The Relationship of Women's Dress to the Social, Economic, and Political Conditions in Knoxville, Tennessee Between the Years 1895 to 1910

Carmen Maria Abbott

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Recommended Citation
https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_gradthes/3869

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. For more information, please contact trace@utk.edu.
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Carmen Maria Abbott entitled "The Relationship of Women's Dress to the Social, Economic, and Political Conditions in Knoxville, Tennessee Between the Years 1895 to 1910." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Retail, Hospitality, and Tourism Management.

Anna Jean Treece, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Robbie Blakemore, Nell P. Logan

Accepted for the Council:

Dixie L. Thompson

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)
July 16, 1971

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Carmen Maria Abbott entitled "The Relationship of Women's Dress to the Social, Economic, and Political Conditions in Knoxville, Tennessee Between the Years 1895 to 1910." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Textiles and Clothing.

[Signature]
Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

[Signature]
[Signature]

Accepted for the Council:

[Signature]
Vice Chancellor for Graduate Studies and Research
THE RELATIONSHIP OF WOMEN'S DRESS TO THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE BETWEEN THE YEARS 1895 to 1910

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Carmen Maria Abbott
August 1971
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express deepest appreciation to Dr. Anna Jean Treece, Head of the Department of Textiles and Clothing, for her guidance in directing this study. Sincere appreciation is also expressed to the members of her committee, Dr. Robbie Blakemore, Head of the Department of Related Arts, Crafts, and Interior Design, and Dr. Nell P. Logan, Head of the Department of Home Economics Education, and to Mrs. Margaret Hardison, Instructor in the Department of Textiles and Clothing, for their suggestions and assistance.

Appreciation is expressed to Dr. A. K. Guthe, Professor in the Department of Anthropology, and to Mrs. F. E. McKamey and the residents of Shannondale for their assistance and cooperation.

Sincerest gratitude is expressed to the researcher's parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Howard Abbott, without whose continued support and encouragement this study could not have been completed.
The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between women's dress and the economic, political, and social conditions in Knoxville, Tennessee between the years 1895 to 1910. It was hypothesized that through an investigation of these cultural factors a relationship could be established between dress and social class.

Data were obtained from a variety of sources. Historical background information was drawn primarily from books dealing with state and local history. In securing data relating to women's dress in Knoxville, three types of resources were employed: local newspapers, personal interviews, and costumes from the Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection. Supporting information relating to social stratification, dress and social class, and fashion trends of the period under study was also collected.

A relationship between dress and social class was evidenced. Several differences between attitudes and opinions expressed by middle class respondents and those expressed by upper class respondents were apparent. A considerable difference existed in the interest in fashion expressed by the middle and upper class respondents. A notable difference also existed between the attitudes of the middle class and those of the upper class toward clothing as a status symbol. Reports from respondents indicated a marked difference existed in the means of acquiring clothing between the middle and upper classes. Although specific styles were not investigated, a difference was also revealed in
the characteristic dress of the middle and upper class—that is, the
degree to which silk was used and corsets were worn.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Words</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the Thesis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. SUPPORTING INFORMATION</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Stratification</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress and Class Distinction</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN EAST TENNESSEE--1865-1910</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Women's Dress--1895-1910</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. DRESS IN KNOXVILLE--1895-1910</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section I: Newspaper Data</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section II: Interviews</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section III: Costumes of the Green Collection</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOSSARY</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hour-Glass Silhouette</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. S-Shaped Silhouette</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tubular Silhouette</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Corsets.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fashion Drawing</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Visiting Dress--Front</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Visiting Dress--Side</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Visiting Dress--Bodice Detail</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Afternoon Dress--Front</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Afternoon Dress--Side</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Evening Dress--Front</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Evening Dress--Side--Back</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mrs. Green in Evening Gown--1904</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Jacket--Back</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mrs. Green in Jacket--1907</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Respondent I with Sisters</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Respondent IV</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The America which existed at the onset of the twentieth century reflected a social class system that was uniquely its own. But the social amenities which were characteristic of the more complex local class structures were not typical of all areas. Indeed, a community must first have possessed the special cultural traits necessary for the cultivation of a socially elite. Knoxville, Tennessee was such a place. An abundance of established families, an economy which encouraged the amassing of substantial fortunes, and the cultural aspects of a college town all were instrumental in the development of a socially elite group.

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of the study was to investigate the relationship between dress and economic, political, and social conditions in Knoxville, Tennessee during the years 1895-1910. Special emphasis was given to the social class structure as it was related to dress during the period.

II. JUSTIFICATION

There is at present a scarcity of sources of compiled data concerning various aspects of local history, and in the case of clothing, such sources are virtually non-existent. The rapid dissipation of
factual resources due to the deaths of individuals who recall the period under study and the destruction of historic clothing and photographs make a study of this sort a worthwhile effort. The preservation of social-historical information related to dress should be of concern to students, educators, social-historians, and designers. Furthermore, through the investigation of the Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection, the study will perhaps make available to students with a special interest in historic costume a valuable source of knowledge concerning costume during the period 1895 to 1910.

III. HYPOTHESIS

A relationship can be established between dress and cultural factors, especially social class structure, as they existed in Knoxville, Tennessee during the years 1895-1910.

IV. ASSUMPTIONS

1. Distinct social classes existed in Knoxville during the years under study.

2. Observable differences existed in the dress of various social classes during the period 1895-1910.

3. The costumes composing the Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection are typical of dress worn by the upper class of Knoxville during the period 1895-1910.

4. A review of social conditions in Knoxville during the period will shed light on the way of life of the people.
V. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. Investigation of social, economic, and political conditions in Knoxville were limited to the years 1865-1910, realizing that the conditions in the period 1895-1910 were dependent upon the development which began following the end of the Civil War in 1865.

2. Discussions of dress among the social classes were limited to the years 1895-1910.

3. Data compiled were limited to certain social aspects of clothing behavior and in general excluded any discussion of specific fashion trends.

4. Data compiled in the study were limited to those primary and secondary sources available to the researcher.

VI. PROCEDURE

Three sources of information concerning the social, economic, and political conditions existing in Knoxville during the period 1865-1910 were relied on for data: books and compiled reports dealing directly with Knoxville and Knox County, books dealing with American society in general during the period under study, and personal interviews with individuals who were residents of Knoxville during the period under study. Facts concerning the general fashions of the period were obtained from books dealing with English, French, and American fashion trends and development.

Material concerning dress in Knoxville during the period 1895-1910 was obtained through personal interviews. Interviews with various
individuals revealed that magazines and even newspapers, in some cases, were not accurate sources of information regarding dress in Knoxville since neither was readily available to all, especially the middle class, and because Knoxville, like most communities, did not necessarily adhere closely to the nationally prescribed fashions. Attempts were made to obtain photographs from the period, with little result. Those few which were obtained served primarily as supportive evidence of dress practices reported by the individuals interviewed. An investigation of two of the city's leading newspapers of the period, the Knoxville Journal and Tribune and the Knoxville Sentinel was employed to gain an understanding of the importance placed on fashion by the news media, and the availability of ready-made clothing during the period 1895-1910. The Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection served as a primary indicator of certain traits characteristic of the dress of the upper class.

VII. DEFINITION OF WORDS

**Class.** A group of people who share a given style of life (Hodges, 1964, p. 13).

**Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection.**

A collection of costumes (circa 1900) donated to McClung Museum upon the death of Mrs. Green in 1956. Ellen Marshall McClung Green was the wife of Judge John W. Green whom she married on January 28, 1897, and a member of a very prominent Knoxville family. She was born in 1873, the daughter of Franklin Henry McClung, one of Knoxville's "merchant princes", and the sister of Calvin Morgan McClung, Knoxville merchant and
collector of local historical materials to whom the McElung Historical Collection, now a part of the Lawson McGhee Library, belonged.

Middle Class. In reference to Knoxville, a group of people comprising what is generally referred to as the "working class".

Status. The social standing, position, or prestige of an individual in his group (Lasswell, 1965, p. 44).

Upper Class. In reference to Knoxville, a group of people who either numbered among the elite (wealth, birth, social prestige) or associated freely and intimately with the elite.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Chapter I includes a brief introduction to Knoxville as a city with a social elite, a statement of the problem, justification, hypothesis, assumptions, limitations, the procedure, definitions, and organization of the thesis. Chapter II contains a general discussion of social stratification, and dress and social class. Chapter III contains historical background related to Knoxville's development during the period 1865-1910 and prevailing fashion trends in the United States between 1895 and 1910.

Chapter IV contains information related to the importance of fashion and ready-made clothing as revealed through newspapers during the period 1895-1910, reports in interview form of information related to dress in Knoxville during the period, and descriptions of the costumes from the Green collection. The final chapter includes a summary
of the study and conclusions drawn from the study, followed by a bibliography and glossary.
CHAPTER II

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

I. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Stratification is a characteristic feature of all human society. Human groups are organized into systems of differentiated segments and roles, with each system designed to meet the needs of the particular society. The more complex societies may indeed be considered systems of "regularized inequality" in which individuals are ranked either high or low on the social continuum in terms of the value placed on the role each performs in the societal scheme (Baker, 1957, p. 7). The degree and structure of the differentiation is dependent upon the particular needs of the society. For example, while the agrarian society may exhibit a very limited stratification system with little difference existing between roles and the value placed on them, the complex industrial society, depending for its existence upon the division of labor, consists of a multiplicity of roles and class positions.

Class in America

The trend has been, until recent years, to deny the existence of an upper and lower class in America, preference being to view our society as a virtually classless one. The opinion has commonly been held that any social differentiation or ranking is undesirable, and political groups such as the Marxists have adopted the theory that the social
stratification system can be abolished and that social inequality could be eliminated (Kahl, 1957, p. v).

The purpose here is not to debate the virtues and vices of social stratification but merely to recognize and state that it does exist. In discussing the class system existent in the United States today and the system which operated at the turn of the century, it should be emphasized that a so-called "free" society is not one free from social differentiation. Kahl (1957) points out that political democracy and social democracy are neither synonymous nor inseparable, for while the former deals with society in terms of the governing group, social democracy envelops all group and interpersonal relationships within the society (p. viii).

In describing the American class structure in terms of a "free" society, the difference in the concepts of caste and class should be distinguished. The terms vary in two basic ways: the degree of differentiation or distinctness of the class or strata, and the degree to which members may move from one strata to another, i.e. social mobility. The caste system exhibits rigidity in both respects. Members of one caste are sharply distinguished from members of other castes by way of various cultural traits, such as special dress and religious rites. Mobility between castes is nonexistent or virtually so. Caste members are forced by law to follow in the caste in which they were born, marrying within the caste or performing the duties allotted to the caste (Kahl, 1957, p. 13).
The class system, specifically the "open" class system, represents the opposite of the caste system and most nearly represents the American class structure. Much less distinctness in way of life exists between classes; individuals are in no way bound legally to the class in which they are born, and considerable mobility exists between classes (Kahl, 1957, p. 13). The "open" class society is still, however, a stratified society (Hodges, 1964, p. 13).

But the fact that the average American of today or seventy years ago is or was not bound legally to any specified role does not mean that all individuals rise above their native class nor even that all are inclined to do so. The Horatio Alger tales, brought to life in the success of John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and others (Hodges, 1964, p. 4) were still the exception rather than the rule. In fact, one study of successful businessmen during the first decade of the twentieth century revealed that only 3 percent of these men were recruited from the lower class, with the majority being members of high status families (Miller, 1950, p. 243). The experiences of "Alger" men, however, in effect, reinforced the American ideal and principle that industry would be rewarded and that an individual was not forever bound to an inherited station (Kahl, 1957, p. v).

Perpetuation of Class

As has already been suggested, the social class structure is not a system randomly selected to govern the lives of its members. Rather, it is a product of the society in its particular stage of development,
both economic and cultural (Kahl, 1957, p. vii). Nor is the social class structure maintained purely through a conscious attempt to indoc­trinate members of different classes as to their various and particular roles. Hodges (1964) explains the perpetuation of the stratification system in terms of

... the fact that people live, eat, play, mate, dress, work, and think at contrasting and dissimilar levels. The levels--social classes--are the blended product of shared and analogous occupational orientations, educational backgrounds, economic wherewithal, and life experiences. Persons occupying a given level need not be conscious of their class identity. But because of their approximately uniform backgrounds and experiences, and because they grew up perceiving or 'looking at things' in similar ways, they will share comparable values, attitudes, and life styles (p. 13).

The continuance of a stratification system is thus dependent upon people's natural inclination to associate themselves with individuals who share common values, personal backgrounds, and experience (p. 115). Personal interaction is therefore significantly determined by the social-class position of the individuals involved (p. 117).

**Determination of Class**

The system of social stratification is a complex one in which a myriad of factors play a part. In fact, every activity may be evaluated (Baker, 1957, p. 19). An individual's position is determined first by the rank of his family, since the individual shares with his family characteristics which affect his social relationship with others (Kahl, 1957, p. 12). If the individual's class position is considered in terms of his productive value to society (the traditional basis for "class"), occupation is of primary importance in determining rank. Factors such
as education, lineage, power, achievement, manners, appearance, and possessions serve a dual purpose in both determining and reflecting one's position along the social class continuum (Hodges, 1964, p. 130).

Like other elements of society, the social class structure is not static and generally reflects the operant conditions in the society at a particular time. Change occurs both in terms of the relative differences between social classes and in the characteristic arrangement of types along the continuum. The development of the industrial society was probably of greatest significance in recasting the social system of previous periods into the society of the twentieth century. The change resulted in a shift of power from the former elites to the new middle-class (Hodges, 1964, p. 32). Marked improvement in the conditions of the lower and middle classes also came in the post-World War II period (p. 36).

Not only do social classes shift, but standards for judgment of social class positions also change. According to Hodges (1964):

Social position is no longer so intimately dependent upon heredity, nor is high or low status inevitably a corollary of high or low power and income. Marketable talent and occupational skill are more and more the basic determinants of class placement. More than ever before, one's full-time occupation, and the skill with which he performs that role, determine a man's place in the socio-economic spectrum (p. 37).

II. DRESS AND CLASS DISTINCTION

Placement of an individual along the social class continuum involves an interplay of many factors. Some have been mentioned briefly. This network of activities and possessions which serve both to reflect
and/or determine class position is known as "style of life" and refers to the individual's consumption patterns (Roach and Eicher, 1965, p. 342). Clothing has through the years served as a valuable element in the "style of life" in indicating social status. According to various studies reported in Ryan (1966), clothing reflects social stratification and symbolizes the status of the wearer (p. 17).

