandalised people so much that it had to be removed from the exhibition salon, but it started a new trend, a point made clear by Mrs Lavoisier’s later portrait (1788, Jacques Louis David, New York, Metropolitan Museum). The court ceremonial was over; the rules of the aristocratic worldliness were no longer prevalent. Waste and luxury, synonymous with insignificance, came to be criticised even in fashion newspapers.

Later on, the notion of equality became imperative: it was a time for using cloth as a weapon. Uniforms were at the heart of conflicts; new colours (blue, white and red), new design and new accessories appeared. Patriotic events homogenised clothing behaviours and colours. Women’s clothes even became masculine, incorporating frock coats or neckties, and accessories became less refined, then were set aside altogether. Colours or stripes demonstrated allegiance with new principles. Clothes had to express patriotic virtues. Cockades marked caps and hats. The real patriot wore accessories that signified their civil allegiance: uniforms (of the military or national guards) became fashion objects and were echoed in civil society. Wherever they were worn, uniforms revealed the political meaning of clothing.

There was a political language of fashion, which helped to mark one’s position for or against the Revolution – the latter being seen in the dress ‘à la reine’ or ‘à la souveraine’ and the camisole ‘à la royale’ worn by counter-Revolutionaries in 1791 and 1792. After 1791, political and social crisis accelerated. Clothing novelties followed political events and strongly evoked symbolic actions: such as red liberty caps and shoes with cord (no longer buckles). Sans culottes clothes expressed the revolutionary people’s profession of faith: a true patriot, a true worker had to wear a liberty cap, full trousers, a short jacket ‘à la Carmagnole’ or ‘à la Républicaine’. The working classes imagined a national egalitarian suit for all people. The aim of this revolution in clothing was to unify the appearances of all people, so as to invent a new man and abolish the hierarchical signs of the past. Popular societies sought to invent and impose a ‘costume national égal’ for all. Nevertheless, to assert one’s egalitarian simplicity was also to confirm one’s elegance, wealth and distinction. Uniforms became a question of fashion. Fashion rules were maintained: rich and costly fabrics, and unceasing renewal. Therefore, new habits, liberty and equality all identified clothes with public commitment. Clothing expressed political aspirations and social transformations.

During the Revolution, the process of general consumption also accelerated; more and more people changed clothes, not only from necessity but also for other
reasons. We have to keep in mind the complexity of the period and also the gap
between political decisions and economic practices. At one and the same time, the
market economy decreased (due to emigration, economic crisis and laws against
luxury and wars) and increased in terms of equality, democratisation, popularisa-
tion of fashion, production for the armies and so on. Newspapers reveal the crea-
tivity of business people in dealing with this unprecedented situation. In a prag-
matic way, traders continued to manage their businesses, as they had previously,
by using advertising; but they changed a number of their practices, including the
provision of credit. They also adopted practices that were, until then, more or
less forbidden to them by corporate rules, such as the sale of second-hand goods.

The preservation of a traditional language of advertising:
fashion, quality and fancy

What stands out in the two newspapers studied is the vitality of the luxury market,
with luxury items connected to clothing and appearance still being emphasised
by many traders. For instance, we see advertisements for: ‘Attractive feminine hats
of the most fashionable form, furnished with feathers and ribbons. For sale […]
at a very good price, 30 liv. a piece, instead of 50 […] at Mr. Fleury’s’.16 Or that:

Mrs Teillard, Author of Fantasy Dresses, has the honour to inform the Ladies
[...], of the new objects which she has available for Autumn and Winter, made
of all sorts of materials of three seasons; also in satin, plain or striped cloth;
striped silk velvet; plain, striped, satin-like, brushed ‘Beijing’ […]; Sicilian pure
silk; Nankin Anglais […]; painted linen, muslin […]. Makes any sorts of caps and
hats, offering anything related to fashion […] She may also provide any sorts
of finery for the Ladies, such as fine linen, laces, Red colour, Gloves, Smells,
Stockings, Shoes, Flowers, Feathers, and so on.17

We find in advertisements the language used in abundance in business almanacs
‘of the most fashionable’, ‘of the latest taste’, ‘in the most popular tastes’, ‘mod-
Quality cloth was praised as before: silk trades, muslins, watered fabric and so on;
cloths from Louviers, Elbeuf, Sedan or with the same attractive exotic origins –
India, China and Turkey. The same key places within Paris are highlighted: rue
Saint-Honoré, the Palais Égalité and its galleries, and rue Saint-Denis, where the
best cloth merchants and traders ‘a la mode’ were gathered in the 1780s.

