MACARONI MEN AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FASHION CULTURE

'THE VULGAR TONGUE'

» PETER McNEIL

Maccaroni, An Italian paste made of flour and eggs; also, a fop; which name arose from a club, called the Maccaroni Club, instituted by some of the most dressy travelled gentlemen about town, who led the fashions; whence a man foppishly dressed was supposed a member of that club, and, by contradiction, stiled [sic] a Maccaroni.[1]

In 1823 when this term was included in Pierce Egan's new edition of *Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785), 'macaroni' had been circulating in the English language for sixty years, denoting a species of foppish man.[2] It was a term mainly used between 1760 and 1780, but was still in everyday use in 1795, when a verse described men shopping in the spa town of Bath thus: 'booted and spur'd, the gay macaronies, Bestride Mandell's counter, instead of their ponies'.[3] The word continues to echo on a daily basis within the refrain of the famous patriotic tune *Yankee Doodle* (published 1767), referring to the appearance of troops during the French and Indian War (or the 'Seven Years War', 1754–63):

> Yankee Doodle Came to Town
> Riding on a Pony,
> Stuck a feather in his cap
> And called it Macaroni![4]

The macaroni were remembered in the nineteenth century as colourful fashion eccentrics from a romantic past long surpassed by Victorian materialism, until the cataloguers

of the British Museum's eighteenth-century satirical prints gave the topic greater potential for study with their comprehensive published catalogue cross-referenced to historical events. The catalogue had been undertaken, building on the earlier notes of Edward Hawkins, in the 1860s by Frederic George Stephens, a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and supporter of late-nineteenth-century aestheticism (hence the co-authorship of 'Stephens and Hawkins' for the first part of the British Museum catalogue). It was continued in the first decades of the twentieth century by the indefatigable M. Dorothy George (who had worked for British Intelligence), one of several notable women including 'George Paston' (pseudonym of Miss E. M. Symonds) to set themselves the task of cataloguing British caricature prints with explanatory keys. Not well known to the general public apart from those who have a particular interest in late-Georgian England, the macaroni evokes bemused puzzlement when his name is mentioned today. Slippery like the pasta that his name connotes, the term 'macaroni' was once widely

recognised in daily life, just as the word 'punk' is now. Eclipsed by the fame of the masculine Regency bucks and swells, and not embedded in tumultuous political events as was the *Incroyable* of post-Revolutionary Paris, the macaroni existed thirty years before the justly famous figure of the dandy. Although many people today say 'aha! A dandy' when they hear his name, his ethos and appearance were completely different from that Promethean figure.

The study I have recently completed,*'Pretty Gentlemen': Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World,* is on one level a study of men and their sartorial fashions.[5] It is also a social, sexual and more general cultural history since, for a period of thirty years, 'macaroni' was a highly topical term, yielding a complex set of meanings and associations. 'Macaroni' indicated either fine or ultra-fashionable dressing, but it was not a static fashion movement with simply one form. Macaroni men dressed in a manner that asserted a cosmopolitan, fashion-centric outlook (fig. 1). Desirous of the rich and colourful textiles that countries such as France and Italy were renowned for, their attitude towards fashion was exclusive and undemocratic. Many macaroni men wore the tightly cut suit or *habit à la française* that derived from French court society, which also became the trans-national and up-to-date fashion for many European men at this time. (Swedish courtiers rushed to get out of their imposed national dress and into the modern 'French suit' as soon as they could whilst travelling). Such clothing and the accessories expected to accompany it were expensive and unsuitable for many forms of work. Yet it was possible to copy many aspects of the macaroni appearance, particularly the hair-style, and it seems many did so, including young men from the countryside.

Macaroni men were connected to new ideas about masculine self-presentation, selfhood and celebrity in late-eighteenth-century England. Contemporary interest in male sartorial display was amplified by the great expansion of printed satirical caricatures that occurred concurrently, where the macaroni phenomenon formed a major topic. Macaroni dress was not restricted to members of the aristocracy and gentry; men of the artisan, artist and upper servant classes