The classic explanation of clothing as a status symbol is attributed to Thorstein Veblen, a late nineteenth and early twentieth century writer who formulated the theory of "conspicuous consumption." Veblen's theory is particularly relevant to this study because the period with which we are concerned (1895-1910) is approximately the period which Veblen was describing. His theory deals with the use of wasteful consumption of goods as a means of reflecting or giving the impression of high social standing, the principle being that the higher the individual's social class level the more accessible scarce consumption goods are to him (Hodges, 1964, p. 80). Considerable support has been given to the general premise of Veblen's theory.

Veblen gave particular attention to the role of clothing as a symbol of class and as an example of conspicuous consumption, not because conspicuous consumption is by any means limited to dress but because "our apparel is always in evidence and affords an indication of our pecuniary standing to all observers at the first glance" (Veblen, 1934, p. 167). Veblen also suggested that conspicuous display was more universal in matters of dress than in other lines of consumption. He contended that a considerable portion of clothing expenditure was spent
above and beyond that required merely for protection and in order to meet public standards of respectability, and that people would frequently sacrifice necessities in order to enjoy an amount of wasteful consumption (p. 169).

Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption in relation to clothing embraced three concepts:

1. Conspicuous consumption of apparel goods gives the individual a degree of social acceptability by indicating that the individual can consume "freely and uneconomically."

2. Clothing serves to give social prestige by indicating that the individual is not engaged in any form of productive labor (Veblen, 1934, p. 170).

3. Fashion change results in a form of wasteful consumption by forcing garments to be not only expensive and inconvenient but up-to-date (p. 173).

The first of these concepts has already been discussed. In regard to the second concept, Veblen contends that at least part of the attraction for neat, clean attire is that it suggests leisure. He further suggests that elegance is seen mainly in terms of the degree to which leisure is indicated. This factor is particularly important in women's dress. Turn-of-the-century fashions illustrate this in the corset, the excessively long skirts, and the drapery of the costumes, each characteristic of dress during that period, and each rendering any form of labor virtually impossible (Veblen, 1934, p. 171). Corsets were in fact limited almost entirely to the upper class except for special
occasions, when women of the poorer classes frequently emulated the upper class (p. 184). The third concept further suggests society's concern, not with the economic value but with the social acceptability of an item, by encouraging individuals to discard articles of attire for the sake of fashion without regard to the item's serviceability (p. 173).

The validity of Veblen's theory as it applies to post-World War I dress has been questioned in recent years by authorities who contend that, due to the mass production and the subsequent ready availability of clothing items to all, clothing and many other items have lost their value as symbols of status. Certainly, many symbols such as the man's silk hat or the farmer's bulbous-toed shoes which immediately designated an individual as a member of a given class are no longer prevalent (Allen, 1952, p. 192).

Hodges (1964) discusses this "massification process" in Social Stratification: Class in America. He contends that the "blurring" of class differences in the twentieth century has resulted in our viewing fellow Americans as alike rather than different. The mass production and mass marketing of items which once served as obvious symbols of status, such as clothes, homes, furniture and cars, and which were available only to those of high social status, have increasingly become "all-American properties." Furthermore, the development of all-important media of mass communication such as television, motion pictures, magazines and a vast network of advertising has increased the awareness of and desire for these products, while the rising standard of living and the greater availability of currency have placed these
products within the reach of all but the poorest class (p. 6). In fact, due to the availability of goods even a number of the lower class can play the part of the upper class member (p. 37).

Although the lines between classes have become dimmer since the formulation of Veblen's theory of "conspicuous consumption" and though "massification" in society is indeed a fact in the twentieth century, evidence indicates that clothing still plays an important role in the status machine. Packard (1959), in The Status Seekers, states that "the clothing we buy says a good deal about our status" (p. 128). He contends that not only does our status or desire for status determine what we pay for clothes, but that it also influences to a considerable degree our clothing tastes. However, clothing among members of the upper-class who are secure in their status does not generally reflect the fashion consciousness reflected in the clothing of classes striving to reach the top (p. 133). Horn (1968) states in relation to this that the greater the upward mobility evident in a society, the greater the emphasis on clothing as a means of effecting the transition to the upper classes (p. 173).

The difference in the role clothing played in the social class structure in the days prior to mass production and mass marketing and the role it plays in modern society may lie in the fact that in the earlier period clothing which could be considered of a conspicuously consuming nature served primarily as evidence of already attained wealth and position. Today, clothing is less an evidence of socially attained position and more of an instrument of upward mobility, actually aiding
the wearer in moving up the social class or status continuum. In this respect we may regard clothing as a diminishingly important symbol of position, while it has acquired a new and greater significance as a means of attaining position and status.
CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN EAST TENNESSEE--1865-1910

The War Between the States left its mark on Knoxville, Tennessee. The war's beginning found the entire state divided in sentiment, with East Tennessee as the seat of Union loyalties (Hamer, 1933, p. 778). The war's end found all Tennessee suffering. Knoxville, in particular, suffered, due at least in part to her Union loyalties coupled with her membership in a Confederate state. But, despite the pitiful state in which the war left her, Knoxville, indeed all Tennessee, escaped many of the difficulties of the Reconstruction Era. The reasons are perhaps not clearly discernible, but at least two factors are certain. First, upon the fall of the Confederate state government at Nashville in 1862, President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson as military governor for the state—a post which he filled until 1865 when he became Vice-president (Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, 1960, p. 77). Johnson's continued loyalty to his home state and his determination that Tennessee would return to the Union on favorable terms accomplished the seemingly impossible task (Creekmore, 1958, p. 124). Second, campaigns in the North proved successful in raising liberal donations for the Union sympathizers in East Tennessee (Rothrock, 1946, p. 144).

The year 1865 brought the return of former citizens—soldiers of both the Blue and the Grey as well as Unionist refugees—to Knoxville (Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, 1960, p. 73) and those who chose to
remain began their return to normal living. Business revived and a new effort arose to promote in-migration to Knox County. All elements of the population were interested in promoting the area, and as newspapers carried praises of East Tennessee, inquiries poured in from northern cities (Rothrock, 1946, p. 198). Knoxville grew rapidly in the early postwar years, extending first to include East Knoxville, then North, and finally West Knoxville (p. 146). Fortunes began to emerge from the ruins of war, and Knoxville embarked upon a new era of prosperity and growth.

I. ECONOMIC

It would seem that the postwar years for Knoxville were indeed a period of reconstruction—not political, however, which was true of the South in general, but economic (Rothrock, 1946, p. 144). Knoxville's loss in the destruction of property was great, but the avenues for progress that had been opened prior to the outbreak of the Civil War again revealed themselves. Knoxville's position in the industrial and commercial affairs of the state in the prewar years was a limited one (p. 84). The completion, however, of the first railroads into Knoxville in 1855 and the linking, eventually, of the city with points throughout the North and South opened the way for growth and signaled the onset of a new economic role for the city (p. 109).

The city's growth in the next thirty-five years can perhaps be attributed to the development, not so much of industry, but of the jobbing trade, i.e. the wholesale house. It was this type of business,
more than any other, that brought Knoxville through the postwar years of reconstruction and business reorganization (Creekmore, 1958, p. 131). In fact, during the years between the close of the war and the onset of the twentieth century, Knoxville held a position as third or fourth largest wholesale city in the South, exceeded only by New Orleans, Atlanta, and Nashville. In 1867 it was reported that Cowan, McClung and Company, a leading Knoxville wholesale establishment, was the largest taxpayer in the state, doing an annual business of $2,000,000. In 1896 it was estimated that the wholesale business in Knoxville was close to $50,000,000 a year (Rothrock, 1946, p. 222). Wholesale firms in 1895 reportedly numbered about one hundred with eighty of those exclusively wholesale establishments (Knoxville, Tennessee, 189 , p. 78). During the early years of the twentieth century, however, the wholesale business began its decline, to be replaced by the factory (Rothrock, 1946, p. 221).

The wholesale business in Knoxville was the source of many family fortunes. "The 'palatial dwellings' which graced Knoxville in the postwar years were primarily the homes of these 'merchant princes'" (Rothrock, 1946, p. 222) whose influence dominated not only the business realm but the social and civic sphere as well.

While the wholesale business was making its greatest strides, manufacturing industries were making less dramatic but substantial progress. Manufacturing was not new to Knoxville since many firms which grew after the war had had their beginnings in the prewar years. The most important manufacturing plant in Knoxville during the early
postwar years was the Knoxville Iron Company, first organized in 1864. The company retained its importance for many years and aroused hopes that Knoxville might become the Pittsburgh of the South, an honor allotted instead to Birmingham. In 1905 their employees numbered 850 (Rothrock, 1946, p. 224). Marble also proved important in the postwar period. The first quarry was opened in 1852 with a larger one starting operation in 1869. By 1882 eleven quarries were reportedly in operation. And, as the largest urban area in East Tennessee, Knoxville was closely associated with the coal industry. In 1892, fifteen coal mining companies had offices in the city (p. 223).

The greatest strides during the decade 1880-1889 were, however, in the textile and clothing industries, which have remained important to the present day. Brookside, the first large cotton mill, was opened in 1886. The Knoxville Mills Company, a woolen manufacturer, began operation in 1884. During the early years of the twentieth century, the textile mills replaced other industries in importance in Knoxville's economic scheme with Brookside boasting 1,200 workers in 1905 and Knoxville Mills Company with 900 (Rothrock, 1946, p. 224).

Great emphasis on manufacturing was not really evident until the turn of the century. According to Hamer (1933):

In the early years of the present century the beginning of a change might be observed. Knoxville was not content to remain simply the charming, residential, college community. A chamber of commerce had been formed, and it was telling the world that here was a city of advantages to the industrialist, particularly emphasizing its possibilities in manufacture because of a reservoir of low-waged labor, cheap coal, numerous natural and agricultural resources, transportation. The
process of making Knoxville into a city of industries was of necessity slow, and it was not until a decade had passed before any outstanding showing could be made in manufacture (p. 779).

According to Creekmore (1958), "The city was prosperous in an era [1900] that combined manufacturing and wholesale payrolls to provide a comfortable economy" (p. 154).

Business activity was good throughout the period. Population growth during the period was phenomenal. The population of Knox County more than tripled between 1860 and 1900, increasing from 22,813 to 74,302. The population of the state during the same period increased only 82 percent. This trend toward population growth was accompanied by a greater concentration of the population within the city's corporate limits (Rothrock, 1946, p. 221).

According to Hamer (1933), "For a hundred years and more, Knoxville quietly matured as a city of homes, culture and wealth. It was credited with having a larger proportion of fine residences than any other city in the state" (p. 779). Rothrock (1946) quotes the Daily Press and Herald in a quote from the Richmond Whig, "No city of the South except Atlanta has improved more rapidly since the war" (p. 220).

II. POLITICAL

The war years and the years immediately preceding the War Between the States witnessed a widening gulf between citizens of Tennessee, as pro-Confederate and anti-Union sentiment swept across the state. Only in East Tennessee did pro-Unionists remain strong, and when war began,
some thirty-five thousand East Tennesseans joined the ranks of the Union army (Hamer, 1933, p. 557). It has been said that everyone in East Tennessee able to carry a gun fought with either the Blue or the Gray (Knoxville, Tennessee, 189, p. 3). Throughout the war East Tennessee remained a "thorn in the flesh of the Harris administration at Nashville and the Davis administration at Richmond" (Hamer, 1933, p. 557).

Many have questioned the reasons behind East Tennessee's loyalty to the Union. The situation was definitely a complex one, but several aspects seem apparent. The area's isolation was certainly a major factor, and as the area was cut off from the outside world, East Tennesseans developed a sense of separateness from the rest of the state. Climate was also a fundamental factor. The plantation system did not flourish in the mild climate of the mountains and valley and, as a result, the area developed a social and economic structure quite unique from the South in general. East Tennesseans, in fact, "had no liking for either the great slave-owner or the slave" (Hamer, 1933, p. 558). Throughout the war and in the period immediately thereafter, Knoxville was torn with dissension. The division was apparent in the civic and political life of the city, with prominent men on both sides of the struggle (Creekmore, 1958, p. 96).

The war's end and Tennessee's readmission to the Union witnessed new problems in the state, and although East Tennessee was less dramatically affected, repercussions were felt. As the Union and Confederate soldiers returned home in 1865, tempers flared and Confederate
sympathizers, since they were in the minority, were subjected to considerable harrassment (Rothrock, 1946, p. 145). Unionists were apparently of the opinion that the Confederates were solely responsible for their suffering and many, both soldiers and refugees, returned to East Tennessee determined to "wreak vengeance" on the enemy (Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, 1960, p. 73). Folmsbee (1960) reports that

Confederate soldiers returning to their East Tennessee homes in 1864 and 1865 found themselves unwelcome.... By the end of 1865 a wave of murders, whippings, and threats had driven a substantial portion of the Confederates into more friendly surroundings (p. 90).

Among those who left East Tennessee and Knoxville in particular were several prominent men who had supported the Confederate cause (Rothrock, 1946, p. 145).

East Tennessee was fortunate, however, in escaping much of the upheaval which characterized Middle and West Tennessee during the period. Lawlessness was rampant throughout the remainder of the state, and organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan served to further feelings of the bitterness and discontent. Conditions were so appalling that action had to be taken resulting in two-thirds of the state's counties being placed under martial law (Creekmore, 1958, p. 126).

Probably no individual proved more influential in the years immediately preceding, during, and following the war that an East Tennessean, William Gannaway Brownlow, known to all as the "Fighting Parson". Like Andrew Johnson his undaunted support of the Union and his violent opposition to the secession of the southern states, ironically coupled with his firm belief in slavery, brought him renown
throughout both the South and the North. Elected and reelected Governor of Tennessee in 1865 and 1867, and elected to the United States Senate in 1869, "Parson" Brownlow was a man of apparently meager beginnings and had very little formal education. Orphaned at the age of eleven and apprenticed to a carpenter at eighteen, Brownlow spent many of his early years as a traveling minister (Rothrock, 1946, p. 386). Although information regarding his wealth is not available, it might easily be said that his political influence came as a result of a fearless courage rather than from any inherited station.

In discussing the political leaders in Knoxville at the turn of the century, one Knoxville resident reported that wealth was not prerequisite to political influence. And while good social standing was generally necessary, "they [political leaders] could be honest whatever class they were in" (Personal interview, name withheld, April 9, 1971).