Nevertheless, the distribution method was changing during this period.
Shopkeepers’ advertising decreased after 1791, while those for warehouses,
deposit warehouses and offices offering goods to be sold multiplied in number.
New political and economic conditions favoured a new distribution method,
which emerged in the 1770s. The sale of ‘biens nationaux’, the liberalisation of
the market because of the abolition of the corporate system resulted in a rapid
growth of auctions (for furniture and decorative pieces, precious objects, valuable
wines and so on). The second-hand market also increased, especially for cloth, and it upset habits by redefining prices and modes of payment.

The new visibility of the second-hand market: the ‘magasins de confiance’

There was a growing diversity in places offering goods for sale; shops and, above all, warehouses and salerooms also appeared. Most of these new retail formats sold cloth: such as ‘Entrepôt de marchandises d’occasion’ (rue des Petits-Pères), ‘salle de vente Egalité’ (Palais-Royal), ‘Entrepôt des marchandises d’occasion à prix fixe’ (rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs), ‘grand Entrepôt de Draperies’ (rue des Poulies) and ‘Magasin de confiance’ (rue de Richelieu).

A la renommée du bon Marché, rue de la Loi […] grand Magasin de Confiance, with fixed prices on all kinds of second-hand goods […]. Elbeuf in various colours […]. Kashmir of great beauty […]. Considerable offer of Basin and Mousselinette for women’s pierrots […]. Italian Taffeta […] Kashmir waistcoats embroidered in the best taste […]. Silk stockings for men and for women […]; all goods are equally offered at very low prices.18

Some warehouses had no name: ‘Cheap goods, to sell retail, rue Saint-André-des-Arts’. A number of warehouses could not be seen from the street because they were located at the bottom of courtyards or at the second floor: ‘Ask for the second-hand Magasin de Draperie, rue Bourg-l’Abbé, n°51, at the bottom of the courtyard, second floor’. No name, no visibility, but advertising by press: a process that opposes the practices used before the Revolution, when the shopkeeper’s name was always known because the fame of the shop depended on his reputation.

The idea of second-hand stores was not new. It emerged in the first third of the seventeenth century, when it went along with sheets of announcements and lists of addresses.19 This mode of distribution was for a long time thwarted by what was called the ‘six corps’, who were the aristocracy of the corporation system, until the creation of the ‘Magasin général’ in 1722. Established by a haberdasher, a jeweller and two bankers, with a privilege of 20 years, this warehouse sale, settled in hotel Jabach, was dedicated to luxury decorative pieces.20 The ‘Magasin général’ was quoted by Almanacs of trade as late as the end of the 1780s. By then, second-hand stores had multiplied with the development of the luxury market: in Le Voyageur à Paris (1789), Thiéry mentioned half a dozen of them. Announcements in the Journal de Paris and the Affiches de Paris confirm their expansion and, on each occasion, the advertisements emphasised their large assortment and low prices.

The Company which manages the Warehouse of second-hand Goods, offering 30 per cent below the factory price […], informs their Fellow countrymen that it has just received several pieces of Draperies […] from 25 to 30 liv. […] and an infinity of other articles […]
A la bonne Foi, […] a Warehouse of second-hand Goods has just opened, 30 per cent below the factory price, offering a very large assortment of Draperies […] in the newest colours […] very attractive assortment of Waistcoats […]

You’ll find, […], in ci-dev. hôtel de la Rochefoucauld, an assortment of second-hand Goods: cloth of Sedan […], printed silk waistcoats […], inventive Buttons for waistcoats, others for Republican uniforms […]; Goods […] will be sold 30 per cent below factory prices […].

Shopkeepers also started to sell second hand goods, offering discounted prices from the 1790s. The draper Versepuy offered ‘Taffetas and any sorts of silk cloth far below the [normal] price’, and a year later advertised: ‘an infinity of articles, that are sold 20 per cent below the factory price’. A tailor offered a reduction when the customer provided the cloth, charging only the making of the piece: ‘Mr Picard is not a wizard […] Because he works a lot, he charges every buyer with the lightest profit […] Cloth that people provide will be used with the greatest economy […].’ At the same time, an aggressive price policy bound to a harsh context of economic crisis resulted in questioning the provision of consumer credit which had for a long time been practised by detail traders.