wore versions of this visually lavish clothing with a distinctive cut and shorter jackets in woolen cloth, for example. Wealthier shopkeepers and entrepreneurs also sometimes wore lavish clothing, particularly those associated with the London luxury trades. Macaroni status was attributed to figures as notable as the Whig politician Charles James Fox (1749–1806) — 'the Original Macaroni'; botanist and explorer Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820) — the 'Fly Catching Macaroni'; the renowned miniature painter Richard Cosway (1742–1821) — 'The Miniature Macaroni' [he painted in this format and was also very short in stature]; the famed landscape designer Humphrey Repton (1752–1818); the St Martin's Lane luxury upholsterer John Cobb; Julius 'Soubise', the freed slave of the Duchess of Queensbury, known as the 'Mungo Macaroni'; and the Reverend William Dodd (1729–1777) — the 'Macaroni Parson' [the extravagantly-dressed Chaplain to George III, later put to death as perhaps the first 'white-collar' criminal]. John Gascoigne FAHA outlines Sir Joseph Banks's macaronic affiliation and the subsequent attacks on his scientific credentials (linked to his youthful interest in fashion) in *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (1994).[6] Sarah Sophia Banks, Joseph's sister with whom he lived in Soho Square, created an extensive collection of prints and ephemera (akin to the natural history and other specimens collected by her brother in its taxonomic ambition) which is now in the British Museum and British Library. She owned several prints identifying her brother as macaroni. Men of secure social standing such as Banks seem to have been more comfortable with the label, which was something of an 'in joke'. The repetition of certain motifs within these caricatures — the very high hair-style, a tiny hat, the cane and sword, spying glasses, high-heeled shoes and use of a snuff-box — indicates that these objects had a powerful charge for male participants in this type of dressing.

This is certainly the view taken by the late Paul Langford, who noted that 'young men with too much money and too few inhibitions prospered in the permissive climate of the years between two great wars' in the eighteenth century.[7] Here he referred to the cessation of the Seven Years War (1756–1763), at which point many young well-to-do men rushed to the continent to see what was going on with the French and Italian fashion they had so missed during wartime. The Seven Years War was a disaster for France but saw an ascendancy for Britain, hence the even stronger significance of clothing styles adopted at a time of national confidence. The American, Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars that reshaped borders and colonies mark the conclusion of the period under consideration.

Other issues are important for understanding the significance of men's fashion. Some of these acquisitions were status-conscious purchases to signal cosmopolitanism and success; others were possibly crafted by female relatives and lovers and therefore inscribe chains of attachment and sometimes also eroticism. Eighteenth-century women frequently worked waistcoats and made sword-knots for their husbands, particularly at their marriage, a custom explicit for the aristocracy in France.[8] There was therefore a personal charge attached to aspects of 'gift exchange' as well as the making of sartorial fashions. This was transferred in a homophobic manner to a group of 'queer embroiderers' described in a scurrilous pamphlet mocking such men entitled 'The Pretty Gentleman' (1747), from which my forthcoming book takes its title.

Fundamental to the general notion of macaroni fashion was the hair-style. Fashionable men in the late 1760s and 1770s replaced the small 'scratch-wig' of the older generation, a prosthetic which supplemented the natural hair and was often worn for riding, with elaborate hairstyles that matched the towering heights of the contemporary female coiffure. For men, a very tall *toupée* rising in front and a thick club of hair behind required extensive dressing with pomade and white powder. Other wigs had very long and thin tails, looking rather like horses'. Wigs became a widespread fashion item, able to be copied by men 'up from the country', and barbers and hairdressers were common even in rural areas of England and France. The new fashionable macaroni 'queue' of hair was held in a large black satin wig-bag, often trimmed with a rosette, to protect the back of the jacket. The wig-bag was requisite for attendance at court and therefore became striking when worn in the street and in everyday life; it also carried

an added expense (account books indicate that wig-bags had to be replaced at least several times a year). The effect of the hair could be copied with real and partial wigging; many men wore a mixture of their own hair plus wigging. The macaroni 'big hair' silhouette dominates the fashion ideal of many of the men of this era and is a signature of the notable portraiture associated with the most important artists of the day including Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, Pompeo Batoni and Richard Cosway.

MACARONI ORIGINS

The first use of the term 'macaroni' appeared within actor and theatre-manager David Garrick's play *The Male-Coquette* (1757), which included a foppish character, the 'Marchese di Macaroni'.[9] The term was used occasionally to refer to women noted for their conspicuous gambling, described, like fashion, as a form of endless and ephemeral expenditure — but it generally referred to the styling of men. The famous observer of manners, Sir Horace Walpole, made numerous references to these new fashionables. In the first relevant letter, dated February 1764, Walpole discussed gambling losses amongst the sons of foreign aristocrats at the 'Maccaroni [sic] club, which is composed of all the travelled young men who wear long curls and spying-glasses'.[10]

Macaroni men wore and carried accessories that were characteristic of societies with a court at their pinnacle. These included the hanger or dress smallsword, traditionally the preserve of the nobility, but worn also by this time as a fashion statement. Red-heeled and thin-soled, slipper-like black leather shoes with leather rosettes or decorative buckles of diamond, paste

or polished steel; a tiny *nivernais*, named for the French Ambassador resident in London, the duc de Nivernais (translator of Horace Walpole's essay on gardening into French); large floral corsages or 'nosegays' as they were called in the eighteenth century; *chateleines* or hanging watches and seals suspended around the waist-line; elaborate or finely turned canes; and decorative neo-classical metal snuffboxes and spying or eye-glasses feature in the many descriptions and images of the macaroni wardrobe.