III. SOCIAL

The period 1895 to 1910 represents a rather unique era in American history. Economic changes were making themselves known, yet the full force of industrialization and mass production were still several years removed. A trend toward a population shift to urban areas was beginning to appear, but the nation had not yet lost hold of its rural way of life (Allen, 1952, p. 51). Fragments of the technical age to come, such as the telephone and the automobile, had entered the American scene, but these remained more curiosities than every day
conveniences (p. 8). In other words, America was involved in a transition between the rather uncomplicated past and the appallingly complex world of the twentieth century.

Perhaps no other aspect of life during this period inspires as much interest and oftentimes amusement as the social structure and attitudes of the time. It must have been a rather pleasant time in which to live. Allen (1952), in describing the mood at the turn of the century, expresses it as follows:

No wonder that the majority of Americans were less likely than their descendents to be dogged by that frightening sense of insecurity which comes from being jostled by forces--economic, political, international--beyond one's personal kin...: A man's success or failure seemed more likely than in later years to depend upon forces and events within his own range of vision... The world at which he looked over the dashboard of the family carriage might not be friendly, but at least most of it looked understandable (p. 8).

Life at the turn of the century might appear to us to be filled with superficialities. Concerns appeared to be, among some groups, of a rather insignificant nature compared to today's standards, and attitudes might seem to reveal a rather shallow quality. Literature possessed a certain weakness and even

The best journals and the best people concerned themselves very little with the fortunes of the average man, and very much with the fortunes of ladies and gentlemen, with the pomp and circumstance of society, and with the furthering of a polite and very proper culture for the elect (Allen, 1952, p. 5).

Society (with a capital S) in those days bore more immediate and definite connotations than today. There were in most communities
certain families who represented to a greater or lesser degree the elite, and mere association with them placed their friends among the elect few. Individuals were more readily placed in a particular group on the basis of often rather obscure traits. The blending of the traits the particular individual possessed determined to a greater degree than today the role he should play and the status given him. According to Allen (1952)

What was striking about the social pattern of 1900, as we look back upon it today, was that in most communities it was much clearer and simpler, the stratifications more generally recognized; and especially that they were generally taken much more seriously than they are today (p. 39).

Canby (1934) in The Age of Confidence describes society in a small Delaware town at the turn of the century as follows:

We stuck by our class, which, in its small-town exclusiveness, put up stiffer barriers than the societies of New York or Philadelphia, which we supposed to be just like our own, except more promiscuous and more extravagant (p. 19). . . . It was a culture with mores, it was a life in which one quickly knew one's place (p. 31).

In comparing American life of today with that characteristic in 1900, no contrast would likely be as great as the distance between social class, the rich and the poor—"in income, the way of living, and status in the community. At the turn of the century the gulf between wealth and poverty was immense" (Allen, 1952, p. 27). Many individuals who were hardly upper class could afford some of the symbols of prestige and leisure such as household help and impressive homes. But it must be remembered that these luxuries were made possible by the meager salaries of those who offered their services. The average annual income of the
American worker was, in fact, somewhere between four and five hundred dollars (p. 27). A certain bluntness in the economic sphere was also characteristic of the period. One "used the word 'poorest' without blushing or apology. Nowadays the poor are the 'underprivileged', and the 'dole', or the old-fashioned poor relief, is simply 'relief'" (Cohn, 1940, p. 23).

One of the great social changes of the period was in relation to the role of women. The ideal young woman was veiled in "innocence and propriety", and the young men of the period generally took it upon themselves to protect these tender creatures. The working woman was, however, a fact, and under the circumstances, the image of the sheltered lady was hard to maintain. Female members of the socially elite who were also blessed financially would, in general, hardly have considered taking a job. If, however, a "well-bred" young lady were forced by circumstances to work for a living, certain acceptable jobs were available. Teaching was perhaps the job resorted to most often by young ladies who were forced to work but who also were expected to retain a measure of gentility. "By common consent the best--and safest--thing for a girl to do was to sit at home and help her mother about the house and wait for the 'right man'" (Allen, 1952, p. 13).

**Education**

In looking at the educational system in Knoxville between the years 1865 and 1910, one must remember that "education for all", particularly at upper levels is a rather uniquely twentieth century ideal.
In the last half-century, higher education has generally become available to all but a few; but in 1900, "the bachelor's degree was far from the birthright it seems today" (Hodges, 1964, p. 140). At that time only one in sixty graduated from college, compared with one in eight in the past decade. In fact, a larger proportion of the population obtains bachelor degrees today than received high-school diplomas at the turn of the century (p. 141).

Education in Knoxville suffered during the Civil War, but with the withdrawal of troops, school buildings were repaired and classes resumed. The years following the war experienced new interest in education in Knoxville and throughout the country (Rothrock, 1946, p. 147). A milestone in the development of the educational system in Knox County was reached in 1867 with the passage of the Revised School Law. The act provided for the election of state and county superintendents as well as for school houses for both white and colored children. In effect, free public education was available to all, with the schools supported through state and local funds (p. 258).

There were those who opposed the new law, oftentimes on the basis that "education should be limited to those children whose parents could afford to buy such luxuries" (Rothrock, 1946, p. 267). Opposition centered about four major points: (1) education of Negroes; (2) public support of common schools; (3) public support of any but the most elementary schools; and (4) the extension of education to include girls and women (p. 259).
The last point, the education of women, was a matter of considerable controversy and general concern throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Knoxville, however, showed considerable progressiveness in this area. For example, girls were first admitted to Blount College in 1804, thus making it one of the first coeducational institutions in the United States. And though the college discontinued the practice of admitting women shortly thereafter, their education was not neglected for the Knoxville Female Academy was opened in 1827 (Creekmore, 1958, p. 188). The school was closed during the Civil War, reopened after the war under the name of the East Tennessee Female Institute, closed again in 1868 and reopened in 1881. In 1890 the academy boasted some eighty girls in attendance in kindergarten, primary, preparatory, collegiate and modern language departments (Rothrock, 1946, p. 258).

Higher education seemed to be an area in which women were less readily accepted.

In general, in the public mind higher education was properly the realm of sons rather than daughters. While music, art, science, and literature were commendable pursuits for girls, vocational interests or possibilities found little emphasis and higher education was not to supersede the beautiful qualities of her nature. Society ostracized the professional woman; it tolerated teaching as a woman's occupation; though in some circles, only idleness was considered honorable (Rothrock, 1946, p. 270). Despite public sentiment during previous decades, the doors of the University of Tennessee were reopened to women in 1893 (Creekmore, 1958, p. 174).
Concern for the high education of women resulted in the establishment in 1885 of the Ossoli Circle. "Women were delighted with the idea of themselves as intelligent, well-informed citizens and rushed to ally themselves with such a group." From thirteen women in 1885 the membership grew to seventy-five by 1893 (Creekmore, 1958, p. 197).

Interest in education resulted also in the development of the public library in Knoxville. A reading room was opened in 1873 (Rothrock, 1946, p. 240) and in 1879, plans were initiated for expanding the library and making its services available to all (Creekmore, 1958, p. 145).

Despite what might be considered serious inadequacies today, public education progressed steadily in the postwar years (Rothrock, 1946, p. 263). The Knoxville City Schools were considered "'the pride of the country and . . . moving forward each year'" (Rothrock, 1946, p. 265). A Chamber of Commerce report stated that

The public schools of Knoxville are the best in the South, and have for a good many years been the pride of the city. They are conducted upon the most improved and approved plans, and are patronized by the whole population, rich and poor alike. (Chamber of Commerce, [1900?], p. 18).

Social Institutions

The close of the Civil War ushered in a new era for the development of social institutions. The population was growing rapidly, and with the expanding community, civic consciousness became more acute and far reaching (A Brief History of Knoxville, 1953, p. 11). Organizations were formed which were aimed at meeting the needs of a wide variety of people.
The Knoxville Benevolent Association which was established in 1873 had as its aim to aid the poor and to eliminate street begging (Rothrock, 1946, p. 301). The Association was responsible for several institutions aimed at relieving public need. The Girls Industrial Home—its purpose being to provide food, shelter, and clothing for homeless girls—was founded by the Knoxville Benevolent Association in 1874, and was supported through both private and church donations (Rothrock, 1946, p. 302). A second organization of this type which presumably replaced the Knoxville Benevolent Association was the Associated Charities of Knoxville, founded in 1888. The new organization helped meet the needs of the poor by working in cooperation with city officials (p. 303).

Provisions for the care of the aged were made in 1893 with the opening of the Mount Rest Home. Support came from church donations and county funds and provided for the care of needy women of good character over sixty years of age (Rothrock, 1946, p. 304). The Knox County Reformatory became the Knox County Industrial School in 1897. The institution provided for the care of children whose home conditions were unfavorable rather than for children sent there for disciplinary reasons (p. 305). The county also operated a poor farm on which occupants could work to support themselves (p. 159).

A Chamber of Commerce report in the 1890's stated that Knox County had several institutions to meet the needs of the community. The list included the State School for the Deaf and Dumb, the East Tennessee Asylum for the Insane—a public hospital for the treatment of the poor
or homeless--two orphanages and a Girls' Industrial Home (Chamber of Commerce, [1900?], p. 22).

Allen (1952) suggests that the trend toward social awareness and concern increased at the turn of the century. "People", he says "were showing a disposition to look about them with fresh eyes, to investigate what was going on, and to do something about it. Thus began the revolt of the American conscience" (p. 99).

The following section, while not dealing directly with dress in East Tennessee but rather with general fashion trends in the United States during the period 1895 to 1910, gives background information for Chapter IV--Dress in Knoxville. Its purpose is to familiarize the reader with the fashion scene during the years under study.

IV. AMERICAN WOMEN'S DRESS--1895-1910

Turn-of-the-century fashions can rightly be regarded as a mirror of their time. Certainly in few other periods did feminine fashion so aptly reflect the social upheaval taking place, particularly in regard to the role and status of women. This change made itself apparent in the characteristics of feminine dress and in the evolution of entirely new forms of attire, designed solely to meet the demands of her new role (Price, 1913, p. 159).

Fashions of the period "suggest a conflict between the desire for physical freedom--such as the 'New Woman' expressed in an extreme form--and an unwillingness to relinquish the advantages obtainable from 'clinging femininity'" (Cunnington and Cunnington, 1959, p. 538). The
conflict represented a disagreement between the English and French exponents of fashion, both of which exerted great influence on American fashion—the English favoring the new freedom and practicality in dress while the French clung to the fashion ideas of the past. The problem was easily reconciled since the garments of the period were almost always separated at the waist, forming a separate bodice and skirt. The result was that the English love for simplicity made itself known in the skirt while the French love for ornament unveiled itself in the lavishness of the bodice (p. 538).

Changes throughout the period were less evident in specific styles of dress than in silhouette. Many types and articles of apparel remained fashionable throughout the period and were simply adapted to meet the change in line. The tailor-made, both expensive and elegant, remained perhaps the most significant form of apparel during the fifteen year period from 1895 to 1910, revealing a growing taste for simplicity. An increasing interest in sports brought about the fashion of the shirt waist, another rather simple and casual garment. At first worn primarily for sports activities, the shirt waist rapidly developed as a popular and practical form of daily attire. The casual shirt waist closely resembled the man's shirt and frequently featured a yoked back, standing linen collar, and a bow tie. Fancy waists of silk and other sheer fabrics, often trimmed with lace and insertions, were soon adopted for dressy occasions, and both the casual and the fancy shirt waist retained favor throughout the period (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 216).
Both the skirt and the sleeve contributed to the hourglass silhouette characteristic between 1895 and 1900. The skirt attained voluminous proportions, was commonly either circular or gored, and generally fell in large flute-like folds (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 216). A "dust ruffle" was frequently attached to the underside of the skirt (Wilcox, 1963, p. 146). The sleeve too was exaggerated, particularly during 1895 and 1896, when the leg-of-mutton and balloon sleeves reached their peak in size (Yarwood, 1967, p. 239). By 1897 the sleeve had been reduced to fit snugly to the wrist with a large puff at the sleeve cap (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 217). The bodice commonly featured a very high collar, often edged with ruching or lace (Wilcox, 1963, p. 146).

By 1900 a new trend was underway. While the skirt remained quite full, it lost its stiffness and fell clinging about the hips and to the knees where it flared over flounced petticoats, giving a bell shape effect (Wilcox, 1963, p. 157). The yoked skirt, composed of two parts—an upper yoke and a gored flounce which joined at the knees—was a popular style during the period. Also important was the walking skirt. This shoe-top length skirt was generally tailored in effect and was often of serge or tweed (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 223). By 1904 skirts had developed an even softer, more flowing line, fitting more loosely about the hips and spreading about the feet. The bodice was generally semi-fitted and commonly featured tight-fitting sleeves and broad, sloping shoulders. Soft, sheer fabrics became particularly popular for afternoon dresses (p. 221).
The year 1908 brought implications of another rather significant trend. The Empire gown began to gain importance as did the tunic which created a visual effect somewhat similar to the Empire gown (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 226). By 1910 the trend toward a straighter line had made itself apparent in the skirt which had shrunk to amazingly small proportions. The "hobble skirt," so-named because it prevented the wearer from taking a step of "more than two or three inches" (Laver, [n.d.], p. 224), was frequently slashed, sometimes as high as knee level to allow walking, and was then often filled in with a narrow panel. The narrow, straight-hanging skirt was accompanied by a high waist, and narrow shoulders and sleeves (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 227).

Silk, velveteen, satin, taffeta, linen, crepon, cashmere, and gingham were widely used fabrics from 1895 to 1900. Serge and tweeds were particularly popular for winter wear. Lace was also widely used. Soft colors were prevalent during the nineties with navy, black, white, and brown often used in suits (Yarwood, 1967, p. 243). Lace was especially popular between 1900 and 1910. Silk, velvet, velveteen, organdie, gauze, linen, muslin, gingham, serge, cashmere, and satin were also fashionable. Again, colors were generally quiet and tasteful, with greys, browns, navy, black and white as well as some brighter colors used for decoration (p. 225).

The Pompadour was without doubt the hair style of the day. The hair was drawn back from the face, combed over cushions or "rats" and secured with pins and combs (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 218). Hats which were fashionable during the period were: a small toque, often worn with
the tailored garment and with the shirt-waist suit; a broad brimmed sailor hat worn for summer; or a Gainsborough—a large hat which sat tilted on the head and was worn with the long clinging gowns of the period (p. 226).