‘Just price’ and ‘fixed price’ versus credit

In the 1790s, rising prices were bound to the idea of crisis. The concept of a ‘just price’ appeared in the 1780s but in a different way: it introduced the idea of a kind of ideal price. In the 1790s, the advertisements unceasingly emphasised that goods were being sold ‘at the lowest price possible’, ‘very cheap’ or ‘well below the price’. What was a ‘just price’ became much more practically connected with the economic background. Traders wanted the public to know that they had reduced their profit margins (or at least that is what they claimed); they frequently referred to the crisis being ‘of the first order, such an unusual practice because of the present crisis’. In the Journal de Paris, prices were now given inside the announcement and to proclaim ‘fixed prices’ became commonplace. Yet this practice and the associated implication that there was no room for bargaining, was a very recent development.

As a result of the assignats depreciating and of the growing number of auction rooms and second-hand warehouses where ‘only cash’ was often specified, traders were no longer afraid of denying credit. Previously, credit was normal practice but, when inflation occurred, simultaneously accepting credit payments and lowering prices was suicidal. Instead, we see announcements such as that placed in May 1791 by a tailor named Picard: ‘At the most just possible price; no credit accepted’. Were the buyers obeying? Probably not, as the tailor published a ‘Notice’ on the problem of prices in July the following year:

St Picard, Master tailor, who, in the Supplément du Journal de Paris, last October 28th, advertised that he was providing men’s cloth at fixed prices, and
promised that he would not follow the sudden increase of prices which looked like appearing, hoping that it would only be temporary, and that business would resume its former course; everybody knows how much his hope was deceived, and how quickly prices increased since then. [...] He will increase the prices of his goods as little as is possible for him. You will find below his most usual prices. Sr Picard will not try to obtain his clientele's confidence by offering to sell 25 liv. goods which would be offered for 30 liv. at 100 leagues further. Here is what he may ensure, and he will hold these prices; the good knowledge he has of what he may assume let him know all details about it; besides, the large amount of works which he makes allows him to accept the lightest profit with every person [...].

In reality, prices were high because goods were luxuries. Between May 1789 and July 1792 the tailor Picard's prices increased: a woollen suit of Elbeuf increased from 45 to 70 livre, a suit of Louviers, from 63 to 90 livre, a woollen complete dress of Sedan or Louviers, from 102 to 135 livre, a ‘évite d'Elbeuf’, from 42 to 75 livre and so on. The scale of prices charged for a coat in black taffeta by Mrs Teillard, a fashion trader, rose from 24 to 120 livre in 1791 (depending upon the quality), to 33 to 120 livre in 1792, and 50 to 200 livre in 1794. A dress in Italian taffeta cost 30 livre in 1791 and 66 livre in 1794; a dress ‘à la turc’ in lawn, rose from 90 to 120 livre. The cheapest dresses cost between 48 and 78 livre in 1791, 54 and 110 livre in 1792, and 50 and 135 livre in 1794. Whatever the name, ‘royal’ or ‘republican’, prices were going up: a ‘redingote à la républicaine’ increased from 72 livre in 1791 to 110 livre in 1794. Traders adapted to depreciating assignats and to increasing prices.

Marketing adaptability: political correctness in clothing

The ways in which retailers used the keywords of the time when promoting fashion is another proof of their trading adaptability. As discussed earlier, cloth quickly came to be a political sign during the Revolution and, as the ‘architects of freedom’, shopkeepers quickly reacted, seizing new opportunities. Two examples will serve to illustrate two of the more important developments: the emphasis on equality and uniformity, and a new lexicon of clothing. A rubanner's (ribbon maker’s) announcement shows how some shopkeepers adapted to the new political context. The trader understood well what his customers wanted: clothing transparency, equality and recognition, which were signs of unanimity and of adopting the new ideals. The new rules (freedom, equality) fitted both clothes and popular support.

NOTICE TO CITIZEN PATRIOTS. PATRIOTIC EMBLEM. Every Citizen wears the Ribbon, the Medallion or another figure adopted by a District, or which he adopted by himself. Nuances of Ribbons and forms of Medallions are different. This diversity can be a food for discord. We propose a Medallion which will be unambiguous, uniform, easy to recognize as well as to discover. This Medallion
represents Freedom; [...]. This Medallion being used all over the Kingdom, persons living out of Paris who want it, have to pay for their letters.27

But these are only words; when the prices being charged varied from just 36 'sols' up to an impressive 12 livre, any idea of uniformity was clearly impossible. Another trader rushed into a new market: that of uniforms. Sanche, a button manufacturer, advertised in the Journal de Paris on 18 March 1790 that he had 'all sorts of Buttons for uniforms, for National police as well as for normal Troops'. He also sold sabres, uniform swords and grenadiers' caps.