The macaroni departed from the trembling erotics of the rococo taste in that symmetry and new textile preferences were often enforced in his dressing. The newly fashionable textiles were often spotted or thinly striped, moving away from the large-patterned meandering brocades characteristic of the period of George II and Louis XV. Macaroni often balanced the pocket watch hanging from the waistcoat with a bunch of seals, or perhaps a *fausse-montre*, a dummy watch. His clothing therefore mirrored developments in architecture and interior design, when elite interiors included false doors to achieve symmetry in interior architecture.

New materials also set new fashion trends. Fine examples of this development include the 'jockey' style printed cotton waistcoats associated with late macaroni taste; such garments created new fashions for men, that must even have felt different, being soft, pliable and easily washed (cotton was not generally worn by men as either undergarments or overgarments until the last years of the eighteenth century) (fig. 2). These clothing innovations replicate the effects of the much more expensive trimmings used on more expensive urban dress but they also have a new jauntiness. By the 1770s the fashion was for the new material of steel rather than silver accessories, including buttons; sometimes a combination of materials was used in a piece of jewellery or a shoe-buckle.

Bobbing just below the waist was the sword-knot, which garnished the small-sword. Although sword knots were generally made from textiles, and few seem to survive, some were made of steel, as with the beautiful example attributed to the great entrepreneur of metals Matthew Boulton or his workshop (fig. 3). The original owner of this sword was Colonel Lord Evelyn James Stuart (1773–1842), politician and soldier, second son of John Stuart, first Marquis of Bute. Since he was a young man in the 1790s, this is an indication of the longevity of certain courtly fashion tastes.

The carrying of such fashion accessories contributed to an emphasising of what was seen either as polite or courtly manners in posture, gesture and speech, further underlined by the use of cosmetics such as face-whiteners and rouge, breath fresheners and even preferred drinks such as asses' or donkey's milk. Asses' milk was used to great satiric effect by Pope in his *Epistle* (1735) which referred to 'Sporus! That mere white curd of ass's milk…'[11] Asses' milk carries two further contrasted suggestions. The first is the practice of bathing in it by famed women such as Cleopatra and various Roman empresses to preserve their looks; hence when consumed by males its use was highly effeminate. Secondly, the male ass since antiquity has from the size of its genitals figured as a symbol of

(left)

Fig. 3. English smallsword with chased cut-steel hilt, attributed to Matthew Boulton, length 104 cm, blade length 83 cm.

COURTESY PETER FINER, LONDON.

hypervirility (as in Apuleius's *Golden Ass* and the anonymous Greek predecessor *Lucius, or the Ass*). Hence drinking the asses' milk might have been a tonic to restore virility, and therefore consumed by invalid or delicate males. According to contemporary reports, there was also a mannered macaroni accent and idiom, captured in popular ditties and joke-books of the period.

The interest in the macaroni was not confined to one visual or literary genre or even to England. Macaroni dress was amplified in its influence because it appeared concurrently with the marked expansion of the production of English caricature prints, which were perused far beyond the borders of that country. Almost immediately, plays, joke-books and songs were written about him and glass and ceramics were painted with his likeness. He developed a wide European appeal, particularly through the caricature print published by Matthew Darly, *Ridiculous Taste, or the Ladies Absurdity*, first issued in July 1771 (fig. 4), re-published in reverse by Sayer and Bennett in 1776 (fig. 5). A man who might represent a husband, but whose figure also refers

to the South Seas explorer Sir Joseph Banks, uses a sextant (for celestial navigation) to observe the top of the head of a female fashionable, who is tended by an ugly *frizeur* or hairdresser in macaroni dress, standing up a ladder. Hanging on the wall in the background is a severe portrait of an unfashionable man, perhaps Oliver Cromwell. The image was clearly very popular, as another version was published in the *Oxford Magazine* as 'The Female Pyramid', a nice joke about exploring exotic and unbelievable places (fig. 6). It finds an echo in Thomas Patch's painted caricature of an Italian gallery with the Medici Venus c. 1760 (fig. 7), in which the painter himself, dressed in seaman's trousers, scales the classical statue and uses dividers to measure its proportion. As David Cast notes of such Grand Tour images, they are not simply about laughing at others, but often concern the self-assurance of the arrogant and well-to-do.[12]

The Darly print of the macaroni hairdresser reappeared in many surprising formats, direct and indirect copies, indicating the usefulness and malleability of print culture within wider