The period witnessed three silhouettes or figures: the hourglass, the S-shaped, and the tubular. The hour-glass (see Figure 1) with its high, large bust and wasp-waist was achieved through the use of the corset. The wasp-waist was an essential trait as were the exaggerated sleeves. The form did not take shape until 1892-1894 when the bustle had totally disappeared and the hip-fitting skirts became the vogue. The great size of the leg-of-mutton and balloon sleeves in 1895 and 1896 signified, along with the increased tightness of the skirt about the hips, the complete development of the hour-glass figure (Yarwood, 1967, p. 239).

The collapse of the sleeve in 1897 signaled the change which came in the form of the S-shaped look (see Figure 2). Admiration focused on the mature woman—tall, small-waisted, and heavily bosomed. No significant change occurred in this basic silhouette and stance until 1908 when the abandonment of previous extremes such as the large bust began to appear and a trend toward a straighter line and tubular silhouette (see Figure 3) became discernible. By 1910 the transformation was more or less complete (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 228).

An essential part of the costume throughout the period was the corset, for the corset was of vital importance in creating the silhouette characteristic of the period. The corset of the 1890's showed a
Figure 1. Hour-glass silhouette.

Figure 2. S-shaped silhouette.

Figure 3. Tubular silhouette.

considerable degree of tight-lacing (see Figure 4). It was, in fact, indispensable in creating the waist with a maximum of fifteen to eighteen inches characteristic during this decade (Yarwood, 1967, p. 243). According to Cunnington (1951), "It was a girl's ambition to have, at marriage, a waist measurement not exceeding the number of years of her age—and to marry before she was twenty-one" (p. 197).

The introduction of a new corset (see Figure 4B) and a new shape came in 1901. The straight-fronted corset or "health" corset, so-named because it supposedly prevented any downward pressure on the abdomen (Laver, [n.d.], p. 213), thereby saving women from the maladies created by older forms, succeeded only in creating a more tortured stance. Saint-Laurent (1966) comments

To achieve the S-shape women had to endure another cruel corset: In front it had long metal stays that did not just flatten the stomach, but crushed it. The bottom of the corset cut into the groin, so that the wearer had to pull in the small of the back to be comfortable. . . . In this corset women in 1900 had a large behind, crushed their stomachs almost vertically, and threw their bust out as far as it would go. . . . From their appearance it seemed that they had no spinal column or abdomen, only an enormous behind (p. 141).

By 1905 the corset was shorter above and longer below the waist, with some corsets reaching halfway to the knees (Cunnington and Cunnington, 1951, p. 212). The tubular silhouette which became evident in 1908 was also dependent on the straight-fronted corset. The corset continued to lengthen below the hips and shorten above until they were so deep that sitting would seem impossible (p. 212). The corset featured "a slightly curved but closely confined hip" and created the long lines characteristic of the tubular silhouette of the period (p. 227).
Figure 4. Corsets.

(a) *Journal and Tribune*, April 5, 1896; (b) *Journal and Tribune*, March 9, 1902.
Cohn (1940) illustrates the absurdities of turn-of-the-century fashion with the following quote:

By 1889, waists were slimmer than ever before, and the possession of an 'illusion' waist, as it was called in the United States, was to be desired even at the risk of 'whooping cough, obliquity of vision, polypus, apoplexy, stoppage of the nose, pains in the eyes and earache, palpitations, flushing and red noses' (p. 374).

The most memorable representative of the period is the Gibson Girl, created by Charles Dana Gibson. Drawings by Gibson in The Best of Charles Dana Gibson (1969) date from 1895 to 1904 and illustrate the fashions characteristic of that period. The wasp-waist silhouette can be considered characteristic of the "Gibson Girl look," with drawings after 1900 illustrating the S-shape (Gelman, 1969). Even more striking than her tiny waist and her pompadour was her rather royal carriage (Wilcox, 1963, p. 158). She was indeed the ideal of mature womanhood.
CHAPTER IV

DRESS IN KNOXVILLE--1895-1910

Chapter IV deals solely with dress in Knoxville during the period 1895 to 1910. It is concerned primarily with general clothing behaviors such as methods of acquiring clothing, the importance placed on fashionable and acceptable dress, and the role dress played in the social scheme. It does not deal with specific fashions of the period since this information was not available to any significant degree. Although Section III contains detailed descriptions of some fashions of the period, its purpose is to shed light on certain socially oriented traits of upper class dress rather than to indicate specific fashion elements.

The material presented is treated in three divisions within the chapter. Section I deals with information obtained through an investigation of two Knoxville newspapers, the Knoxville Journal and Tribune and the Knoxville Sentinel, published during the period under study. Topics examined are concerned mainly with the availability of ready-made clothing in Knoxville and the emphasis placed on fashion in the primary news media, the local newspaper.

Section II presents in interview form facts and opinions gained from personal interviews with women who were residents of Knoxville during the period under study. This particular method of presentation was chosen because all comments given by one respondent concurrently contributed to a more complete picture of dress as it related to social
class. It was felt that in this way relationships could be more easily recognized.

Section III deals with costumes from the Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection which were believed to indicate significant traits of upper class dress. Descriptions of four garments appear, accompanied by photographs of the garment described.

SECTION I: NEWSPAPER DATA

It is virtually impossible to try to relate clothing featured in newspapers, particularly in the form of fashion articles, with any significant degree of accuracy to the dress worn by the readers to whom the newspaper is directed—that is, the general public. No local newspaper, particularly in a small city such as Knoxville, is likely to reflect the individuality of its own citizenry in the standardized columns on its printed pages. However, while hardly an accurate source of data relating to specific fashions worn in the city, the local newspaper may serve to shed considerable light on more general clothing patterns and practices.

It was this thought that prompted an investigation of two Knoxville newspapers to gain insight into the status and manifestations of fashion in the city between 1895 and 1910. The Knoxville Journal and Tribune proved to be the more valuable source. The newspaper was available, except for scattered issues, throughout the period. The Knoxville Sentinel (the name changed several times during the period) was a less reliable source since only issues from 1895 to 1904 were available. In addition, throughout the period, it was published on a less regular basis.
than the Knoxville Journal and Tribune, and was often only a bi-weekly. Its pages less frequently featured the fashion sale items evident in the Knoxville Journal and Tribune, its advertisements being devoted more to durable goods such as buggies and farm equipment.

Emphasis on Fashion

Articles related to fashion became increasingly plentiful during the period 1895 to 1910. During these years fashion items were, however, rather inconspicuously placed on the back pages of the daily newspaper. Headings were small and would rarely qualify as eyecatchers compared to today's standards. Articles written for the newspaper were generally brief and covered any number of subjects. They were rarely items, in fact, that dealt solely with what happened to be fashionable at the particular time. The information could be considered, in many instances, more "household hints" relating to clothing than an account of the particular dictates of fashion of the day.

Items were frequently concerned with dress construction, often devoting the content solely to instructions for constructing some new garment. The April 21, 1896 issue of the Knoxville Journal and Tribune featured an article entitled "Four Distinct Skirts and How to Cut Them . . . The Embrella, Empire, 1830 and Circular." An article published some weeks earlier offered instruction on "How to make the New Skirts Hang Gracefully" (Knoxville Journal and Tribune, February 25, 1895). Items were, however, occasionally concerned with informing the reader of fashion's "hottest" new innovation. The January 27, 1895 Knoxville
Journal and Tribune gave account of the "new sleeve style--the bell."

By early 1897 fashion was occupying a more prominent place on the printed page. The Sunday editions devoted more space to the subject and began to include regular features, often several articles grouped together under a heading like "Fashion Decress" (Knoxville Journal and Tribune, February 12, 1897). Nor were fashion articles featured only as special Sunday items. They began to appear with greater regularity throughout the week--not everyday, but perhaps in half the week's editions. Monday and Saturday were days in which fashion was a fairly regular journalistic concern. Articles might otherwise appear intermittently throughout the week. Fashion was, from this year on, a regular feature, at least for Sunday readers.

By 1900 the fashion column had become a part of the page devoted solely to the interests of women. It must say something for the status of women to find that they finally rated such a consideration. The Knoxville Journal and Tribune of 1903 (September 13, 1903) featured such a page, entitled "Of Interest to Women," a conglomeration of short articles dealing with everything from fashions to etiquette to baby care. Fashions also frequently made their appearance on the society pages.

Very little change occurred in the presentation of fashion information between the first years in which women's pages appeared as regular features and 1910. Any change that did appear was generally in terms of the amount of fashion news presented and in the eyecatching quality of the fashion page. There was a marked progression in the amount of space given to fashion in the years between 1895 and 1900. But from the time
the women's page originated, no significant increase was noted. Change did occur in the quality of fashion presentation. From 1895 to about 1898 fashion items were rarely presented with much care given to their eye appeal. Drawings were small and aided very little in stimulating interest. By 1898, however, large, attractive drawings (Figure 5) were dispersed at various points throughout the newspaper, particularly the Sunday editions, with several drawings appearing on the women's page. From about 1907 photographs as well as drawings were used.

Fashion items, particularly after 1900, seemed frequently to be aimed at the upper class. Sunday editions, especially, offered articles for what would seem to be a limited audience. For example, the fashion page of the Knoxville Journal and Tribune on January 1, 1905 was devoted to "Costumes for Dinner and Carriage Wear." The fashion page in a 1909 edition featured a large section on "Wraps and Frocks for Debutante and Second Season Maids" (December 5, 1909). This seemed to be much less the case in the years prior to 1900, perhaps because items were less of a solely fashion nature.

Acquisition of Clothing

The beginnings of a change in the manner of acquiring clothing can be noted in the pages of Knoxville's newspapers between 1895 and 1910--the evolution of ready-made clothing was beginning. But, if one looks at a newspaper of 1895, one is impressed by an obvious fact--that in most advertisements there is no ready-made clothing included. They are, in fact, limited almost entirely to other items, the dominant one undoubtedly being dress goods of every type and price.
Figure 5. Fashion drawing.

Journal and Tribune, June 30, 1905.
It is obvious that, with the absence of ready-mades, everyone must either make her own clothes or hire them made. It was in this setting that the dressmaker had established her position of indispensability and continued throughout the period under study to exert considerable influence in the world of fashion and to create for her patrons considerable prestige, merely by the fact that they could afford her services (Personal interviews).

Advertisements appeared throughout the period, lauding the dressmaker's skills. From the advertisements it appears that several of the Knoxville Stores had dressmaker shops. One advertisement read:

One of the most successful dressmaking departments in the city, because it turns out the most elegant work possible at the lowest prices. Miss Luttrell stands without an equal as a cutter and finisher of dresses at the prices she charges. She has just returned from a visit to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, and is brimful of the latest and newest ideas. She has on exhibit a line of imported paper model designs which will be found nowhere else. They are very interesting and show exactly how the goods look made up. She will be glad to have all the ladies call (Knoxville Journal and Tribune, September 30, 1896).

The Knoxville Journal and Tribune on January 16, 1895 featured the following announcement:

Don't Forget: That during January, our Mrs. Rogers Makes Dresses, in the best possible manner, For $5.00 each. We do this solely to keep our hands employed, who otherwise would be perhaps without work and compensation.

A Knoxville resident who worked as a dressmaker for one of Knoxville's better stores between 1907 and 1911 recalled that the head dressmaker in her department did not actually sew the garments, but spent much of her time studying the fashion magazines popular at that time.
No commercial patterns were used, and an outfit might turn out to be a combination of several garments pictured in the periodicals.

Every woman, however, did not have her clothing made by a professional dressmaker. Piece goods were readily available for the benefit of all. An advertisement which appeared in the May 21, 1905 Knoxville Journal and Tribune listed a wide variety of fabrics including: twenty-seven different cottons ranging in price from 2 1/2 cents per yard for calico to 10 cents for dark pique; fifteen silks and taffetas ranging in price from 16 1/2 cents for "Jap Silk" to $1.19 per yard for black taffeta; ten different "wash goods" from batiste for 3 1/2 cents per yard to "Silk Zephyr Gingham" for 25 cents; and, fourteen "white goods and linens" from 3 1/2 cents per yard for India Linen to 39 cents for "White Wash Chiffon." It is not known whether dress patterns were as available. Patterns were offered as a regular feature in the Knoxville Journal and Tribune at intermittent period, often on a daily basis.

The prominence of the dressmaker gives an impression of the amount of ready-made clothing that appeared on the market. Ready-mades were conspicuously lacking in the newspaper advertisements, particularly in the earlier years. Even advertisements from small stores which catered exclusively to women generally handled only ready-made skirts, waists, and cloaks. Even early in the period, however, these few items were frequently advertised. Some advertisements suggest that these ready-mades were constructed in the store's dressmaker shop rather than being brought from a manufacturer. For example, the June 28, 1896 Knoxville Journal and Tribune carried this advertisement:
Skirts—a boon and a delight. Ready to put on, but not so-called ready-made. These we make, and that means they are made right, extra wide, flaring and properly hanging.

Advertisements during the later years indicated that ready-mades were no longer made in local shops but were bought from eastern manufacturers. "Many new suits arrived yesterday, and each one has a distinctness that is characteristic only of the best garments . . ." (Knoxville Journal and Tribune, March 6, 1906).

Perhaps most telling in terms of the development of ready-made clothing is a comparison of the following advertisements. An advertisement in 1895 read:


The June 26, 1910 Knoxville Journal and Tribune proclaims:

The only Exclusive Ladies' Ready-to-Wear Store in Knoxville . . . . Ladies' suits, coats, dresses, skirts, waists, petticoats, Kimonos, House Dresses.

And another advertisement in the same edition read:

Linene dresses . . . . 2.98
Pure Linen Suits . . . . 5.00
Dotted Swiss dresses . . . . 7.98
Lingerie dresses . . . . 10.00
Cotton Foulard dresses . . . . 14.95
Lingerie dresses . . . . 19.95

Ready-mades were at last making some headway in a fashion world once limited to dressmakers and amateur seamstresses. But, from comments in Section II from residents of Knoxville during the period, it appears that it was not until some years later that ready-mades achieved any degree of general public acceptance and popularity.
Summary

Fashion apparently merited only limited attention in the newspapers of 1895 to 1910, in comparison to today. It did, however, gain emphasis during the period, with a marked increase occurring between 1895 to 1910. Increasing care was given to presentation of fashion items. By 1900 fashion articles were an established regular feature.