Sometimes the language of advertising reveals much more clearly how adaptation proceeded than did the fine goods themselves. The same goods were renamed with a new vocabulary. Mrs Teillard, a female fashion shopkeeper in Palais-Royal, showed how comfortable she was with the new rules. She placed advertisements in the Journal de Paris in March 1790, March 1791, October 1792, March 1794 and finally September 1794.28 The language she deployed, both in the header and the list of clothes, evolved over time. She modified the beginning of the announcement and her own name, slowly at first: 'Mrs Teillard, Auteur des Robes de fantaisie, has the honour to inform the Ladies that she offers new objects' (March 1790) had turned, by October 1792, into 'Mrs Teillard, Auteur des Robes de fantaisie, has the honour to inform the Ladies who have had the kindness to give her their confidence, of the new goods [on offer]'. In March 1794, the word 'citizen' transformed the header: 'the Citizen Lisfrand, formerly Teillard, Auteur des Robes de fantaisie, has the honour to inform lady Citizens who have had the kindness to give her their confidence, of the new goods'. Finally, in September, this flowery language disappeared: 'the Citizen Lisfrand, formerly Teillard, Auteur des Robes de fantaisie, has the advantage to inform her Fellow countrywomen of all the new goods [...]'.

At the same time, she gave new names to the clothes being offered for sale. Dresses and skirts 'à la souveraine', belts embroidered 'à la reine', 'Robes de fantaisie “à Mme Première”, à Madam Royale', 'à la infanta' and dresses 'à la royale française' had all disappeared in 1792. They were replaced by more appropriate terms, including 'à la carmagnole' and 'à la républicaine'. Thus, we read that: 'The citizen Lisfrand, [...] makes all sorts of elegant Hats and Caps, and Bonnets à la Républicaine (this Cap has a delicious shape), and all the more useful as it may be used with your hair ready or not (from 18 to 120 livre).29 Intriguingly, the last version of her advertisement, placed six months later, is shorter and shorn of all stylistic references: 'The citizen Lisfrand [...] makes any kinds of Hats and Caps, both pleasant and convenient, with your hair ready or not, from 20 livre to the highest price.'30

In a similar way, references to the exotic were replaced by notions of simplicity. Oriental and antique notations had been particularly common: Persian fitted coats, belts 'à la grande Sultane', dresses 'à la Turkish', 'in Thémis', 'Roman type', 'à la Diane', 'au lever de Saphos', 'Greek shirt', hats (caps) 'à la Vestale' and belts 'à l'Eurydice'. These largely disappeared in the face of a new language which lauded simplicity and convenience: 'cheap dresses' ('compose at will, with the same one,
three sorts of clothes, finery, half-fineness and adjusted negligé”), ‘à la modeste’,
‘à la laitière’ (‘this dress is simple, and easy to wear’), ‘à la belle fermière’, ‘à la
paresseuse’ (‘you can put it on effortlessly’). The shopkeeper was attentive to con-
temporary styles and the need to be up to date and also addressed new consumers:
the words used targeted a new public.

Conclusion: the luxury market as revealing revolutionary
ambiguities

In conclusion, we can reconsider three questions. The first concerns the disparity
between normative standards and practices, in other words the social players’ pro-
pensity to play, to a certain extent, with regulations and normative frameworks,
so as to find, however difficult it may be, a space of freedom in which to exist
or even to prosper. This topic is not new in business history: Anne Montenach
worked on the ‘shadow economy’ in Lyon in the seventeenth century; Claire
Zalc studied foreign petty entrepreneurs in the interwar period and Paul Sanders
explored the black market during the occupation of France in World War II.31
What is interesting with a moment such as the French Revolution is that rules
change and, as a result, the boundaries between legal and illegal economies are
redefined and territories, places and circuits reshaped. The hegemony of politics,
which attempted to regulate a totally transparent economy (paper currency, prices,
products, exchanges, territories) became prevalent, yet grey areas remained, even
if they evolved: we still have to closely study the black economy stemming from
these new rules, voted by the Convention in 1793, which are extremely binding.