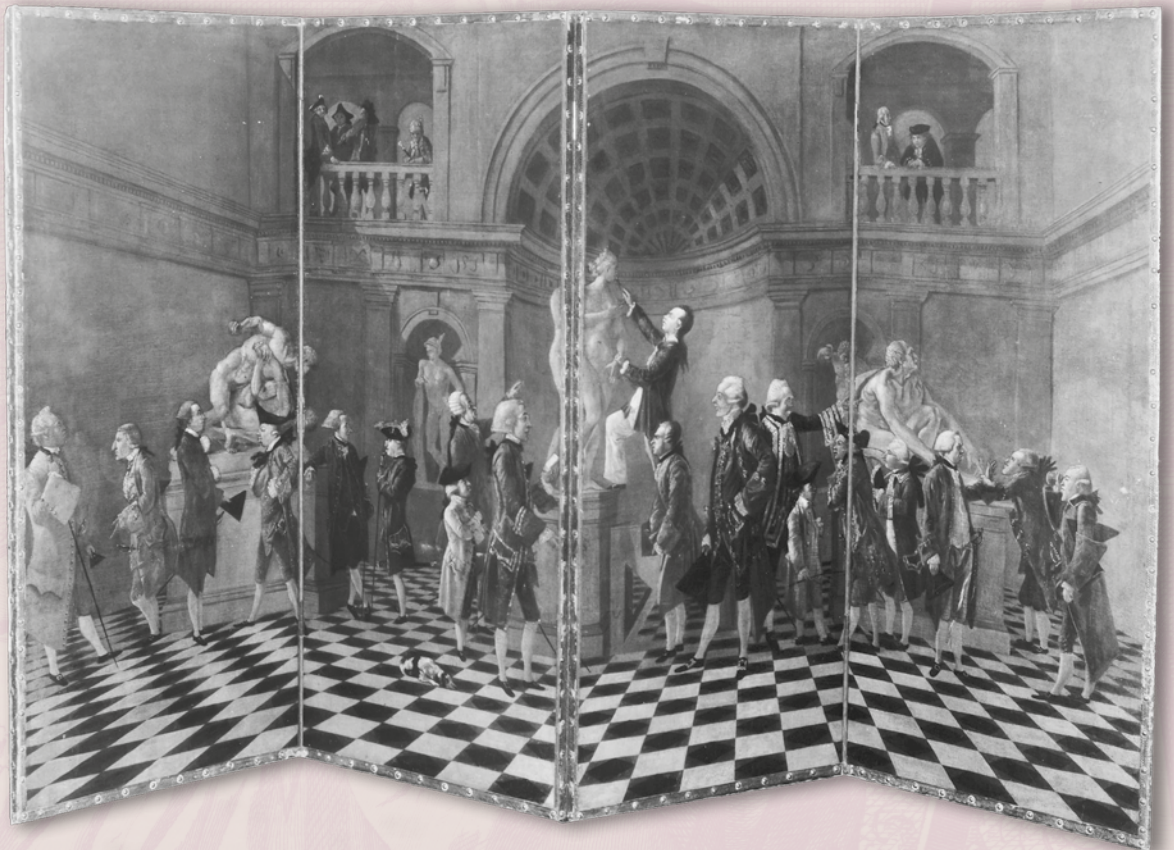*The Female Pyramid.*

design and decoration. It was copied in the unusual medium of an oil painting that is extant in Sweden (fig. 8) and on a Swedish Marieberg-made ceramic tray (fig. 9) painted with a macaroni hairdresser tending a lady client, dated 1772, and hence just a few months after the first appearance of the image (if the date is correct). The painter of the ceramic tray simplified the details of the rich interior so that it did not disrupt the expanse of glossy white glaze and the striking impact of the leaf-form handles that are modelled in relief.

The translation across borders and media was not a simple act of copying; an extant Swedish painted copy of the English caricature — an extremely rare survival — is set in a recognisably Swedish type of interior with fictive *boiserie* and a *trompe-l'oeil* painted perspectival floor typical of that region. The oil was painted on the back of a panel decorated with flowers, the latter possibly by a sign painter. The composition was also reworked in wools into a picture, eighteenth century or slightly later, probably made by a leisured woman (fig. 10). The strong Swedish interest in this image is not surprising; Patrik Steorn's post-doctoral research, carried out within our EU-funded project, discovered that the first illustrated cover of a Swedish newspaper (*Stockholms Posten*) carried a crude wood-cut interpretation of the print in July

1779, noting that it was after an English original, but not naming the printmaker Darly (fig. 11).[13] The image was connected to an article by the newspaper's editor, Johan Holmberg who, Steorn writes, 'defended the rights of authors of texts and images to remain anonymous by discussing the necessity of satire, for example of women's fashion exuberance'. Gustav III had restricted the press in Sweden in 1774, and newspaper publishers used as covers several redrawn caricatures based on French fashion periodicals, suggesting that fashion images were useful in underscoring the corrective power of satire.[14] Visual satires of macaroni fashion played multi-facetted roles in their incarnations in and outside England.