From advertisements it appears that clothing was obtained in three basic ways: home sewing by family members; hired sewing either by seamstresses who visited the home or by professional dressmakers who worked through shops; or, a limited selection of ready-mades. The latter seems to have been much more of a rarity than the first two. Home sewing was apparently quite common judging from the quantity and variety of fabrics available. Very important was the dressmaker who not only provided a sizeable quantity of clothing for the public but also afforded a considerable amount of prestige to the individual who bought her services. Ready-mades were not yet widely accepted.

SECTION II: INTERVIEWS

The investigator was fortunate to obtain the names of ten women who were residents of Knoxville during the period under study. Through personal interviews information was obtained that would have otherwise been unavailable.

Questions were asked regarding the individuals' personal back­ground, their attitudes toward social class at that time, their own
interest in fashion, and the role they felt clothing played in their interaction with others. The information obtained is presented in interview form in order to create a more complete understanding of relationships between views and attitudes expressed and the individual's personal background and experiences.

Interview I

Respondent I is representative of the middle or "working class." Orphaned at the age of eight, she spent the succeeding years, until the age of sixteen, in a Nashville orphanage. The period under study represents the fifteen years between ages ten and twenty-five. She was employed between the years 1907 and 1911, ages twenty-one to twenty-six, in the dressmaker's shop of a leading department store in Knoxville.

The respondent's estimation of social classes in Knoxville during the period 1895 to 1910 is described as follows. There were three classes: upper, middle, and lower. The middle class was the "working class" and was composed of people in many different jobs. They were described as being independent but "they didn't accumulate anything." There were levels of the middle class. Some, such as men in jobs with more authority, were in somewhat better standing, particularly financially, but were "certainly not upper class." The lower class was represented by those individuals who depended upon others for support.

Even though a dressmaker, the respondent expressed no particular interest in fashion. She not only stated that she was not very fashion conscious at that time but that she was not aware of the women with whom
she worked being much so either. The reason was, as she indicated, primarily a financial one. "We just couldn't afford it." It was also stated that there was little competition in matters of dress among the women with whom she worked.

The respondent indicated that the way in which one dressed was of considerable significance in judging, on first impression, an individual's social class during that period. "They [the upper class] just dressed nicer." Other factors were also suggested as indicators of social class. The area of town and the house in which they lived were believed to indicate social class. Mannerisms were also named as significant. Confessing that perhaps she was prejudiced, the respondent stated that the upper class just "had an air about them." But while admitting that dress served for her as an indicator of social class, judgment of members of her own group was not made on the basis of clothing.

She noted some differences in the dress of the upper class and that of her group. One obvious difference was that her dress and the dress of the women with whom she associated was generally more functional than ornamental in character. The traditional costume was the shirt-waist and skirt with a more fancy waist for dressy occasions (see Figure 17, Appendix). She noted that the garments made in the dressmaker's shop were generally more elaborate than those she wore. Silk, according to the respondent, was restricted, at least in the case of full silk outfits, to the upper class and to those more moneyed members of the middle class. She stated also that formal evening wear was restricted to the upper class. On those rare occasions when the middle
class went out in the evening, they would probably have worn a "dressy Sunday dress" (Personal Interview I, name withheld, March 22, 1971).

**Interview II**

Respondent II placed herself, "considering the folks in town," in the upper middle class. The daughter of a farmer and a descendent of Knoxville's founder, she was a working girl, employed in clerical positions. "We didn't have money."

She stated that there was a degree of striving to improve one's position in life, at least among the "good people." It was a desire, mainly, to just have a little more than you had yesterday. To attain wealth or high social standing was not generally a goal.

The respondent stated that she was not, in fact could not be, fashion conscious and neither were the women with whom she worked. "We all had our best dress and then our other dresses." Her clothing was generally functional in nature. Shirtwaists and skirts were always worn for working. For more dressy occasions a dress of light weight material, or a skirt with a fancy waist was worn. Her ideas of fashion were derived primarily from other people, particularly those within her group. Fashion articles such as those in newspapers, and magazines were not remembered as being significant in this respect.

The respondent felt that social classes were somewhat more distinct during the period under study than today. Was clothing a status symbol? The respondent replied, "I just think I envied them--the clothes--that was all." Dress served to some degree as an indicator of social class.
Her clothing, as a young girl, was made by some family member. As a working girl she made most of her own clothes, but she never hired her clothing made. She bought some ready-mades, mainly coats and skirts.

The respondent indicated that she had no need for special evening attire. For evening events a "dress-up daytime dress" was worn. For dressy occasions, dresses with ruffles and lace insertions were common. "You bragged about how many yards of lace you put in a dress" (Personal Interview II, name withheld, April 2, 1971).

**Interview III**

The daughter of a farmer, respondent III lived in a farm community just north of Knoxville (now within the city). The respondent placed herself among the middle class. Her family was poor, but her father owned his own farm and dairy. Although the respondent was occasionally in Knoxville (about once a month) for shopping ("very little shopping") and to visit relatives in town, she was rather unimpressed with Knoxville at the time. "It was just a matter of going for what you needed and back." There was no envy of those who lived in town.

Class in Knoxville was somewhat obscure to her. In referring to Knoxville's upper class the respondent stated that she had "no knowledge of them especially and no inclination to know them. . . . There was a difference in the way they lived. They had carriages and fine horses, and their homes were beautiful." The respondent reported no particular awareness of dress as a reflection of social status, particularly of Knoxville's upper class. "Most of the very moneyed were not on the
street very much. They were in their carriages and stepped out and into the stores. . . . I remember looking more in store windows, and I knew I couldn't have certain things, but I admired them." Most of her clothing was made at home. Their clothes were never made by hired seamstresses. "We couldn't afford it."

The respondent's uncle who lived in Knoxville worked as a mechanic "in the Southern shops," and his daughters worked as stenographers or in some similar capacity. Her contact with the lower class was restricted to within her community. The tenant farmer (although not "slum at all") was regarded as the lower class, even though they all worked. There were those too who depended for support on the "poor farm." In fact, "there were quite a few, considering the population at that time. But they worked on the farm."

There were members of the community who were more moneyed than the others. Groups were not, however, significantly divided. "There was no distinction financially. A stranger couldn't have come in and told who had money and who didn't, at least socially. Socially there was no difference." Association was not entirely free with the tenant group.

We associated with some who were above--there were levels of the poor--and the tenants on our farm, for example, went to our church and were just as respected; but there were others who did not and were not as desirous of being thrifty and clean. But I would say that some of the tenant class were just as well accepted as others.

There was no great striving among the farming group. "I would say that the middle class people were just honest, hard workers who were satisfied with what they had, and were satisfied to let others have what they had."
In response to inquiries about her fashion consciousness during the period the respondent stated:

We didn't have much to compare with except our neighborhood. I wanted to keep up with the neighborhood. But as far as comparing with what was being worn in Knoxville, no. It was just that somebody would have something new, and we'd keep up, and we were all on the same level--as fashion conscious as neighborhood consciousness would be.

Ideas of fashion apparently came from the group of associates.

I suppose someone in the neighborhood set the pace. We didn't have magazines... Now my sister--she was eleven years older than I--she kept up with things better than Mother did, and Mother followed along... But it was just what the others were doing--and something pretty.

There was competition in terms of dress, but only to a moderate degree. "If someone got a new dress, we were glad... There was competition--if a girl had a new dress the others tried to keep up with it but in no grandiose way." The respondent recalled, "One of our tenants--if I had a new dress on Sunday, on Monday morning the mother of the girls in the family would be up for the pattern to make a dress just like mine." There was then a striving "but financially, they [the lower class] didn't seem to worry. There was not so much to strive for then."

Dress was not exactly the same among rural social levels.

They [the more moneyed] dressed better--more stylish. They saw that their basques fit perfectly. They had better material. They had money to buy better material... But it didn't affect my mother at all. If any [less moneyed] envied or strove to be just like them, I didn't know it. Certainly, my family didn't. She [mother] had what she could have and made the best of it.

There was, however, a level to be met. "We had our Sunday hats and our prayer meeting hat--a second class hat." The respondent reported that a
great deal of silk was worn by the more moneyed group, frequently as full silk dresses.

My mother didn't [the more moneyed did] . . . Money determined what fabric you used. My mother did wear silk blouses. There was one family that—silk was their Sunday, best dresses—and then when they began to split, they were their everyday dresses. They didn't have different dresses. We didn't do that. We had calicos and percales for everyday.

There was not a great deal of distinction in dress for various occasions.

We had Sunday dresses and everyday dresses. But when you put a dress on in the morning, unless you did very dirty work, you kept that dress on all day. And, if I could wear my Sunday dress to school, for speaking days and so on, I was just delighted.

The everyday dress was generally of calico. They might be either separate or joined at the waist. The bodice was frequently worn outside the skirt and belted. For visiting in the afternoon a "middle dress, more dressy than everyday, less so than Sunday dresses" was worn by the respondent's mother. For special affairs such as mid-day dinners given by the women of the community, the best Sunday dress was the order of the day. Shirtwaist and skirt was also a very common costume. The respondent's mother wore a corset only for Sunday, "and the minute she got home from church, off it came" (Personal Interview III, name withheld, March 23, 1971).

**Interview IV**

Respondent IV was born in Knox County and moved to Knoxville as a small child. She was born in 1885, so the period under study represents her life from childhood to youngwomanhood. The daughter of a
retired farmer and the youngest of several children, she placed herself in the middle class. The family home was on White Avenue near the university, and her associates were primarily of the university community. She had very little association with members of Knoxville's elite.

We belonged to the same church, but I was never entertained in their homes. We were only speaking acquaintances. I didn't go to their dances and didn't go to their homes . . . because we didn't have enough money to go into that social class, although several of the people who did were my mother's first cousins. We knew them . . . but we didn't go in the same social class.

The respondent felt that any aspirations of being a member of the upper class were generally an individual matter rather than a trait representative of any one social group as a whole. There was not, among her group of associates, a noticeable degree of competition for social rank.

According to the respondent, she was not at all fashion conscious. She could not, she felt, speak for the other members of her group. She did state, however, that her sisters who made her clothes as well as their own were quite fashion conscious. The respondent further stated that, at the time, she gave very little thought to her clothing. She relied primarily on her sisters to see that she was suitably dressed. "I just dressed like others in the group."

The respondent felt that clothing within her group and in other groups was a status symbol to an extent. Clothing also served to set people apart. The wealthier people generally had their clothing made by a professional dressmaker. The middle class frequently had individuals
come to their homes to sew, particularly if family members did not sew. "My best friend that I have had for sixty-two years used to come to our house and stay all week and sew us up, and we've been friends ever since. That's how I met her." The respondent did not, however, have her clothing made in a dressmaker's shop.

There was not a great deal of distinction in dress for various occasions in the group with which she associated. A Sunday dress was a must. Shirtwaists and skirts were a common type of attire. Dresses (with waist and skirt of same or very similar material) were a more common form of dress for the respondent. She reported having no need for formal evening attire. The Sunday dress (see Figure 18, Appendix) sufficed for evening occasions. A corset was generally a part of her mother's everyday attire.

The notion of a woman working outside the home was in no way taboo within the respondent's class. "They all worked" (Personal Interview IV, name withheld, April 5, 1971).

Interview V

Respondent V considered her associates as being primarily of the upper class. Her father was a merchant and the respondent's friends were, generally speaking, members of merchant families. Although she stated they did not have money, many of her close friends did. There was, to a considerable degree, a division of classes in terms of types of activities. The respondent's association with the wealthy appears to have been limited to more informal activities such as school and
informal social occasions. She did not attend the many parties and dances given by her friends. In explanation she stated, "If you got invited you had to have a party. And if you didn't have one to pay back your obligation you didn't get invited the next time. About like it is today."

There was, according to the respondent, considerable difference in the ways various groups of people lived. Money was, however, of secondary importance in determining the group with which one associated. Nor was the profession an important determining factor. "You were just born and raised in a thing and as long as you behaved yourself you remained in that group." Association with the middle class was very limited. Members of the upper class never worked unless they had to and were therefore not thrown with the middle class.

She recalled that she was not fashion conscious, and that she, in fact, gave little thought to clothing at all. She further stated that she did not recall other members of her group being particularly fashion conscious. She admitted to being quite unconcerned with clothing. "Some dressed better than I did, but it didn't bother me. . . . Maybe I was crazy, but I didn't envy others or want what they had. . . . It didn't make one earthly bit of difference." The respondent's mother reportedly made most of her clothes. In response to the question, "Did you have clothes made in the dressmakers' shops?" she replied, "Law no, I didn't have the money. People with money had those other people make their clothes."
Clothing did, to a considerable degree, reflect a person's status and position. "You could look at some and tell they had more money. ... But it didn't bother us. Knoxville wasn't like that then."

Evening attire was limited to the "moneyed" class. Everyone had a nicer dress for Sunday wear, and special dress was often worn in the afternoon, e.g. for visiting (Personal Interview V, name withheld, March 26, 1971).

**Interview VI**

Respondent VI was the daughter of a prominent professor who taught at The University of Tennessee and has lived in Knoxville since the age of three. Her position was typical of many southerners after the Civil War. Her father had been reared on his family's plantation in the deep South and had served with the Confederacy. Although their wealth had probably been diminished by the war, the family retained other qualities attributed to the well-bred. The respondent would certainly qualify as a member of the upper class. And, although she was frequently associated with Knoxville's elite, her social activities were more generally carried on with members of the university community or the church. Although a variety of people associated on occasion with the elite, the social circles of the most prominent were made up primarily of Knoxville's old families. A division of social groups was also dependent to a considerable degree on the area of Knoxville in which one lived. Residents of North Knoxville tended to associate most frequently with other residents of that area, and residents of West and South Knoxville did the same.
Division of classes was dependent to a considerable degree on one's inherited station.

I just think it was according to birth and background more than anything else. I think they accepted anybody who had a good background, was refined, and liked the high things of life. . . . Money had a great deal to do with it, but not with the real good people.

The respondent stated that she came in contact with many different types of people, according to the type of activity, e.g. church, formal social functions. She had friends in different classes.

Class was revealed in many different ways. Dress was an important factor. "Some overdressed, and you knew who they were." The carriage was also an important status symbol. "There were not very many that had carriages. But still, you were impressed by those who had." The way one behaved was also a prime factor.