The second question is to understand how ruptures and continuities, novelties
and traditions, interrelate with one another. In spite of upset and misadventures
of policy and economy, shopkeepers in rue Saint-Honoré and in galleries of maison Égalité, which remained a ‘trade palace’, were still were the main actors of a
metropolitan luxury market. Despite the financial and economical crisis, and the
moral disapproval of luxury in political rhetoric, the market for luxury goods
persisted. Indeed, throughout the years of the Revolution, the luxury goods indus-
try remained enormously important in terms of financial resources, economic
nationalism, aesthetic quality and symbolic power.32

The third question concerns how goods, behaviours and ideas circulated.
Revolutionary storms and periods of war are moments offering few opportuni-
ties for spreading wealth and exposing ornaments. Depreciating assignats, taxing
prices (decrees on the ‘maximum’ of grains and flours on 4 September 1793, on
the general maximum on price and wages on 29 September), requisitioning and
closing frontiers in 1793 (prohibition on British goods, and so on) were impedi-
ments to exchanging, trade being restrained by these political decisions. The dec-
ade was nevertheless a period when capital and goods intensely circulated (Biens nationaux were sold, diverse pieces were offered after emigration or guillotine).
Salerooms full of wealthy traders and buyers were frenetically active. Restrictions
and wealth, regulated markets and unlimited free exchange coexisted. Austerity
can be luxurious: the Regents of the Dutch Republic offer a perfect example of
it. Another viewpoint is to enhance quantity rather than quality – and also to appreciate how much the Revolution was a chance for increased consumption. This growth resulted from a more modest, less sophisticated and natural fashion that was open to social categories which, until then, were little or less concerned by it, even if, as early as in the 1780s, advertisements already let the bourgeois taste emerge.

Notes


Selling High-Status Garments in Revolutionary France


6. '[Mode] [...] On le dit ordinairement des étoffes nouvelles qui plaisant par leur couleur, leur dessin ou leur fabrique, sont d’abord recherchées avec empressemment, mais cédent bientôt à leur tour à d’autres étoffes qui ont l’agrément de la nouveauté...' (Jacques Savary des Bruslons (1741) Dictionnaire universel de commerce... (Paris: veuve Estienne), art. 'Mode').


11. A few dates to be remembered: 10 August 1792, king’s fall, 21 September, The Convention, 20 July, threatened Motherland, Winter 1793, threats of famine, spring 1793, military defeats, Girondins imprisoned and executed, March, revolutionary tribunal created, 6 April, ‘Comité de salut public’ created, May to September, the ‘maximum’, 10 October, the Terror, 9 Thermidor an II (27 July 1794), Robespierre’s fall.


17. ‘Mme Teillard, Auteur des Robes de Fantaisie, a l’honneur de prévenir les Dames […], pour les nouveaux objets qu’elle a de faits pour l’Automne et l’Hiver, en toutes sortes d’étoffes des trois saisons; et en Satins unis, rayés; Velours de soie rayés; Pékin uni, rayé, satiné, velouté […]; Sicilienne toute soie, Nankin Anglois […]; Toiles peintes, Mousseline […]’. *Affiches de Paris*, ‘Supplément’, 11 October 1792, n°1.

18. ‘A la renommée du bon Marché, rue de la Loi […], grand Magasin de Confiance à prix fixe de toutes sortes de Marchandises d’occasion […]. Elbeuf de différentes couleurs […]. Casimir de la première beauté […], partie considérable de Basin et Mousseline pour perruques de femme […]. Taffetas d’Italie […]. Gilet de casimir brodé dans le dernier goût […]. Bas de soie pour homme et pour femme […]; tous les objets en général sont dans la même proposition à très-bas prix.’ *Affiches de Paris*, ‘Supplément’, 4 germinal an II, March 1794.

19. In 1637, Théophraste Renaudot created a *bureau d’adresses*, a sort of agency of ads and announcements, after his *feuille d’adresses*, first published in 1612. It was quickly forbidden.