The noble ceramic works Ludwigsburg, which specialised in fine quality porcelain figural groups, created another version of a hairdresser group in which the lady sits at her *toilette* table (fig. 12). Numerous men with very high hair tend her with the support of stepladder and spying glass, suggesting that men's business has been reduced to frippery. The design was possibly by Gottlieb Friedrich Riedel (1724–84), director of painting and design at Ludwigsburg from 1759 to 1779 and an independent engraver as well. Whether such models had any corrective potential, or were simply made to decorate

mantles or dressing tables, remains unclear, although Horace Walpole and others complained about the invasion of china figurines and knick-knacks into women's private cabinets and lives at this time. Research conducted by Jan Stockigt FAHA (kindly communicated to me) has indicated that Dresden court circles during carnival enjoyed the porcelain figures (resting on dinner tables) that they sometimes resembled, including when they dressed as tavern folk, peasants and in occupational dress (the *Wirtschaft*). Another Continental hard-paste figure group of the 1760s–70s depicts a courtier sporting an enormous black wig-bow attempting to walk through the arch of a classical ruin (fig. 13). He is watched by another fop and a poorly-dressed man, but

there is empathy, sweetness and charm in the expressions and the selected palette. The allusion here includes a ludicrous participation in the Grand Tour. A painting of this period by the Swedish painter Carl Pehr Hillestrom, *Petter Pehr Hillestrom studying a sculpture*, indicates the complex relationship between artistic practice, fashionable clothing, bodily posture and an observation of the classical tradition, in this case a cast of the Apollo Belvedere (fig. 14). These Swedish and German survivals indicate the topicality and mobility of images of the Grand Tourist abroad and the enjoyment of print culture as a part of everyday life for those with leisure, access to imported images and education.[15] The Swedish artist who copied Darly's print created the sense of a proscenium stage, and this is significant, as many such prints might have had their basis in performances at the theatre, or been associated with that giddying world. Satirical prints inspired the theatre and other 'real life' situations. A contemporary report

of the London Pantheon masquerade ball in 1773, for example, noted that a woman wore 'a tall Head-dress and a little ladder to it, after Darley's [sic] print'.[16]

None of the recent scholarship on the macaroni focuses much on what was actually worn by these men. Assessing what people wore is a complicated matter that demands an assessment of sources including accounts, diaries, letters, memoirs, literature, and incipient journalism, to name but a few. In some cases there is evidence that the elites were depicted wearing clothes specially purchased for a portrait sitting (for example on the Grand Tour), but it is also well understood that in many cases the clothing depicted in art is fictive, or serves various allegorical or other purposes. What was 'actually worn' in the past is a topic that has been emphasised by art historian Aileen Ribeiro, who has argued that theoretical understandings of dress and fashion sometimes get in the way of understanding exactly what we are talking about in the pursuit of fashion studies.[17] 'Fashion studies' in the US and the UK has tended to be dominated by ethnography and sociology and has been somewhat uncomfortable with material culture, museology and so called 'dress history'. Writers to date have not often enquired what the macaroni resembled. What did he look like and how are we to recognise him? If 'costume history' makes frequent use of printed and drawn caricatures, then do we arrive at a caricature of a caricature when assessing macaroni fashion? That was certainly the impression re-presented in period films such as James Ivory's *Jefferson in Paris* (1995), which included a greatly exaggerated (but effective) vignette of the painter Richard Cosway.[18]

At a time when English dress generally consisted of more sober cuts and the use of monochrome broadcloth, macaronism emphasised the effects associated with French, Spanish and Italian textiles and trimmings such as brocaded and embroidered silks and velvets; pastel colours, fashionable patterns of spots (fig. 15), stripes and small-field motifs. So 'over the top' were some Italian silks and velvets that the painter Venceslao Verlin depicted a man wearing leopard-skin pattern breeches in a Grand Tour scene of 1768 (private collection, sold Carlo Orsi, Milan 1997). Contemporary viewers were probably able to identify domestic and imported silks, as they had a highly refined sense of materiality, colours and cloth. It was suggested that French silks resembled colours viewed under artificial light, whereas the English (or so it was claimed) used a palette drawn more from nature.[19] French silks were banned in Britain from 1766, and excluded from the Free Trade Treaty of 1786, 'a prohibition which lasted until July 1826'.[20] Much smuggling of cloth continued; ambassadors could flout the rules but tourists sometimes had their fine purchases burned at the border. A legal case of 1773 against the foppish Lord Villiers determined that a 'gentleman' could not be prosecuted for bringing in his own foreign-purchased clothes. Macaroni men, therefore, embodied a tension in English society between native interests, manufactures and prerogatives, and a cosmopolitan outlook that privileged travel, urbanity and access to outside ideas.