I think it was the clothes they wore . . . entertaining--that took money, and carriages . . . just the person's attitude and demeanor, you could tell whether they had money or whether they didn't. Oh, they'd talk about some being newly rich and not knowing what to do with the money. . . . There were some who were very showy and wanted to display the fact that they had a little money. My parents never paid much attention to that. They always taught us that it was what a person was that counted, not what showed.

There was a good deal of striving among some groups to attain social prestige. "They wanted to make a good appearance. They did a lot for show. A lot of people did that. But they weren't my values."

She commented that she was quite fashion conscious at the time. "I guess every girl thought a good deal of clothing. . . . You always compared your clothes." There was considerable competition among the girls in her social group. "They didn't talk about it too much, but the
girls had it in their minds. They wanted to appear well, as well as another—a friend." Clothing also served as a status symbol. "I think they noticed that a great deal, although they didn't express it." The girls always wanted to make a good impression.

I remember I was having a coat suit made by a sewing woman, and I wanted it lined with changeable silk. But my mother said we couldn't do that, so we finally compromised, and she let me have enough to line it down as far as the elbows so when I took off the coat and threw it back it looked as if it were lined all through with changeable silk.

Most of the respondent's clothing was made by a seamstress. They frequently had a seamstress come to their home to sew. "Then we admired the people who could get a very fine, very expensive dressmaker."

Considerable difference existed in clothing worn for various occasions. "There was quite a difference in the afternoon dresses, or something to wear to an afternoon party." Afternoon dresses "were fancy then with appliques and fancy yokes, balloon sleeves, high collars with fancy things at the neck. . . ." Materials varied with the season. Velvet was often used for winter. Summer dresses were thin and frilly, with lace, embroidery, and ruffles. The respondent stated that she did not have much need for evening wear, but that she always had something that would be suitable. House-dresses were generally of gingham, while shirtwaists and skirts were worn a great deal for various occasions. "You could wear them anywhere. People had very fancy shirtwaists that you could wear in the evening or afternoon." She personally preferred dresses to the shirtwaist and skirt. Sunday dresses were quite fancy, were often of muslin, and frequently featured lace, ruffles, and
insertions. A corset was a general part of her mother's daily attire. (The respondent stated that they always had household help.)

In regard to her family's attitude toward the working woman, she stated that there was no stigma attached, particularly if it was necessary. She stated that several of her friends taught school. "That seemed to be considered perfectly genteel" (Personal Interview, name withheld, April 6, 1971).

**Interview VII**

Respondent VII is the younger sister of Respondent VI. She indicated that she had very little association with the middle class. Her friends were among the families of professional people, professors and merchants. Little competition was evident in her circle of friends.

The respondent stated that she was only moderately fashion conscious. Some girls in the group were fashion conscious. "I think those who had money were more fashion conscious." Clothing was, for some members of the group, a status symbol, "but it didn't affect me. We were a very quiet family. We were not trained in that way, and our attitudes were different along that line." Dress did serve as an indicator of social class. Fashion ideas were obtained mainly from the group and what others wore. The respondent's mother did, however, receive The Delineator, a popular fashion magazine of the period.

Most of her clothes were made by dressmakers in the stores in Knoxville. There was considerable distinction between dress for various occasions. She recalled that her mother always dressed in a special way
for visiting. "You took your calling cards and you kept your list of people you had called on and those who had returned your call." The respondent stated that she had little occasion for evening wear because "we weren't the flashy kind" (Personal Interview, name withheld, April 8, 1971).

Interview VIII

Respondent VIII was born and reared in Knoxville. The daughter of a small businessman, the respondent associated primarily with members of the upper class. She reported that though the upper class was mainly merchants, there were also professional people and university professors who moved within this circle. Classes during that period were probably more separate than today, and association between different classes was a less common phenomenon. "Because women didn't work . . . why, we never thought of such a thing. Our parents would no more have let us take a job . . . why it was just unheard of."

The respondent expressed an interesting theory which, while not directly concerning the period from 1895 to 1910, gives insight into this period. She stated:

World War I was a great leveler. You threw yourself into it wholeheartedly. People who probably had never been together before were thrown together. . . . Most of us worked in Red Cross. This broke down feelings of--oh, not superiority--but not caring for everyone. People had a common interest . . . the Depression also. . . . I know people who were wealthy and who over night or for all time lost their entire fortune. People just didn't have anything. When I was young there was a certain pseudo--I don't know what you would call it--anyway, you would no more say you couldn't afford to do a thing. That would just . . . you just didn't want to let it be known if you couldn't afford things.
There was not, she said, any great striving for social prestige although you wanted to be as good as others. She recalled that among the upper class there were "beautiful parties . . . wonderful entertainment . . . a very lovely atmosphere." She did not recall, however, any conspicuous display.

The respondent indicated that she was quite fashion conscious as a young girl. "I think we always were . . . loved pretty clothes . . . Most girls I associated with were pretty fashion conscious." There was a degree of competition in the group in terms of dress. Ideas of what was fashionable were greatly influenced by the group. "You always wanted to be like everyone else. You got ideas from what others wore. Someone had a dress, and you'd like to have one like it." Magazines and newspapers also influenced fashion ideas. "Fashion magazines came through the mail, and I am sure we took them . . . I am sure I read fashion articles in the newspaper, but I don't remember."

In judging the social status of an individual on sight, several things served as indicators. "I would say [I judged on] whether one was well groomed, stylish, good manners. Those things set him apart."

The respondent reported that most of her clothing was made by her mother. She occasionally had garments made by a dressmaker. She did not recall having any ready-made clothing.

There was considerable distinction in dress for various occasions. Her mother dressed rather simply around the house, often in a shirtwaist and skirt. A somewhat more dressy garment was worn if one went out in the afternoon. Afternoon dresses were frequently made of silk. The
corset was commonly worn during the day, generally in order to present a neat, respectable appearance. "They always wore a corset during daytime. They wouldn't think of not doing so." For less formal evening affairs a dressy Sunday dress was usually acceptable. For street wear tailored garments were common. Silk dresses were also very popular for these occasions (Personal Interview VIII, March 26, 1971).

**Interview IX**

Respondent IX was born in Knoxville in 1892 and lived there until her marriage in 1914. Her father had formerly been in real estate, then was a newspaper owner but was forced to retire due to ill health. Her mother then supported the family by taking in boarders.

The respondent placed herself in the upper class. She described the class as being composed of merchants, lawyers, doctors, and university professors. The university group, she recalled, was very small, and stated that "Mother told me that they were always included in receptions and dinners, often at night. . . . They were all intellectual, charming people, and the class [upper] that we are referring to were mixed with them." Money was not necessary for inclusion within the upper class.

There were a lot of people who associated with that group that did not have money. . . . Money wasn't as easy to come by and wasn't as important as it is now. . . . None of us had money, but we didn't feel any need of it.

According to the respondent, classes during that period were not necessarily separate.

I came into contact with different classes. As I say, we were just not class conscious that way. I think the people that were taboo to us were those who had done something, or someone in
their family had done something. That put them out of things. For instance, when we were going to dances and dating, the boys—the young men—we dated looked after us. If a stranger came to town, and he drank too much or was not the right type, they saw that you didn't meet him. Or if he broke in on you at a dance, there was a group of your friends who immediately broke. They looked after us.

The respondent noted that she was thrown with the middle class to a considerable extent. She stated:

I was thrown with them, and we didn't make that difference. Probably our parents were a little more conscious of it than we were. There wasn't the thing of money having any authority. It didn't. You didn't feel the need of it. In the first place, we didn't even begin to have a new dress for every party as they do now. We'd get one or two evening dresses and that carried us through, with what we had done over from the last year.

Social activities, particularly formal ones, were somewhat restricted to those with a similar background, but people were not conscious of it. Association with the middle class was generally in informal affairs. The respondent stated, "I went to school with them . . . the public schools [but] I went to a private school until the last year. We'd go to the skating rink, and we all got to know them there." Although there were many churches in the city, the respondent reported that she and her friends all went to one or the other of two churches. She recalls:

They always had picnics in Sunday School over at Maryville. . . . We'd take the train and go over there. And then they'd have boat rides—the 'old Oliver King' would go steaming and rolling up the river, and so they'd invite us to go to theirs, and we'd invite them to go to ours, so it made it double.

There was not, according to the respondent, an awareness of any great striving between classes although it may have existed. There was, however, a considerable amount of competition within the respondent's group.
of young friends. She further stated that there was much greater
distance between classes than exists today.

The poorer class did not have the opportunity that the others
had at all. They didn't have magazines, they didn't have
newspapers, they didn't have the stores full of . . . all
those things that are copies of other things. . . . They
didn't have the money but they wanted the things when they
finally had any access to them at all.

The respondent reported that she was, or thought at the time she
was, very fashion conscious. Other members of her group were also, but
she contrasted those days to the present: "We, none of us, were terribly
[fashion conscious] because we didn't have any money and things weren't
thrown on the screen every ten minutes and in front of you all the
time."

Clothing was, within her group, an important status symbol in
some respects.

It was important to have the type of dress that they wore. I
know I nearly died until I got a silk petticoat. I was over at
this girl's, and she got up on a carriage block and was twirling
around. And she had on a shirtwaist and a skirt, and under it
she had this changeable taffeta petticoat that had the pleated
ruffle all the way around it, and I remember she was swirling,
and I came home and told my mother I'd just die if I didn't
have one. So there was . . . competition. If anybody's family
went over to New York or any place special, why, they would bring
something back, and then you nearly died until you got it.

However, clothing was not used as a means of judging individuals
in terms of social class because those were not their values. "If they
were a good guy or gal, we liked them; and sometimes we thought, 'Well,
I don't know what she got that for. It's not a bit becoming'." Judgment
was not, however, made on the basis of clothing. Other factors did
serve to indicate social class. The respondent stated that the social
class of a person could be determined

More by their manners, the way they behaved than by their
clothing. If they weren't dressed, and you didn't have things,
you just felt that it was a matter of finances. And after all,
that wasn't too important. Wasn't that nice? I tell you, it
was a golden age to come up.

Magazines and the like were important in influencing the fashion
ideas of the respondent's group.

Oh yes, we studied them--the Delineator. We became very fashion
conscious. We played with paper dolls a lot. We used to go to
the tailors and beg for the cuts. They were on a piece of card­
board, and you'd cut it out, and that was your papa for your
paper doll. And you'd get some of the same things out of the
magazines--the ladies.

A good deal of emulation within the group also existed.

Most of the respondent's clothes were made for her, either in a
dressmaker shop or by others. "Nearly everybody had somebody that would
come to the house and sew . . . and they would come everyday for a month
or more and sew." Most of her mother's clothing was made in dressmakers' shops. The respondent reported also having a few ready-made garments.

There was considerable distinction in types of dress worn for
various occasions. She recalled that people were very dressy then, often
being clothed in very dressy suits. The respondent described her
mother's everyday dress routine as follows:

For morning, she always had a black silk skirt, with a shirt­
waist with high collar. For breakfast Mother had these very
attractive little white--she called them dressing sacks--that
she wore over her black silk shirt to be dressed for breakfast.
Then, after breakfast when she had done her chores of deciding
what they were going to have for meals and so forth, then she
would probably go put on a black blouse or a dress.
A corset was always a part of her attire (always had household help). The respondent's mother reportedly had a lot of occasion for evening wear.

Before I was old enough to be remembering too much, there was a great deal of socializing. These people entertained quite a bit . . . [she] . . . wore full evening attire for formal wear . . . The one I remember that had the big sleeves was when her [mother's] niece was married. I was just a little girl. She had on a yellow satin that really could have stood alone and it was brocade--it had a design of the same color in it--it had the big sleeves and then had some pearl trimming around . . . She had had it made, I'm sure. And she had a big yellow aigrette or Bird of Paradise or something in her hair . . . and I said, 'Oh, you look like a princess,' when she came in. I remember that.

Street wear varied with the weather, usually being either a suit or silk dress. Soft, frilly dresses were commonly worn for Sundays (Personal Interview IX, name withheld, April 7, 1971).

**Interview X**

Respondent X moved to Knoxville from Nashville upon her marriage in 1909. Her husband was a member of one of Knoxville's wealthiest and most prominent families. The people who made up the upper class of which she was very definitely a part, according to the respondent, were the merchants, professional men and university professors. Although university people associated freely with the upper class, the respondent estimated that more than half their social life was spent with other faculty members. She described the association patterns more as cliques than actual divisions.

Association between the middle and upper classes was, she felt, rather free. The two groups often came into contact in various
situations such as church, but close social ties were not general. Of the middle class, the respondent says, "I knew them through the church . . . and yet they weren't intimate friends of mine." The respondent expressed the belief that associations between the two classes were restricted by rather natural circumstances involving the working woman's --and the middle class woman usually worked--unavailability at times when upper class groups were meeting. Division was, then, primarily on the basis of financial situation.

I have known many people whose parents were not ordinary, they were just poor. And they couldn't move in the upper circles because they didn't have the money. They are just as nice as they can be, but they have always been poor . . . and they wouldn't go because they couldn't repay the people that would ask them. I think money had and has a great deal to do with things.

The respondent stated that she was not aware of any general striving to attain greater status. There were, she suggested, a number of people who wanted to climb higher on the social ladder, but this was not typical of all or even most individuals. Most people were only interested in doing their best and in retaining their position.

The respondent was quite fashion conscious as were most of her friends. There was not, however, a great deal of competition within the group.

They just got what they could afford and tried to have . . . nice clothes. Some may have paid a little more for theirs or gone away to New York to get them, but the others looked just as nice. While clothing was not exactly important, I think everybody was conscious to look their best and have nice clothes.

Dress, to an extent, revealed social and financial standing.
I think it goes to material. We weren't wealthy, but I always tried to have nice clothes. Sometimes I felt a little sorry for them [less moneyed]. You just felt you wished you didn't have on that dress you had on because you were conscious of yours being a little better than theirs. I always felt I just wished I had worn something else. I never wanted any of my friends to feel bad. In my station I was never ashamed to go anywhere with what I had, but I always had friends there who were better dressed than I was.

Ideas about fashion were influenced by various sources. The respondent stated that she relied mainly on what others wore. "I read the write-ups in the papers—what was going to be worn—but you didn't always wear that." Her clothes, particularly the better outfits, were made by dressmakers. This was a major source of fashion guidance. She recalls:

You didn't buy as many clothes in the stores. You had one or two dressmakers—modistes as they called them—and you got them to make your good clothes. They were the ones that kept up with the styles, and told you what you wanted, and she would suggest things. . . . A lot of times you'd go up there when you didn't have as much money to spend as she wanted to charge, and you'd just tell her. One of her [Mrs. Rogers at Arnstein's] favorite expressions was, 'Yes, I know just what you want—a dress that you can wear to church, and on the street, and to parties. You just leave it to me and I'll see what I can do.' So a lot of times you just left it to her.