'À la bonne Foi, […] il vient de s’ouvrir un Entrepôt de Marchandises d’occasion a 30 pour 100 au-dessous du prix de fabrique, consistant en Draperies […] en très-grand assortiment et dans les couleurs les plus nouvelles […] très-joli assortiment de Gilets […]', *Affiches de Paris, Annonces particulières*, 4 July 1793; on 11 July, it even announces 50 per cent rebates. 'On trouvera, […] ci-dev. hôtel de la Rochefoucauld, un assortiment de Marchandises d’occasion, comme DRAP de Sedan […], Gilets de soie imprimés […], Boutons de composition pour gilets, autres idem pour uniforme à la République […]'; les Marchandises […] seront vendues à un tiers au dessous de fabrique […]', *Affiches de Paris, Annonces particulières*, 9 July 1793.

22. *Journal de Paris*, 22 May 1791; 2 July 1792.

23. 'Le Sieur Picard n’est point sorcier […] comme il travaille beaucoup, il se contente du plus léger bénéfice sur chaque personne, […] les étoffes que les personnes voudront fournir elles-mêmes seront employées avec la plus grande économie […]', *Journal de Paris, May* 1791, 'Supplement', n°61.


25. 'Le Sieur Picard, Marchand Tailleur, qui, dans le Supplément du *Journal de Paris* du 28 Octobre dernier, a fait annoncer qu’il fournirait des habillemens d’hommes à prix fixe, avoit promis qu’il ne suivroit pas à beaucoup près l’augmentation subite qui sombloit se manifester, dans l’espoir que ce ne seroit qu’un effet passager, et que les choses reprendroient insensiblement leur ancien cours; il n’est personne qui ne sache combien il a été trompé dans son espoir, & avec quelle rapidité les marchandises ont augmenté depuis ce temps. […] il n’augmentera les ouvrages qu’il fournit que le moins qu’il lui sera possible. On trouvera ci après le tarif de ses prix les plus courants: le Sieur Picard ne cherchera point à captiver la confiance du Public en lui offrant de lui vendre à 25 liv. ce qui en aurait coûté 30 à 100 lieues de distance. Voici ce qu’il promet, et il le tient; la grande connaissance qu’il a de son état l’ayant mis à portée d’en bien connoître tous les détails, joint à la grande quantité d’ouvrages qu’il fait, le facilite à pouvoir se contenter du plus léger bénéfice avec chaque personne […]', *Journal de Paris, ‘Supplément’, July 1792, n°105.*


27. 'AVIS AUX CITOYENS PATRIOTES. EMBLEME PATRIOTIQUE. Chaque Citoyen porte le Ruban, le Médaillon ou autre figure adopté par un District, ou qu’il a adopté lui-même. Les nuances des Rubans et les formes des Médaiions sont différentes. Cette diversité peut être un aliment pour la discordre. On propose un Médaillon qui sera univoque, uniforme, facile à reconnaître comme à appercevoir. Ce Médaillon représente la Liberté; […] Ce Médaiion étant destiné à être porté dans tout le Royaume, les personnes de province qui en désireront, sont priées d’affranchir les lettres […]', Fréval, galeries Palais-Royal n°22, *Journal de Paris*, 19 February 1790. Emphasis added.

28. Jacqueline Hellegouarc’h studied, from a lexicographic viewpoint, this shopkeeper’s catalogues (Spring and Winter) according to her advertisements published in the *Magasin de la mode et du gout*, from March 1790 to September 1794 (Vocabulaire de la mode féminine…, op. cit., pp. 242–300).

29. 'La citoyenne Lisfrand, […], fait exécuter toutes sortes de Bonnets et Chapeaux élégants, et des Bonnets à la République (ce Bonnet est d’une forme délicieuse), et d’autant plus commode qu’il sied à raver, coiffé ou sans l’être (depuis 18 jusqu’à 120 liv.) […]' (*Journal de Paris*, 16 March 1794).
30. ‘La citoyenne Lisfrand, […] fait exécuter toutes sortes de Bonnets et Chapeaux dans des
genres aussi agréables que commodes, pouvant se mettre coiffés et sans l’être, depuis 20
liv. jusqu’au plus haut prix. […]’ (Journal de Paris, 27 September 1794).

à Lyon au XVIIe siècle (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble); C. Zalc (2010)
Melting Shops. Une histoire des commerçants étrangers en France (Paris: Perrin); P. Sanders

au XVIIIe siècle: de la création à l’imaginaire (Bordeaux: Les cahiers du centre François-
de Sèvres pour les Spinola ou comment les étrangers se fournissent à la Manufacture à
la fin du XVIIIe siècle’, Sèvres. Revue de la Société des Amis du musée national de céramique,
15, pp. 59–70.