Being a macaroni was about more than wearing fashion. There were strong links between modes of appearing in dress and interior decoration. Fine London townhouses such as Chandos House (1770–71) and No. 20, St James's Square (1772–74), designed by Robert Adam, were being erected at this time. The

SAM SPOT ESQ.

preferred colour combinations and effects of macaroni men were not without meaning; they related to broader fashion schemes for goods and spaces as diverse as snuffboxes and boudoirs. The colours particularly associated with macaronism include those used in the designs of this neo-classical architect: pea green, pink, red and deep orange, garnished with a great deal of gilt. Adam's use of 'patches of bright colour in a non-constructional way' was a departure from the more tonal approach of his rival, William Chambers, and surprised viewers and critics alike.[21] The striking colours and light effects created for patrons by Adam in the 1770s, such as the red foil set behind glass and simulating porphyry for the drawing room of Northumberland House, London (1774), find their corollary in the foiled buttons and jewels of this period worn by men and women of fashion. The clashing components of macaroni dress were not always 'harmonious' but suggested a mode of dressing that carried ludic overtones and suggestions of carnivalesque *mentalités* that reached far back in time.

FASHION AND FOOD — MACARONI MEN

Things culinary have profound cultural meaning in all parts of the world. The slipperiness — and instability — of the food preferred by the macaroni finds its corollary in the fact that a flaccid penis is still compared with a 'noodle' by some Mandarin speakers. To what extent did people associate this fashion figure with jokes concerning food? Quite a lot, it would seem. A French dictionary of 1768 specified that 'macaroni etits [sic] morceaux de pâtes

A FRENCH MACARONY
Eating of Macaroons
Publis.d as the Act Directs — July y. 22 1772

be connected to earlier *mentalités*. 'Maccus' or 'Maco' was the name of a glutton of noodles in the *commedia*. Pulcinella (later 'Punch') was famous as a 'lazy, cunning and licentious' stage glutton and, as Meredith Chilton writes, his preferred foods were 'spaghetti, macaroni, and gnocchi, which he consumed in vast quantities whenever possible'.[23] In 1888 W.A. Clouston published *The Book of Noodles: Stories of Simpletons or Fools and their Follies*.[24] The joke here is partly that pasta swells up to several times its size, just as macaroni were associated with a swollen pride.

> 'MACARONI' THEREFORE SUGGESTED THE WORLD OF THE MEDIEVAL CARNIVAL, BURLESQUE AND CAROUSING CONNECTED TO THE GLUTTON.

coupés par tranche'.[22] A macaroni caricature played directly with the analogy between food and fop: H. W. Bunbury's *The Salutation Tavern* (published by J. Bretherton, 20 March 1773), is subtitled 'Macaroni & other Soups hot every day.' The macaroni was firmly embedded within popular conceptions of food culture, carnival and the *commedia dell'arte* and can accordingly

The commonly held explanation for the title 'macaroni', that it was derived from a fondness for that dish, may be supplemented in that 'macaronic' refers also to a type of Latin poetry which revolved around wit and also foolery, a hallmark of the macaroni stereotype. 'Macaroni' therefore suggested the world of the medieval carnival, burlesque and carousing

connected to the glutton. The carnival reference was also related to the topos of the macaroni as 'numbskull' or 'noodle-head'; cauldrons of the food 'macaroni' had been paraded in early-modern European carnivals, accompanying a fat man (in Germanic carnival the food is more generally sausage).[25] Images of pasta-eaters consuming huge amounts and lengths of the food were particularly associated with Naples. Porcelain figures were made of 'spaghetti eaters' at factories in Italy (Capodimonte) and Spain (Buen Retiro) from mid-century to the 1780s.[26] Reproduced here for perhaps the first time, *A French Macarony Eating of Macaroons* (fig. 16) makes the connection between a foreigner and his food choice explicit. A fop in a fine striped suit, hanger sword and buckled shoes, with an elaborate and high hairstyle, holds an incongruous spoon, lifting his head up to eat some slippery pasta from the dish below. The joke is also scatological as a small dog fouls the pot on the ground from which he is eating. The theorist Jacques Lacan once remarked that 'everyone makes jokes about macaroni, because it is a hole with something around it'; that is, as medievalist Juliet Fleming notes, an object organised around emptiness.[27]