Some of her clothing was made by individuals who came to the home to sew. The respondent explained:

I sometimes used a woman my mother-in-law used. When Lula would come—we'd have a week or two in the summer—I'd have her make me some morning dresses, or something like that, but not my best dresses. My best dresses I got from dressmakers.

For daytime wear she often used gingham. It was merely a "nice looking gingham dress to wear at home." Dress usually varied from morning to afternoon.
You didn't stay dressed in the same thing all day. You usually went out or something in the afternoon and put on a coat suit. ... And [I] would generally change for dinner, not because I wanted to dress for dinner, but because I wanted to save the suit.

The respondent recalled an interesting episode:

They had receptions for people in the afternoon, and they dressed up elaborately for that. I had a friend from New York. We gave her a luncheon. ... She wore a costume, a brown dress and a long brown coat, and the rest of us at the luncheon were all dressed up in almost evening clothes which was as tacky, but that's the way we did. We knew she had come from New York and we knew she had money and we knew she had gotten the latest thing. She said she felt like an idiot, but of course she was the only one who was properly dressed.

Silk was a popular fabric the year round. The respondent also stated that she always wore a corset (Personal Interview X, name withheld, April 12, 1971).

Summary

Class divisions in Knoxville. Based on opinions expressed by respondents the period 1895 to 1910 was one in which a rather marked distinction existed between classes. The middle class was commonly referred to by the respondents interviewed as the working class. The upper class, often referred to by middle class respondents as the "moneyed class," consisted primarily of merchants, but professors and other professional people were also frequently included.

Ambition or a striving to achieve was an integral part of each class, although it must have been, to a considerable degree, a personal matter. It does appear, however, that a degree of ambition was not only an acceptable trait but an expected one. But ambition was not, from all
indications, concerned generally with a desire for mobility between classes. It was rather a striving to maintain the individual's position in the status hierarchy. Ambition to achieve greater prestige, even to the level of the socially elite, appears to have been limited to those individuals who found themselves capable, generally through improved financial standing or the sudden acquisition of considerable wealth, of moving in the circles of the true elite. According to respondents, the middle class individual seems to have been satisfied with his position as was the upper class individual, whether he possessed all the traits of the socially elite or not.

Several factors seem to have determined an individual's position in the class structure. Perhaps most important was the individual's family of birth or lineage. No other single factor seems more significant since each of the upper class individuals interviewed occupied their position from birth. The factor of birth was, in fact, named by several upper class respondents as being of primary importance. This, however, was not the only factor because some middle class respondents stated that they shared common ancestry with members of Knoxville's elite.

Wealth, or the lack of it, appears to have been an important factor. While money opened doors for many middle class people to enter the upper class, the lack of it likewise closed doors to many whose family backgrounds placed them among the upper class but whose financial position made it impossible for them to move with the socially elite. Wealth was not, however, essential for inclusion within the upper class
since most of the upper class respondents stated that they themselves were not moneyed but that many of their friends were.

An essential element appears to have been a desire to maintain one's upper class status. Attendance at private schools, even by non-wealthy upper class members, probably furthered associations between the moneyed and the less moneyed members of the upper class. It might even be suggested that the private school offered opportunity for association with the elite to individuals who might otherwise have slipped backwards into the ranks of the middle class. The cultivation of certain manners and interests seems also to have afforded the upper class member a certain distinction, with or without the financial assets of the elite.

A significant determinant of an individual's acceptance within a given social class or group appears to have been the values held by that individual. Comments by both middle and upper class respondents suggest that acceptability depended upon the individual's adherence to the value patterns of the group. Upper class respondents mentioned the importance of exhibiting a certain refinement in manners and an interest in "the finer things," while one middle class respondent stated that cleanliness and thrift were considered important in her group of associates. At any rate, it appears that in order for an individual to be accepted and included within a given group, either middle or upper class, he must have first shown some conformity to the values characteristic of the particular group.

Whether or not one factor was more important than the others would be difficult to ascertain from these interviews. The placement of an
individual in his proper place along the social continuum was, in short, dependent upon many conditions and probably took into account special and individual circumstances. It was, in general, an evaluation of an individual in terms of birth, wealth, economic assets, cultivated personal qualities, and expressed interests and values, with each factor probably differing in importance in each individual case.

There was not only a division of the population into a middle and an upper class, but there was also a division of the upper class into association groups depending on the activity involved. While both wealthy and nonwealthy members of the upper class associated freely in activities and social settings such as school and other informal social affairs, association was not as free in more formal activities such as the many parties and entertainments typical of the moneyed group. It was in this respect that wealth was necessary for unlimited interaction with the socially elite. Money was essential for formal entertaining, and the lack of it quite naturally excluded some otherwise acceptable individuals from the formal activities of the elite. Formal social affairs were, then, generally limited not only to the upper class but to a small portion of that class, namely, those whose financial position made such activity possible. And, although there may have been no objections to association with the less moneyed group in other affairs, these individuals were not regular participants in formal activities.

Association groups were also determined by other factors. For example, one respondent suggested that the area of town in which one lived greatly influenced the group with which one carried on social
relationships. The types of activities in which a person participated also had an influence. The church seems to have been a place in which contact was made with people of different classes. In fact, for women who did not work outside the home, the church was apparently the main setting in which upper and middle class women came into contact with each other. But even in the church, activities seem to have been separate, evidently because of the conflict of interests and responsibilities between the middle and upper classes. The public schools, as has already been suggested, afforded an opportunity for interaction between the classes, if the upper class individual happened to attend public instead of private schools.

**Symbols of class and status.** A number of elements seem to have set the upper class apart from the middle class, and the moneyed from those without wealth. Among these were the area of town in which one lived, the individual's home, attendance at a private school, and mannerisms indicative of the more polished individual. Especially important, from the respondents' replies, was the carriage. Because the carriage, particularly the "fancy" one, was not a possession within the reach of everyone, it afforded considerable prestige to the individual who owned it. Not only did it immediately connote wealth and status, but it also separated to an extent its owner from the masses by, as one respondent suggested, removing him from the streets and allowing him to step from his carriage into the store rather than mingle with those on the street.
Clothing apparently served a similar purpose. It seems that clothing was perhaps not so clear a symbol of status as was the carriage, for clothing was a universal possession. Indeed, everyone was clothed in some manner. Therefore, status was not connoted in the mere possession of clothing but in a particular manner of dress. It involves, therefore, a much more complex system of evaluation. It can generally be assumed that status as it is afforded to clothing is based to a considerable degree on the decorative quality of the garment versus the degree to which it is primarily functional. Clothing which serves only to cover the human body and to give warmth and protection gives little special prestige to the wearer. In order to give status, clothing must not be only functional (it may in fact be functionless), but it must serve to enhance the appearance of the wearer and offer some evidence that the individual can afford to expend more on his attire than is necessary to meet the requirements of function mentioned earlier. Veblen's theory of "conspicuous consumption" discussed in Chapter II relates directly to this process of evaluation. It is in this respect that the clothing of the upper class and the middle class differed during the period 1895 to 1910.

Dress, according to middle class respondents, served primarily the functional purposes suggested and was certainly more functional than ornamental. Clothing was not, in fact, an important concern. While there was a level which each individual hoped to meet in order to achieve respectability and acceptability within her group ("Everyone had a best dress.") display in manner of attire was not common within this
class. And, while the middle class respondents were conscious of dress as an indicator of class and position, they could recall no particular interest in fashion and no special attention given within their group to dress, as it related to the status hierarchy or served as a symbol of status.

Among the upper class clothing served as a more obvious symbol of status. Not only did the upper class member dress somewhat differently from the middle class individual, but the moneyed upper class member dressed differently from the member who was not wealthy. Besides interest in fashion being more generally characteristic of the upper class than the middle class, fashion consciousness seemed to increase with the wealth of the individual. A cause-effect relationship apparently existed between wealth and fashion interest. It can be said generally that wealth was reflected in an individual's concern about dress and that it also afforded the individual an opportunity to follow the current fashions.

Symbols of status such as silk were limited mostly to the upper class, appearing less frequently in the middle class dress. It apparently reflected abstinence from productive activity and a concern for beauty over function, as well as the individual's pecuniary power. The use of silk for lining garments and for petticoats are examples of conspicuous display in areas where other fabrics, such as cotton for petticoats, would have proved much more serviceable. The incident recounted by Respondent VI in which she had a suit jacket lined to the elbows with changeable silk in order to give the impression that it was fully lined
illustrates the fact that considerable importance was attached to certain elements of dress in reflecting or at least suggesting wealth.

It might be incorrect to assume that there was more competition within the upper class group in matters of clothing than there was among the middle class. Both the middle and upper class respondents expressed a desire to be as good as other members of their group. It seems probable that, while the upper class certainly was more concerned with display than was the middle class, this fact is merely a reflection of the higher and more stringent standards set for the upper class member. Fashionable and elaborate dress was probably not so much a reflection of a desire to outdo other members of the group but merely to maintain the standard already set by others.

Of considerable importance as a symbol of status was the manner in which the individual acquired her clothing. The ability to hire one's clothing made by an expensive and skilled dressmaker carried with it considerable prestige. The practice of going outside the city, e.g. to New York, to have one's clothes made afforded even more status. Merely hiring one's clothing made was apparently of no importance in giving status. In fact, if family members did not sew, it was necessary to hire clothing made, even in the middle class. The practice of having a seamstress come to the house to sew was common. Only the skilled and expensive dressmaker gave her clients both fashionable clothes and prestige.

The corset also played a rather peculiar role in the status hierarchy. It has already been suggested that the corset was limited
primarily to the upper class and was worn by the middle class only for special occasions. The reason given was that the corset made it impossible to take part in any productive labor and thus reflected high rank in the status hierarchy. From the replies of respondents it appears that the corset was worn by some members of both the middle and upper classes. Several possible reasons for wearing the corset might be cited. First, it was necessary in order to take full advantage of the line of the garment and to develop fully the desired visual effect. Second, it enhanced the individual's figure. Third, the corset served a therapeutic purpose. Or, it served the already mentioned purpose of giving status. Finally, it was considered necessary in order to be properly and neatly dressed.

It appears that the latter is the more likely, since several respondents often replied quite vehemently that their mothers would not have considered going without their corsets. Regardless of the reason for wearing the corset, one thing seems certain. Only if the individual performed rather limited physical tasks and activities could she wear a corset as a regular part of her attire. All those respondents who stated that their mothers wore corsets for everyday also either stated that she had household help or that the family was large and chores were divided among other family members. The one respondent who replied that her mother never wore a corset except for church was the daughter of a farmer. She reported that her mother was expected to perform such tasks as hoeing the garden and milking the cows—activities that would be virtually impossible in the corset of that day.
SECTION III. COSTUMES OF THE GREEN COLLECTION

Section III contains descriptions of four costumes which are part of the Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection. The costumes exhibit some of the qualities and characteristics evident in the dress of the upper class in Knoxville between 1895 and 1910. The costumes described include a "calling" or visiting dress, an afternoon dress, an evening dress, and a jacket.

Visiting Dress--1897

The two-piece dress (Figures 6, 7, and 8) of green and purple changeable silk was part of Mrs. Green's trousseau when she was married in 1897. The dress was made by a Miss Kelly of New York in 1896. The bodice (Figure 8), heavily reinforced with cloth-covered metal stays, opens down the front, creating a simulated bolero effect. Both sides of the bodice opening are accentuated with a two-and-one-half inch strip of steel beading and sequins reaching from the shoulders to the waist. Underneath the bodice opening, on both sides, is a vertical tab of white satin, also beaded and sequined. The bodice opening in front reveals a simulated blouse of sequined white silk, gathered in at the neck and at the waist to create a pouch effect in front. The neckline is treated with a high collar--white, beaded satin in front--overlapping in front to fasten tightly about the neck on the left side. The back collar, lined with stiffening to make it stand high, is of the bodice fabric. Wing-like ruffles, one of the bodice fabric and four of white taffeta, trimmed in green and orange, accent the side neckline. The bodice is lined
Figure 6. Visiting dress--front.
Figure 7. Visiting dress--side.
Figure 8. Visiting dress—bodice detail.
throughout with changeable pink and green silk. A heavy ribbon stay fastens about the inside of the waistline.

The sleeve, puffed at the cap, fits snugly from just below the shoulder to the wrist and is stitched along three vertical lines, forming a vertical corded effect and creating controlled gathers in the sleeve. A trim similar to the ruffles at the neck accentuates the wrist. The ruffle of the bodice fabric is on top while the white taffeta layers are underneath. The ruffles form a sharp point at the left side of the wrist.

The bodice is worn with a heavy, flared skirt. The waistline is treated with a wide white taffeta band-like fastening in front with a white taffeta bow. A group of tight gathers are at the back waist opening, giving a bustle effect. The skirt, slightly longer in back, is trimmed about the hem with a strip of uncorded velvet stitched between the outer skirt and the lining. The skirt like the bodice is lined throughout with changeable pink and green silk, with a wide taffeta ruffle around the skirt lining near the hem. Silk-covered cloth stays, placed horizontally at regular intervals around the underskirt of the skirt, help to create the hanging effect desired. The costume is representative of the fashion immediately after the collapse of the sleeve in 1896.

Afternoon Dress--Circa 1900

This two-piece dress (Figures 9 and 10) typifies the movement toward the soft and airy which dominated fashions between 1900 and 1908.
Figure 9. Afternoon dress--front.
Figure 10. Afternoon dress--side.
The short bodice of a floral, crepe-like chiffon opens in front, sloping from the shoulder line to fasten at the waist. Much fullness is introduced in the bodice front by gathers at the shoulder-line seam. Fullness in both back and front is pleated into a small stitched area at the center back and center front, giving a pouched effect to the bodice front. The bodice then flares slightly below the waist in a short peplum effect with added fullness introduced by the pleated areas. The bodice is accompanied by a fichu of the same fabric. It probably was worn under the bodice, draped about the neck and shoulders to fill in the bodice front opening and diminish the extent of the decolletage.

Very full, wrist length sleeves are featured, with much gathering at the sleeve cap. The upper part of the sleeve reaches from the shoulder to half-way between the elbow and wrist, where it is attached to a wide ruffle with the fullness slightly gathered at the seam. The sleeve hangs loosely, even at the ruffle seam.

The bodice is worn over the flared skirt, with the waist probably accented with a narrow band of grosgrain ribbon. The skirt features seven flounces of voile ruffles running horizontally around the skirt. Each tier is made of two floral stripes of alternating white and blue, giving a striped effect to the skirt. A slight cascade effect is achieved by tapering the ruffles to a slightly lower point in back than in front (Figure 10). The addition of a small, eighth ruffle at the center back, and the fact that the skirt is slightly longer in back than in front, contributes to the impression of a cascade. The ruffles are attached to a stiff, crinoline-like underskirt.
Evening Dress--Circa 1904

The dress of green silk (Figures 11, 12 and 13) is, like most garments of the period, separated at the waist. The full pouched front (Figure 11) is divided at bust level, with the lower part appearing as an underbodice of white cotton or linen guipure lace, with the shoulder and neck portion of a sheer, white embroidered fabric, accented with circular appliques of green silk. A bib of white lace is attached to the square, yoke-like upper portion, and hangs several inches over the bust (Figure 13). Four green silk tabs extend from under the bib, covering portions of the white lace bodice, and leaving intervals in between exposed. The tabs fasten into the waist, which is trimmed with two rows of narrow white lace, meeting in the center front and sloping upward until, in the center back, the two rows are about two inches apart. This aids in creating the illusion of the S-shaped silhouette by making the waist-line appear lower in front than in back. The two outside tabs are accented at the waist-line with large lace trimmed and embroidered buttons, covered in green silk. The high neckline is trimmed around the upper edge with a narrow band of green silk.

The back opening is fastened with hooks and eyes, with the right side trimmed with lace, so that when fastened the opening is concealed with lace. Four long, tail-like tabs, trimmed around the edges with narrow lace, fall from the bodice back, with two on each side of the center back opening. A button like those appearing on the bodice front accentuates the tabs on each side of the opening. The bodice is lined
Figure 11. Evening dress--front.
Figure 12. Evening dress--side--back.
Figure 13. Mrs. Green in evening gown--1904.
throughout with white silk. Metal supports are stitched to the bodice at the waist and a wide ribbon serves as a waist stay.

The upper portion of the sleeve is puffed and reaches to just above the elbow where it is gathered into a lace band. A flared, lace oversleeve extends from the band to half-way between the wrist and elbow. A wide lace cuff extends from the wrist to the edge of the lace oversleeve where it joins a sheer puffed undersleeve. A bib was apparently attached to the back yoke portion and extended upward, partially covering the sleeve cap (Figure 13). The upper portion of the sleeve is lined with white silk.

The bodice is worn over the skirt. The upper portion of the skirt is of white lace. This portion extends to low hip level where the silk skirt is attached in wide pleats. Four tabs fastened into the waist and accentuated with decorative buttons are featured, reaching to about three inches below the lace portion. One button is placed at about the level where the two skirt portions join, and the second is placed about three inches higher. The skirt back (Figure 12) features a long, trained-effect with fullness focused in the center back in the form of shirred gathers. The skirt has an underskirt of the same material with extra thickness around the hem. A heavy hoop is enclosed around the hem of the underskirt. A three inch gathered ruffle is also featured about the hem. The gown was made for Mrs. Green by a Mrs. Glover of Louisville, Kentucky in 1904.
98

Jacket--1907

The green velvet jacket (Figures 14, 15 and 16) is of cutaway style, sloping into a V in front, where it overlaps and fastens with a single hook and eye. A corded rosette is attached at that point. The jacket slopes then into square corners at hip level, where it curves to form long tails in the jacket back. It is elaborately trimmed in front and back with corded rosettes in harmonizing shades of green. Braid trim is attached along the jacket opening and around the neck, and the jacket front features cord and embroidery flowers and rosettes with hanging corded balls. The jacket back is braid trimmed with the braid extending downward from the shoulders and meeting in a V in the center back. The jacket had puffed, elbow length sleeves that were braid trimmed at both the armhole seam and at the elbow (Figure 16). The corners of the tails and front are weighted.

The jacket was worn with a high-necked waist, probably with a lace cascade jabot. The skirt was of the same material and featured an inverted box-pleat in the center front, stitched to a low hip level. A double row of stitching runs horizontally about six inches from the hem. The waist was worn inside the skirt, and the waistline of the skirt was treated with a band. The waist is lowered in front and the bust is thrust forward, creating the S-shaped silhouette (Figure 16).

Summary

The costumes of the Ellen M. McClung Green Historic Costume Collection are representative of the clothing worn by Knoxville's upper
Figure 14. Jacket—front.
Figure 15. Jacket--back.
Figure 16. Mrs. Green in jacket—1907.
class between 1895 and 1910. Several similarities can be found between these costumes and the responses given by upper class members interviewed.

First, it is assumed that each of the garments was made by a dressmaker. Mrs. Green's records indicate that one of the garments was made for her in New York, while a second one was made in Louisville, Kentucky. The practice of hiring a professional dressmaker which was affirmed by the upper class respondents is evident in this collection.

Second, even though the costumes were dated more on the basis of personal records (dates of photographs, notes), the three garments for which a date were available (the visiting dress, the evening dress, and the jacket) followed closely the fashions of that particular year or the previous one (see Cunnington, 1937 and Cunnington, 1952). The costumes then appear representative of the fashions of those years and suggest a consciousness of fashion and its changes.

In addition, the costumes of the Green Collection represent the ornamental qualities of dress rather than the purely functional ones. A concern for elaborate display such as is seen, particularly in the visiting dress, was characteristic only of the upper class and probably more specifically of the wealthy group.

The costumes described most definitely might have served to set the wearer apart and to give status. Two of the garments are entirely of silk except for decorative elements. Both are completely lined with silk, the visiting dress with changeable silk. A third garment, the
jacket, is of velvet and lined with satin. It too speaks of the status and wealth of the wearer.

Finally, the very nature of and purpose for which the garments were worn indicate a high social rank. The events for which the costumes were designed (formal visiting, evening wear) suggest a certain leisure typical of the upper class, as in the case of visiting, and a special social position to necessitate the wearing of evening attire.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

After the Civil War Knoxville, Tennessee was a city of phenomenal growth and progress. The economic growth of the period initiated the development of a highly stratified social structure, particularly in terms of economic standing, and initiated the cultivation of a social elite.

It was hypothesized that a relationship could be established between cultural factors existent in the city at the time, particularly social class structure, and dress between the years 1895 to 1910. Certain relationships between dress and social class were observed in the data obtained. First, a relationship was observable between the social class of respondents and the interest they expressed in clothing during the period 1895 to 1910. While it was evident that fashion interest was to a large extent a personal matter, a significant difference exists between responses given by the middle and upper class respondents. While none of the four respondents in the middle class expressed any special interest in clothing, four of the six upper class respondents expressed considerable fashion consciousness.

Second, a notable difference existed between the attitudes of the middle class toward clothing as a status symbol and the attitudes of the upper class as expressed by respondents. Three of the middle class respondents replied that clothing did not serve as a status symbol in
their group. One middle class respondent stated that she felt it did to an extent. Three of the upper class respondents gave no direct response to this question. Of the three who did respond, clothing was unanimously felt to have been a status symbol.

A difference also existed in responses concerning the means of acquiring clothing during the period. Some members of both classes stated that they had some ready-made clothing. Of the four middle class respondents, three of the four replied that their clothing was made entirely at home, and that they never hired the services of a seamstress. The fourth respondent replied that only after her older sisters had left home did she hire her clothes made, since she herself did not sew. None of the four recalled ever having anything made in a dressmaker's shop. On the other hand, only one of the upper class respondents stated that all her clothing was made at home, and that her clothes were never made by a dressmaker or seamstress. The remaining five all listed a dressmaker as a source of at least part of their clothing. Four of the five indicated that all of their clothing was obtained through a hired seamstress or dressmaker.

Although sufficient data to draw conclusions concerning any differences which might have existed between social classes in regard to the specific styles worn was not available, one difference was suggested—that is, the degree to which silk was worn by the middle and upper classes. The difference could perhaps be considered obvious even without supportive information. From the few comments made by respondents
concerning the wearing of silk, it might be concluded that silk, except for smaller items such as blouses, was restricted to the upper class.

I. RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the fact that this study was based upon the assumption that the social conditions and the absence of mass-produced goods during the period 1895 to 1910 created a setting in which individuals were more set apart by dress than they were in later periods, studies during subsequent periods might be valuable in determining the significance of social class structure to dress in those periods. Since this study was not primarily concerned with specific fashion trends during the period, such a study might be undertaken. A more detailed study of local newspapers might prove productive. Studies of this type in other cities might also be valuable.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS


**B. NEWSPAPERS**


**C. INTERVIEWS**

Personal Interview I, name withheld, March 22, 1971.

Personal Interview II, name withheld, April 2, 1971.


Personal Interview IV, name withheld, April 5, 1971.

Personal Interview V, name withheld, March 26, 1971.

Personal Interview VI, name withheld, April 6, 1971.

Personal Interview VII, name withheld, April 8, 1971.

Personal Interview VIII, name withheld, March 26, 1971.

Personal Interview IX, name withheld, April 7, 1971.

Personal Interview X, name withheld, April 12, 1971.

Personal Interview XI, name withheld, April 9, 1971.

**D. HELPFUL REFERENCES NOT QUOTED IN TEXT**


Sentinel, 1895-1904.

GLOSSARY

PART I: CLOTHING TERMS

basques: close fitting bodice, with or without skirt; or, a short skirt (Picken, 1957, p. 16)

bolero: short jacket, no longer than waistline, open in front (p. 186)

braid: narrow cord-like strip of flat tape (p. 33)

cutaway: coat having tails or half a skirt portion in back (p. 66)

Delineator: a fashion monthly prominent during the period under study (Mott, 1957, p. 16)

Empire skirt: skirt cut to extend from two to four inches above the normal waistline and fitted snugly (Picken, 1957, p. 306)

fichu: draped scarf or shawl worn about shoulders and tied in knot at breast, with ends hanging down loosely; ruffly draping on bosom of blouse or dress (p. 129)

flounce: gathered or plaited strip sewn to garment, lower edge often left free (p. 134)

Gainsborough: broad brimmed hat, generally of velvet trimmed with roses (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, 1960, p. 90)

hobble skirt: very narrow skirt (Picken, 1957, p. 175)

hour-glass silhouette: silhouette with pinched-in waistline (p. 180)
jabot: frill or ruffle, usually lace or lace-trimmed, worn down front of bodice, and fastened at neckline (p. 185)

peplum: a short overskirt, cut away front and back and hanging in points at the sides (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, 1960, p. 160)

pompadour: a hair style with hair drawn back from the face, combed over cushions or "rats," and secured with pins and combs (Lester and Kerr, 1967, p. 218)

puff sleeve: full sleeve gathered or stiffened to stand out (Picken, 1957, p. 265)

"rats": small pad or roll of hair or the like worn by women underneath their natural hair (p. 270)

ruche: strip of fabric, pleated or gathered (p. 278)

sailor hat: hat with flat crown and a brim (p. 281)

sequin: metal disk or spangle (p. 290)

shirtwaist: waist similar to man's shirt in plainness of cut and style (p. 24)

spangle: small shining disk of metal or other substance (p. 317)

tassel: ornament with thread or cords of some fiber (p. 346)

toque: a close fitting hat without a brim (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, 1960, p. 216)

tubular silhouette: slim, straight-up-and-down silhouette (Picken, 1957, p. 357)

tunic: overblouse or coat, usually to hip line or longer; either fitted or gathered at the waist, sometimes belted (p. 358)
waist: garment covering the body from shoulders to waistline. Usually called blouse or bodice (p. 368)

PART II: FABRIC TERMS

batiste: soft, sheer, cotton fabric of plain weave (Picken, 1957, p. 16)

brocade: silk fabric with woven pattern (Cunnington, 1937, p. 430)

calico: plain-woven cotton fabric with figured pattern on one side (Picken, 1957, p. 43)

cashmere: a soft woollen fabric made from the wool of the Tibet goat (Cunnington, 1937, p. 430)

changeable taffeta: taffeta having changing color effect: usually made by weaving together yarn-dyed warp and filling of different colors (Picken, 1957, p. 344)

chiffon: soft, delicately sheer fabric in plain weave (p. 60)

crepon: crinkled fabric resembling crepe but thicker, firmer; of silk or wool (p. 89)

crinoline: fabric of hair or stiffened silk or cotton used as foundation (p. 89)

gauze: thin, transparent, lightweight fabric (p. 147)

gingham: firm, light- or medium-weight, washable cotton fabric (p. 148)
**guipure lace:** heavy lace with large pattern, usually either having no ground or having designs joined or held in place by bars or coarse threads (p. 200)

**linen:** strong, lustrous fabric woven of smooth-surfaced flax fibers (p. 213)

**moire:** watered or clouded fabric, especially silk (p. 225)

**muslin:** soft, firm semi-transparent cotton fabric (p. 228)

**organdie:** crisp, fine, plain or figured muslin, slightly stiffened, in white and colors (p. 237)

**percale:** close, firm cotton fabric in plain weave, in solid colors or prints, especially prints (p. 247)

**satin:** silk fabric having smooth finish, high gloss on face, and dull back (p. 283)

**serge:** loosely woven, soft woollen fabric (p. 290)

**taffeta:** smooth, glossy, silk fabric in plain weave, alike on both sides (p. 343)

**tweed:** rough-surfaced woollen material (p. 360)

**velvet:** fabric with short, soft, thick pile surface (p. 365)

**velveteen:** imitation of silk velvet, with silk pile on cotton back (Cunnington, 1937, p. 436)

**voile:** fine, transparent or semi-transparent fabric (Picken, 1957, p. 377)
Figure 17. Respondent I with sisters.

Figure 18. Respondent IV.
VITA

Carmen Maria Abbott was born in Maryville, Tennessee on April 28, 1948. She attended elementary school in Blount County, Tennessee and was graduated from Maryville High School in 1966. In September, 1966 she entered The University of Tennessee at Knoxville, majoring in Textiles and Clothing Merchandising, and received her Bachelor of Science degree in August of 1969. The following September she entered Graduate School at The University of Tennessee. In August, 1971 she received the Master of Science degree with a major in Textiles and Clothing. She is a member of Omicron Nu.