The satirical image of the empty-headed man sometimes emerging fully born from an 'egg' (that is also subsequently 'empty') also might relate to folklore and carnival uses of eggs, in which witches were said to fly. There is another joke at work here: Eros 'is an ancient mythic figure at the centre of creation mythology who is said to have emerged from an enormous egg to create the earth'.[28] Such references provide an explanation for the distinctive image of a well-dressed macaroni hatching from an egg, published as the frontispiece to *The Macaroni Jester and Pantheon of Wit* (fig. 17). 'An Account of a Macaroni', published in the *London Magazine*, April 1772, described the macaroni as 'the offspring of a *body*, but not of an individual. This same body was a many headed monster in Pall-Mall, produced by the Daemoniack committee of depraved taste and exaggerated fancy, conceived in the courts of France and Italy, and adapted in England. Hence that variety of fantastical beings in all places of publick resort'. There followed a discussion of its digestion: 'The eye is the paunch of a *virtuoso Maccaroni*, as the stomach of the glutton. The *devouring Maccaroni* does not derive the appellation from an immoderate indulgence in animal food; the idea would be too coarse and sensual'.[29]

Fops were considered effeminate but that did not correlate necessarily with a lack of interest in women. Since the Italian Renaissance, the effeminate and finely dressed man was sometimes — but not always — associated with attributes of love and cast as an object of desire.[30] The macaroni episode redefined such 'effeminate' men. A substantial number of prints, plays and satires cast the macaroni as an indeterminate figure not fitting normative stereotypes of gender

and sexuality. Although the aesthetics were different, the attributes of the Regency dandy (circa 1810) — deviant masculine consumption, non-reproductive irresponsibility, a rejection of 'middling-sort' gendering, a creation of the male body and home into a 'work of Art' — were already present in the macaroni.[31] My work therefore maps a reading of clothing culture onto the history of sexuality. In so doing it questions some of the standard theories of male sartorial 'renunciation' (an expression coined by popular psychologist J.C. Flügel in the 1920s), many of which have overlooked the macaroni and turned directly to the dandy before commencing with an analysis of modern dressing.

The macaroni remained for a time to populate the novels of Jane Austen and Charles Dickens as an ailing and ridiculous fop, generally resident in Bath, at odds with youthful masculinity. Austen's *Persuasion* includes the character of Sir Walter Elliot, the vain and obsequious father of Anne, who revels in the society of Bath which is disavowed by Anne in favour of the seaside: 'Vanity was the beginning and the end of Sir Walter Elliot's character; vanity of person and of situation'.[32] *The Pickwick Papers* (1836–37), set around 1827, features a fifty year old macaroni, master of ceremonies at the Bath Assembly Rooms, with affected manners and speech: 'it was difficult at a small distance to tell the real from the false'.[33] By the Edwardian period, the macaroni was reduced to being a figure of 'olden times', from a world 'where grace and charm were omnipotent, where worth without wit, or wisdom without brilliance were of small account'.[34] He passed into the 'silver fork' short stories, as a 'lahdy-da' or macaroni in 1935,[35] and as late as 1938 was mentioned in one such story in the *Australian Woman's Weekly*.[36] He was also alluded to rather wittily in the trade name of 'Cavalier' food products, described as 'Australia's most modern macaroni factory', producing vermicelli and semolina pastes, in Collingwood, Melbourne.[37] Macaroni had come 'full circle', ready to be consumed as everyday food on Australian dining tables. The macaroni ended up old, foolish and feeble, rather than young and sparkling like the men I introduce. ¶

PETER McNEIL FAHA is Distinguished Professor of Design History at University of Technology Sydney and Finland Distinguished Professor at Aalto University. He was the Foundation Chair of Fashion Studies at Stockholm University from 2008–17. Parts of this research have been conducted within the EU-funded 'Humanities in the European Research Area' project *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles and Innovation in Europe 1500–1800* (conducted from 2010–13) which aimed to investigate the cultures of creativity that spread west-European fashion across linguistic and geographical borders. McNeil contributed to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibition *Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear 1715–2015* (and accompanying catalogue, Prestel, 2016), the largest exhibition of men's fashion ever held, which will travel to Sydney in 2018.

'Pretty Gentlemen': Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World will be published by Yale University Press in March 2018. Grounded in a study of archival documents and surviving material culture, the book uses an art historical approach that crosses hierarchies and genres from the scurrilous caricature to the respectful portrait painting as well as a diverse range of applied arts including ceramics, glass and printed textiles. The monograph pays particular attention to the integration of primary sources concerning clothing and accessories and their deployment in a range of social spaces from the street to the theatre.

1. Pierce Egan, *Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London: for the editor, 1823 [1785]), unpaginated under 'M'.

2. Robert Chambers, *The Book of Days* (2, 7 July 1864), pp. 31–33.

3. Cited in Trevor Fawcett, 'Eighteenth-Century Shops and the Luxury Trade', *Bath History*, 2 (1990), 65.

4. The English referred to North Americans as macaroni in printed caricatures in 1774: see Carington Bowles, pub., *A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practised at Boston in North America*, 12 October 1774, in which two Bostonians tar and feather a customs officer.

5. Peter McNeil, *'Pretty Gentlemen': The 18th Century Fashion World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in press).

6. John Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

7. Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 577.

8. Sword knots were sometimes distributed to members of a French aristocratic wedding party. See Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 87.

9. David Garrick, 'The Male Coquette' (first published in 1757, Paul Vaillant).

10. Wilmarth S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 volumes (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1937–83), vol. 38, p. 306.

11. Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey: Eighteenth-Century Courtier* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 176.

12. David Cast, 'Review of Viccy Coltman', *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760. Classical Presences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (March 2010), <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2010/2010-03-46.html> [accessed 5 October 2015].

13. Patrik Steorn, 'Migrating Motifs and Productive Instabilities: Images of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century Swedish Print Culture', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 82:3 (September 2013), 219–34. See also Patrik Steorn, 'Caricature and Print Fashion on the Move: Establishing European Print and Fashion Culture in Eighteenth-Century Sweden', in *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Evelyn Welch (Oxford: Oxford University Press and the Pasold Research Fund, 2017), pp. 255–278; and Peter McNeil, '"Beauty in Search of Knowledge": Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the World of Print', in *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Welch, pp. 223–254.

14. Patrik Steorn, 'Object in Focus', *Fashioning the Early Modern Website* <http://www.fashioningtheearlymodern.ac.uk/object-in-focus/swedish-faience-tray/> [accessed 5 September 2015].

15. Peter McNeil and Patrik Steorn, 'The Medium of Print and the Rise of Fashion in the West', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 82:3 (September 2013), 135–56.

16. Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 109.

17. Aileen Ribeiro, 'Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress', *Fashion Theory*, 2:4 (December 1998), 315–26.

18. Costumes were by Jenny Beavan.

19. Nathalie Rothstein, 'The Excellence of English Brocades', *Seidengewebe des 18. Jahrhunderts: die industrien in England und in Nordeuropa*, ed. by Regula Schorta (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2000), p. 230.

20. Rothstein, p. 20.

21. Michael Snodin, 'Interiors and Ornament', in *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III*, ed. by John Harris and Michael Snodin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 148.

22. [Louis-Antoine de Caraccioli], *Dictionnaire Critique, Pittoresque et Sentencieux, propre à faire connoître les usages du siècle, ainsi que ses bisarreries* (Lyon: Benoît Duplain, 1768), vol. 2, p. 1.

23. Meredith Chilton, 'The Spaghetti Eaters', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 37 (2002), 223–36.

24. W.A. Clouston, *The Book of Noodles: Stories of Simpletons or Fools and their Follies* (London: E Stock, 1888).

25. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), p. 185.

26. Chilton, 'The Spaghetti Eaters', 227.

27. Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 163.

28. Cited in Karl Beckson, 'Aesthetics and Eros in Wilde [review of Patricia Flanagan Behrendt, *Oscar Wilde: Eros and Aesthetics*]', *English Literature in Translation*, *1880–1920*, 36: 2 (1993), 212.

29. *London Magazine*, vol. 97, 41 (April 1772), 192–94.

30. Elizabeth Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

31. *The Politics and Poetics of Camp* ed. by Moe Meyer (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

32. Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, ed. by D.W. Harding (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986 [1818]), p. 36.

33. Charles Dickens, *The Pickwick Papers (The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club)*, ed. by Robert L. Patten (London: Penguin, 1986), pp. 584–85.

34. A.M.W. Stirling, *Annals of a Yorkshire House: From the Papers of a Macaroni & His Kindred* (London and New York: J. Lane, 1911), vol. 1, p. 322.

35. Beatrice Grimshaw, 'Victorian Family Robinson: A Story of Love and Adventure', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 13 April 1935, 5.

36. 'Galloping Larry', a highway-man, notes in this story: 'So why shouldn't I kill 'im, eh? Wi' two thousand I could go anywhere—far enough from the Lunnon catchpolls—be safe for life—live like a Macaroni—.' Van Harrison, 'Blood and Gold', *Australian Woman's Weekly*, 5 March 1938, 24.

37. Advertisement/trade-card, Yarra Library, Melbourne.